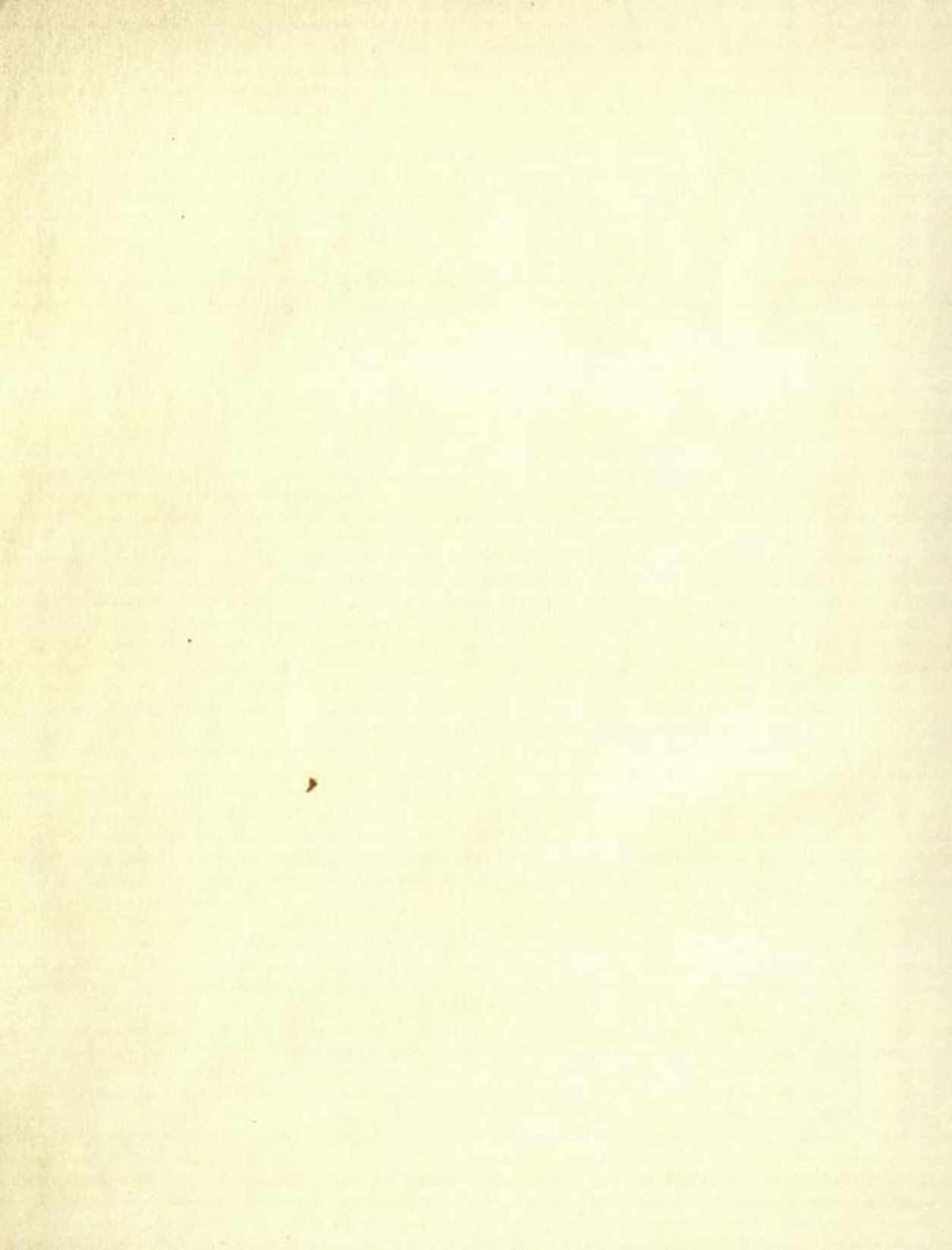


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CONTENTS

UNIT 1 BEFORE WRITTEN HISTORY



- | | |
|---|-----------|
| 1 In the Beginning . . . | 2 |
| Earliest man, 2 The Old Stone Age, 5 How to study history with Past to Present, 7 | |
| 2 Man's Achievements in the New Stone Age | 10 |
| A changed way of living, 10 At the threshold of written history, 14 Our debt to prehistoric man, 17 | |

UNIT 2 THE EARLIEST CIVILIZATIONS



- | | |
|---|-----------|
| 3 The Civilization of Ancient Egypt | 22 |
| Life in the Nile valley, 22 The splendor of Egypt, 26 | |
| 4 Civilization in Ancient Mesopotamia | 31 |
| The Sumerian civilization, 31 Semitic peoples build on Sumerian beginnings, 34 | |
| 5 Civilization in the Fertile Crescent | 38 |
| The Fertile Crescent and Asia Minor, 38 Three great empires, 42 | |
| 6 Hindu Civilization in India | 48 |
| The rise of the Hindus, 48 Two major religions—Hinduism and Buddhism, 51 | |
| 7 The Ancient Civilization of China | 55 |
| The rise of Chinese civilization, 55 The influence of religion, 58 The legacy of the ancient East, 62 | |

UNIT 3 THE ANCIENT MEDITERRANEAN WORLD



- | | |
|--|-----------|
| 8 Greece: from Barbarism to Greatness | 68 |
| The Greeks master the Aegean world, 68 Athens, Sparta, and the Persian Wars, 72 | |
| 9 "The Glory that Was Greece" | 77 |
| Athens—"The School of Hellas," 77 Greek contributions to civilization, 80 | |
| 10 The Expansion of Greek Civilization | 84 |
| Decline of the Greek city-states, 84 The Hellenistic world, 87 | |
| 11 The Rise of Rome | 91 |
| Conquest of the Mediterranean world, 91 The Roman way of life, 95 | |
| 12 Rome: from Republic to Imperial Monarchy | 98 |
| The problems of power, 98 The fall of the Roman Republic, 99 Octavian Caesar and the Roman Empire, 101 | |

- 13 "The Grandeur that Was Rome"** **105**
 Roman society and culture, 105 The benefits of Roman rule, 108
Our debt to the ancient Greeks and Romans, 110

UNIT 4 THE AGE OF GREAT INVASIONS



- 14 The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire** **116**
 Reasons for Rome's decline, 116 The barbarian invasions of the Empire, 119
- 15 The Civilizing Role of Christianity** **123**
 Christianity in the Roman Empire, 123 Organization and expansion of the early Christian Church, 126
- 16 Germanic Kingdoms in Western Europe** **130**
 Attempts to preserve the Roman Empire, 130 The collapse of the Frankish empire, 134
- 17 The Byzantine Empire in the East** **138**
 Survival of the Eastern Roman Empire, 138 Achievements of Byzantine civilization, 141
- 18 The Far-Flung Empire of the Moslems** **144**
 Mohammed and the rise of Islam, 144 Achievements of Moslem civilization, 146
- 19 The Flowering of Indian Civilization** **151**
 India's Golden Age, about A.D. 300 to 1000, 151 Moslem invaders and the Mogul Empire, 155
- 20 Advanced Civilization in China** **159**
 China's second Golden Age, 159 Foreign conquests of China, 163
Civilization during the Age of Invasions, 166

UNIT 5 CIVILIZATION IN FEUDAL EUROPE



- 21 Feudal Government in Europe** **174**
 The nature of feudalism, 174 Life of the feudal nobility, 178
- 22 The Village Economy of the Middle Ages** **182**
 Serfdom and the manor, 182 Life of the medieval serf, 184
- 23 Trade, Towns, and Townspeople** **187**
 The revival of trade and town life, 187 Life in the medieval towns, 189
- 24 The Church in the Middle Ages** **193**
 The Age of Faith, 193 The Investiture Conflict, 195
- 25 Culture in the Middle Ages** **199**
 Medieval education and scholarship, 199 Medieval literature and art, 202 *Medieval foundations of the modern world*, 205

UNIT 6 THE AGE OF TRANSITION



- | | | |
|-----------|--|------------|
| 26 | The Meeting of East and West
The Wars of the Cross, 210 The Crusades help to bring about changes, 213 | 210 |
| 27 | The Birth of a New Culture
The new humanism and its effects, 219 The Renaissance in northern Europe, 224 | 219 |
| 28 | The Rise of Nations
Kings versus feudal lords, 228 England: the first modern nation, 229 | 228 |
| 29 | Political Developments on the European Continent
Formation of the French nation, 235 Unity and disunity elsewhere in Europe, 239 | 235 |
| 30 | The Protestant Revolution
Fundamental causes of the Protestant Revolution, 244 Martin Luther's revolt against the Church, 246 The formation of other Protestant churches, 248 <i>The transformation of medieval Europe</i> , 250 | 244 |

UNIT 7 THE MAKING OF MODERN EUROPE



- | | | |
|-----------|---|------------|
| 31 | The Expansion of Europe
The voyages of discovery and exploration, 256 Europe's new colonial empires, 260 The commercial revolution in Europe, 264 | 256 |
| 32 | "The Wars of Religion"
Philip II and the antiprotestant crusade, 269 The conflict between Bourbons and Habsburgs, 273 | 269 |
| 33 | The Age of Louis XIV
Royal absolutism in France, 278 European society and culture during the Age of Louis XIV, 281 | 278 |
| 34 | Limited Monarchy in England
The struggle between kings and Parliament, 287 The victory of Parliament, 290 | 287 |
| 35 | The New Powers of Eastern and Central Europe
The emergence of Russia, 295 The rise of Prussia and the revival of Austria, 298 | 295 |
| 36 | European Rivalries in the Eighteenth Century
The first world-wide war, 302 The states of Europe in the eighteenth century, 309 <i>Advances in early modern Europe</i> , 310 | 302 |

UNIT 8 THE ERA OF REVOLUTIONS

- | | | |
|-----------|---|------------|
| 37 | The Background of Revolution in Europe
Grievances of the common people, 316 The Philosophers of the Enlightenment, 318 The Enlightened Despots, 321 | 316 |
|-----------|---|------------|



- 38 The American Revolution 324**
A new land and a new people, 324 The coming of the American Revolution, 327 The founding of a new nation, 329
- 39 The Overthrow of Absolutism in France 332**
The underlying causes of the French Revolution, 332 The outbreak of the French Revolution, 334 France under the National Assembly, 335
- 40 The Revolutionary French Republic 339**
Failure of the Limited Monarchy, 1791–1792, 339 The Radicals in control, 1792–1794, 341 The Moderates again in control, 1794–1799, 344
- 41 The Dictatorship of Napoleon Bonaparte 347**
Bonaparte's rise to power, 347 Domestic achievements of Napoleon Bonaparte, 349 Napoleon's wars to control Europe, 351
- 42 Reaction and New Revolutions, 1815–1848 356**
The peace settlement of Vienna, 356 Weakening of the Metternich System, 359 The Year of Revolutions—1848, 361 *Analysis of the Era of Revolutions*, 364

UNIT 9 THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION



- 43 The Coming of the Machine Age 370**
The Early Industrial Revolution, 370 The New Industrial Revolution, 376
- 44 The Industrial Revolution and the Workers 381**
Problems of the early factory workers, 381 Movements to help the workers, 383 Socialism and other radical doctrines, 386
- 45 Revolutionary Advances in Agriculture and Science 391**
The revolution in agriculture, 391 Progress in medicine and other sciences, 395
- 46 Modern Society and Culture 401**
Recent social reforms, 401 Cultural trends in recent times, 404 *Results of the Industrial Revolution*, 410

UNIT 10 THE RISE OF THE COMMON PEOPLE



- 47 The Evolution of British Democracy 416**
The beginning of democratic reform, 416 The triumph of British democracy, 418 The machinery of British democracy, 421
- 48 France: "Democracy through Revolution" 425**
France's Second Empire, 1852–1870, 425 The stormy career of the Third French Republic, 1870–1914, 427
- 49 Democracy in the United States 433**
The American system of government, 433 Main trends in America's development, 436

- 50 The Spread of Democracy** 442
The smaller democratic countries of Europe, 442 *An evaluation of democracy*, 447

UNIT 11 THE TRIUMPH OF MODERN NATIONALISM

- 51 Nationalism in Italy** 454
The unification of Italy, 454 Developments in Italy after unification, 456
- 52 Nationalism in Germany** 461
Achievement of German unity, 461 Progress and problems in the new German Empire, 464
- 53 Nationalism in the Austrian and Ottoman Empires** 469
The nationalities problem in the Austrian Empire, 469 The breakup of the Ottoman Empire, 471
- 54 Nationalism and Absolutism in the Russian Empire** 476
The old regime in Russia, 476 The coming of the Russian Revolution, 479 *The results of modern nationalism*, 482

UNIT 12 MODERN IMPERIALISM: THE CLIMAX OF EUROPEAN EXPANSION

- 55 The Nature of Modern Imperialism** 488
From the old imperialism to the new, 488 Features of the new imperialism, 491
- 56 The Scramble for Africa** 495
The partition of tropical Africa, 495 Imperialism in other portions of Africa, 497
- 57 Imperialism in the Far East** 504
China's resistance to change, 504 Japan's imitation of the West, 507 Imperialist rivalries in China, 509
- 58 Imperialism in Southern and Western Asia** 513
British imperialism in India, 513 Growing imperialist rivalries in Asia, 515
- 59 Imperialism in Latin America** 519
The independent nations of Latin America, 519 Relations between Latin America and the United States, 521
- 60 Imperialism and the British Dominions** 528
Evolution of the Commonwealth of Nations, 528 Ireland's struggle for independence, 532 *The results of modern imperialism*, 534

UNIT 13 WORLD WAR I AND ITS AFTERMATH

- 61 The Coming of World War I** 540
The struggle for peace, 540 The road to war, 542
- 62 World War I, 1914–1918** 548
Early successes of the Central Powers, 548 The triumph of the Allies, 551



- 63 The Peace Settlement after World War I** 555
The Paris Peace Conference and the terms of peace, 555 The failure to achieve peace, 559
- 64 The Democracies between Two Wars: Domestic and Colonial Problems** 563
Postwar political and economic changes, 563 Developments in the western democratic nations, 564 The revolt against imperialism, 568 *The significance of the First World War*, 572

UNIT 14 THE CHALLENGE OF TOTALITARIANISM



- 65 Communist Rule in Russia** 578
Establishment of the communist regime, 578 Stalin and the Five-Year Plans, 581 Other features of Russian communism, 584
- 66 Fascism in Italy** 589
The Fascists' rise to power, 589 Fascism in action, 1922–1943, 592
- 67 The Nazi Dictatorship in Germany** 597
Germany's brief experiment with democracy, 1918–1933, 597 Adolf Hitler's rise to power, 599 The Nazi dictatorship, 1933–1945, 602
- 68 The Spread of Totalitarianism** 606
The Fascist military dictatorship in Japan, 606 Dictatorship in the smaller nations, 610 *The results of totalitarianism*, 614

UNIT 15 WORLD WAR II AND THE POSTWAR WORLD

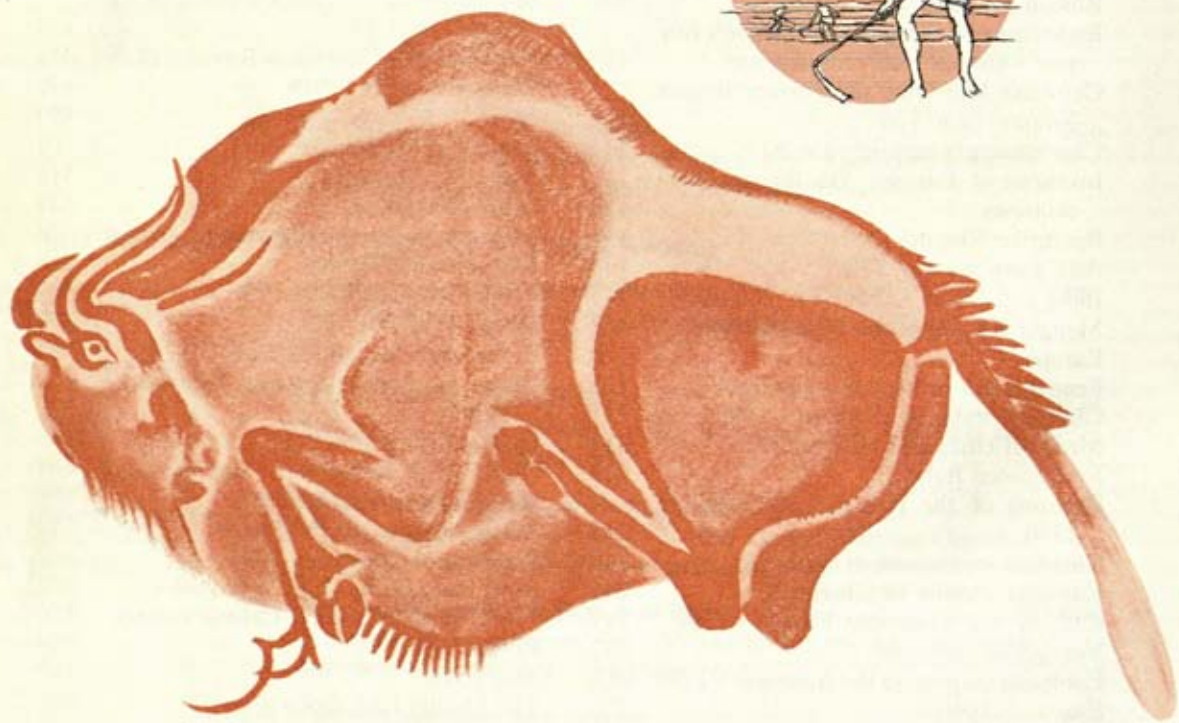


- 69 The Background of World War II** 620
The search for peace, 620 The breakdown of internationalism, 623
- 70 World War II, 1939–1945** 630
The period of Axis victories, 630 America's entry into the war, 633 The Allied triumph, 636
- 71 Attempts to Organize a New Peace** 645
Wartime planning for peace, 645 The United Nations Organization, 648 The unfinished peace settlement, 651
- 72 The Conflict between East and West** 655
The Cold War in Europe, 655 The Cold War in Asia, 658 Recent developments in the Cold War, 661
- 73 Postwar America and Europe** 666
Developments in the West, 666 Developments in the Iron Curtain countries, 672
- 74 The New Asia and Africa** 678
Nationalist triumphs in eastern Asia, 678 Turmoil in the Middle East and Africa, 681 *Our present-day world*, 689

MAPS

Important traces of primitive man before the coming of Homo sapiens	3	Central Europe · 1740	299
Egyptian Empire · 1450 B.C.	27	North America in 1754 and 1763	304
Babylonian Empire · about 200 B.C.	34	India during the Seven Years' War	306
Western Asia · 1500–500 B.C.	43	Europe · 1789	307
Eurasia	46	North America	326
Ancient India	50	Europe · 1812	354
Ancient China	59	Europe · 1815	358
Greek settlements in the Mediterranean Basin · 800–500 B.C.	70	Westward expansion of the United States to about 1860	440
Ancient Greece · 450 B.C.	75	Unification of Italy	457
Hellenistic World	86	Unification of Germany	464
Rome and Carthage · 218 B.C.	94	Nationalities of the Habsburg Empire · 1914	471
Roman Empire · A.D. 180	102	Breakup of the Ottoman Empire in Eu- rope · 1683–1913	474
Barbarian invasions into the Roman Em- pire · 4th and 5th centuries A.D.	120	Nationalities of European Russia · 1914	478
Germanic kingdoms and Eastern Roman Empire · A.D. 526	132	Colonial Powers · 1914	490
Charlemagne's empire · A.D. 814	133	Africa	499
Invasions of Europe · 7th through 11th centuries	136	Africa · 1914 (color)	502
Byzantine Empire	141	Asia · 1914 (color)	510
Arab Empire · A.D. 732	145	Latin America	524
India and China · about A.D. 200–1000	155	Latin America in the 20th century (color)	526
Mongol Empire in the 14th century	162	Australia and Oceania	530
Europe	170	Rival European blocs · 1914	543
Feudal states in Europe about 1100	175	World War I	550
Christian states in the East · 1100	211	Europe and the Middle East · 1921	558
Medieval cities and trade routes	214	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics · 1939	587
Renaissance Italy	223	Japanese Empire · 1921	610
Domains of the French kings · 987 to 1500	238	High tide of Axis power · Summer 1942	634
Christian reconquest of Spain	240	Allied offensives in Europe	638
European empire of Charles V	242	Allied offensives in the Pacific	642
Catholic and Protestant Europe · 1600	249	Partition of Germany · 1945	647
Voyages of discovery	257	Rival blocs in the Cold War (color)	662
European empires in the Americas · 1700	265	The United States and Canada (color)	670
Europe · 1648	276	Europe (color)	674
Growth of Russia to 1725	298	Asia (color)	682
		The Middle East (color)	686
		Africa (1959) (color)	687





UNIT 1

BEFORE WRITTEN

HISTORY

You probably have read the make-believe story of the young boy who was brought up by apes after his parents died in the jungle. Unlike his brute companions, he soon learned to use a dagger, make clothing, and do other remarkable things. Finding a picture book, he even taught himself to read and speak English. As a human being, he was naturally so far superior to the animals around him that he soon became lord of the jungle.

Assuming that an infant could survive at all under such conditions, would he grow up as a civilized human being or as a sort of ape? Actually, we can be sure that he would be neither. He would be a primitive savage. To make the inventions which the young boy supposedly acquired by himself took mankind many thousands of years. Each of us has to learn them from his parents and teachers. The reason why we are such superior beings is that we are the heirs of all human progress through the ages.

In this first unit, we shall see how long it took for man to get his start. As we read, we should keep in mind these basic questions:

1. How have modern scientists enabled us to learn about the distant past?
2. How did primitive man progress during the Old Stone Age?
3. How did man develop a more advanced way of life during the New Stone Age?
4. How did prehistoric man lay the foundations for modern civilized existence?

1 / IN THE BEGINNING...



How did our world come into existence? Why is it inhabited by so great a variety of living things? How did man become the master of all other creatures? People have wondered about these questions for thousands of years; yet only in the past century or so have they begun to learn the answers. With the aid of science, men have found ways to tear aside part of the thick curtain of time which hides the distant past.

Some scientists study the earth's structure. They have discovered that its crust consists of layer upon layer of rock. By careful investigation, they have determined how each layer was formed and have calculated how long the process took. Other scientists dig deep into the earth in search of fossils—traces of strange animals and plants which were buried long, long ago. From the layer in which the fossil is found, they can estimate its approximate age. Still other scientists seek to reconstruct the conditions under which early creatures lived and to trace the stages of their development. Together, these different scientists have unfolded to a wondering world a new story of creation, more marvelous than the human imagination could conceive. There are still wide gaps in our knowledge, which only long and patient research can fill. But already, from the record of the rocks, we can sketch in broad strokes the early history of the world and the history of man's origin.

EARLIEST MAN

Before Man. About three or four billion years ago, there was born in the limitless space of the heavens a tiny speck of cosmic dust which became the earth. For a very long period of time, the earth was a fiery ball enveloped in clouds of hot gases. As it slowly cooled, the clouds condensed into water. The earth's crust shrank, forming gigantic creases, throwing up lofty mountain chains, and hollowing out deep oceans. Then, about a billion years ago, the first living things were born in the waters. These were tiny one-cell organisms. Through countless ages they multiplied, developed, and combined into strange forms. Eventually, the seas came to be filled with a bewildering variety of plants and animals. As more millions of years passed, some plants and animals began to live in shallow waters. There the ebb and flow of the tide alternately covered them with water and exposed them to air. Gradually, over a long period of time, some of these plants and animals adapted themselves to life on dry land.

For about one hundred million years, life on earth was dominated by huge reptiles called dinosaurs. Living in their shadows were small warm-blooded creatures, the first mammals. Unlike the reptiles who left their eggs along sandy shores, mammals bore their young alive and nursed them until they could care for themselves. As conditions on

earth changed and the climate grew colder, the ponderous dinosaurs died off. The mammals proved better able to adjust themselves to their environment. They gradually increased in numbers until they became the dominant form of life on earth.

The Ice Ages. Conditions on earth continued to change. Existing forms of life were constantly tested by their environment. Many species of creatures perished and new species came into being. Four times during the past million years the climate has grown colder and colder. From the polar regions huge sheets of ice, hundreds and even thousands of feet thick, moved slowly forward, leveling mountains and forests in their re-

lentless advance. For thousands of years these sheets of ice, or glaciers, covered large parts of Europe, Asia, and North America. Each Ice Age was eventually followed by a warmer period, which also lasted thousands of years. We are now living in the warm period following the Fourth Ice Age, which ended about 25,000 years ago. Some time during the First Ice Age the newest form of life, man, appeared on earth.

The First Human Beings. Until recent times, we had no knowledge at all of our early ancestors. However, about sixty years ago a Dutch doctor named Dubois started excavations on the distant island of Java. He came upon a few pieces of bone—the top of

IMPORTANT TRACES OF PRIMITIVE MAN BEFORE THE COMING OF HOMO SAPIENS



4 Before Written History

a skull, part of a jawbone, three teeth, and a thighbone. From these scanty remains Dr. Dubois built a picture of the entire creature. Java man, the "erect ape-man" as he came to be called, looked much like the great apes but he walked more erect and had a larger brain. For years, scientists debated whether he was in truth man or ape. Other skeletons found later in China, Germany, and South Africa (map, p. 3) proved conclusively that primitive human beings lived on earth hundreds of thousands, perhaps even a million, years ago.

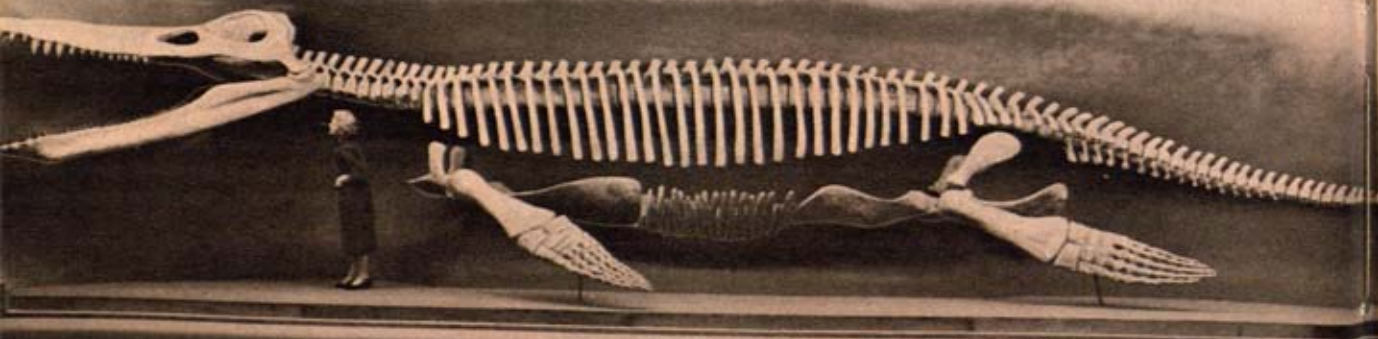
Our knowledge of the earliest men is very meager. We imagine that they lived a dangerous existence. Their hair was their only covering and they probably slept in hollow trees or rock cavities. Their life was spent in

constant search for food. Alone or in small family groups, they wandered through woods and clearings looking for roots, berries, nuts, fruits, and seeds. Occasionally, they would catch some small animal, killing it with their hands or clubbing it to death with a rock or chunk of wood. Competing for existence were fierce animals whose sharp claws, powerful jaws, and swift movements seemed more than a match for man. Few, scattered, and weak, these primitive humans gave little indication that they would someday be masters of the earth.

But in several important respects man was superior to the animals about him. An upright posture freed his hands, and with these hands he could do many things. He could



Dinosaurs dominated life on earth for about a hundred million years, and numerous fossils of the great reptiles have been found. The delicate techniques of restoring such remains have been developed into a fine art.



grasp sticks and stones, for example, and use them as weapons or as tools. Man had another advantage in his flexible vocal cords. He could produce the range of sounds necessary for communication with his fellow beings. Most important of all, man possessed a larger, superior brain. He could think, learn, and remember. Among the animals, he alone had the ability to improve his way of life and to pass on to others some of the knowledge he had acquired.

THE OLD STONE AGE

The First Invention. From almost the very beginning of his existence man has used tools. The first tools were probably only simple stones or sticks which man used to crack open nuts and dig up roots. Then, after hundreds of thousands of years, man discovered how to fashion tools himself. His first invention was the fist hatchet, made of flint and roughly shaped by chipping off flakes with another stone. Crude though they were, fist hatchets were a very important step in man's progress. They greatly increased his strength and extended his ability to do things. As time passed, man learned to put a sharper edge on his flints, and to shape them for use as scrapers, cutters, gougers, and for a variety of other purposes.

The period when man made the first hatchet and other crude stone tools is called the Old Stone Age. It began about 650,000 years ago and lasted until about ten thousand years ago. During the Old Stone Age man made another great discovery. He learned the use of fire.

Learning to Use Fire. Early man probably had seen fire started by volcanic eruptions or lightning long before he learned to use it. Like the animals, he must have fled in terror before raging forest fires. Then, per-

haps, one day some more adventurous men cautiously approached a small remnant of one of these fires. As they crouched around it, fearful but curious, they found it warm and comfortable. One man may have poked it with a twig, which flared up; by adding more twigs they found they could keep it going. In time they also learned that meat roasted in the fire was tender and tasted better.

No one knows how long it was before man learned how to make fire himself. Centuries may have rolled by before some unknown genius, seeing sparks as he chipped at a piece of flint, discovered he could start a fire. But with the ability to make fire, man took a giant step forward. He could use it as a weapon, as a source of warmth and light, and as a means of cooking his food.

Becoming Skilled Hunters. We have only a vague idea of how men lived for the first several hundred thousand years of the Old Stone Age. Most of their skeletons and tools have long since decayed or remain undiscovered. The few which have been found, and the animal bones nearby, show that they were slowly improving their tools and becoming better hunters. Of one type of man, however, we know more because he often made his home in caves, where his remains have been well preserved. We call this type Neanderthal man, after the Neander valley in Germany, where his remains were first discovered.

Neanderthal man appeared about 100,000 years ago or before the Fourth Ice Age began. From his bones, scientists have pictured him as a thick-bodied, slouching creature with a large shaggy head, heavy brows, a receding lower jaw, and long muscular arms. Despite his primitive appearance, he showed a marked advance over Java man. He probably stood more nearly erect and had

a larger brain. His tools were much improved. His most powerful weapon was the spear, made by attaching a sharp flint tip to a wooden shaft with leather strips. He also knew how to use fire. With blazing torch he drove the bears and saber-toothed tigers from their caves and settled there himself. He used his flint-tipped spear to hunt even the fearsome hairy mammoth and woolly rhinoceros, roasting their flesh and wearing their furs for warmth.

In other respects, too, Neanderthal man had made some progress. To hunt such large and fierce animals as the hairy mammoth must have required the co-operation of many men and the ability to speak with them. Moreover, some of his dead have been found carefully buried in a sitting position with a few belongings. These burials suggest that man already believed in some form of life after death.

Man's Continued Progress. Neanderthal man disappeared from the earth about thirty thousand years ago. Perhaps he was destroyed or absorbed by other peoples who began to spread over the earth about this time. The new peoples looked much like modern man. They stood erect, were large-brained, and had prominent chins and foreheads. They belonged to our own species of man, *Homo sapiens*, meaning "man the wise."

Among the earliest and best known of these new peoples were the Cro-Magnons, so called because their remains were first discovered in the Cro-Magnon cave in France. Like Neanderthal men, the Cro-Magnons often made their homes in caves or under overhanging ledges. But they lived and hunted in larger groups. They were especially fond of hunting the reindeer, bison, and wild horses which roamed the plains of Europe south of the glaciers.

Cro-Magnon men showed a high degree of skill and patience in making their tools and weapons. Instead of shaping their tools by chipping, as earlier men had done, they carefully pressed off small pieces of flint to produce a sharp cutting edge. They learned to make harpoons for fishing and invented the bow and arrow. For hunting large game they also used a spear thrower, a stick which enabled them to throw a spear with more force than before. With their sharper and finer stone tools, the Cro-Magnons skillfully carved the ivory of mammoths and the bone and horn of reindeer into spearheads, sewing needles, and even hairpins. Women learned to scrape and cure the skins of animals until they were soft and then to sew them into clothes.

A surprising talent of Cro-Magnon man was his artistic ability. He painstakingly carved decorations on his weapons and tools and made attractive bracelets and necklaces from shells animal teeth, and bits of bone. On the walls of his caves he painted large, brightly colored pictures of bison, reindeer, wild horses, and other animals. These paintings are still admired today. It is generally believed that they had some religious significance.

End of the Old Stone Age. The Old Stone Age ended about ten thousand years ago. More than half a million years had passed since man had made his first stone tool. With little or nothing to guide him, he had fumbled his way along, sometimes making a discovery by accident only to forget it later. A few discoveries were retained, however, and passed on from generation to generation. As the generations became centuries and the centuries became millenniums (thousand-year periods), man slowly acquired many of the basic tools that enabled him to live better than his ancestors.

How to Study History with Past to Present

Why not get the most out of the time you spend studying World History? One of the most logical ways to do this is to find out what your textbook has to offer—and use it to your advantage. Another is to choose and follow an effective study plan from the beginning. The suggestions on these pages and the special annotations in Lesson 2 can help you do both of these things. *Be sure to refer to these pages throughout the year.*

Put the book's organization to work for you

Past to Present has many guideposts to help you study. If you use them, your year's journey through World History will be less difficult and more interesting. But before you can take full advantage of guideposts, you must learn to recognize them.

The Guideposts

Turn to the contents on page v. You will first see that *Past to Present* is divided into 15 units. Each unit deals with a major period or phase of the world's history; reading their titles in order gives you a broad outline of the history of mankind from the beginning until today.

Next note that the units are divided into a total of 74 lessons. The titles of the lessons tell you the important aspects of the unit that it deals with. As we shall see in a moment, each lesson in turn contains a number of helpful subheadings.

As you can see, the various headings and subheadings form an outline of the kind you use to organize a written report. It is also the kind of outline an author uses to build the structure of the book he writes.

Let's now look at the skeleton of Lesson 1, which you have already studied. Note

how each element fits into its logical place for rapid and rewarding learning:

A. BEFORE WRITTEN HISTORY ← Unit title

1. In the Beginning . . . ← Lesson title

1. Earliest Man ← Center headings

Side
headings

- a. Before man
- b. The Ice Age
- c. The first human beings

2. The Old Stone Age

- a. The first invention
- b. Becoming skilled hunters
- c. Man's continued progress
- d. End of the Old Stone Age

With this skeleton in mind, reread carefully the first paragraph of Lesson 1 (p. 2), then the last paragraph (p. 6). These introduce and summarize the lesson—they define the journey, in this case from the time of earliest man to the end of the Old Stone Age. Now, review the entire lesson quickly. Notice the now-familiar guideposts along the route.

Using the Guideposts

If you understand the organization of Lesson 1, you can recognize the guideposts that will mark the way—over and over—during your year's journey through World History. Here are three basic steps for using these guideposts: *Looking where you're going*, *Getting there*, and *Seeing where you've been*.

1. *Looking where you're going* (overview). First take a look at the destination. (a) *The Unit*: Begin by reading the introduction. Notice how the lesson titles are related in meaning to the unit title. Give special attention to the general questions at

Unit title, a major phase of history; Lesson title, an important aspect of the unit; Center headings, the guideposts for the lesson; Side headings, the guides to details.

8 How to Study History with Past to Present

from 2 through 74.

the end of the unit introduction. They set forth the central ideas of the lessons in the unit. (b) *The Lesson*: Note the lesson title again. Get your direction for the lesson by reading the first paragraph. Scan the center and side headings, remembering that they are guideposts and are there to assist you. You have seen from the outline of Lesson 1 how the headings take their place within the lesson. When you study Lesson 2, you will find marginal annotations to help you apply these suggestions. Study the maps, charts, and pictures in the lessons; read the captions carefully. Now in your notebook outline the headings, leaving space under each to jot down important facts. In a moment you will see why you need to leave space in your notebook outline.

2. *Getting there* (reading). Now read the entire lesson carefully. Mentally review your outline. As you finish the material under each heading, stop and review the important points. Reread the paragraph or paragraphs if necessary. Look up the meaning of unfamiliar words. Now jot down important facts under the proper heading of your outline. (This will be a help when it is time to review.)

In a separate section of your notebook, keep a list of new words and a short definition of each one. Many of the new words in the book are pronounced for you in the Index.

3. *Seeing where you've been* (review). (a) *The Lesson*: Use the Lesson Review at the end of each lesson to help you select the information to understand and remember. It is a good idea to write the answers in your notebook—but do not write in your textbook.

Each lesson review groups questions and activities under four headings:

Lesson Review

Checking the facts ← **Fixing information**

Applying history ← **Using facts**

History and geography ← **Seeing relationships**

Special activities ← **Individual and group**

As a *final lesson check* for yourself, go over the outline in your notebook. Make certain you have placed the important facts in their proper places—you will need to refer back to these.

(b) *The Unit*: To see where you have traveled in a unit: (1) reread the introduction and see how well you can answer the questions there, (2) study the unit summary and time line, (3) answer the questions which summarize that unit, and (4) review your own outline of the entire unit.

Several times you've been reminded to leave space between headings in this outline, to set down important facts or names. Here is the way a portion of your outline for Chapter 1 might look, with your own travel notations jotted in for ready review:

A. BEFORE WRITTEN HISTORY

I. In the Beginning . . .

1. Earliest Man

a. Before man

*Earth 3-4 Billion years old—
Cooled slowly—first living things
about 1 billion years ago—
dinosaurs, mammals*

b. The Ice Ages

*New warm period following
Fourth Ice Age within last
million years — Man appeared
during First Ice Age*

You may wish to use either full sentences or key-word notes for your outline. Experiment to see which is best for your own study notebook.

This procedure will tie together the lessons of the unit and help you see how a period or phase of history takes its place in the long progression of the human race from past to present.

Using the other guideposts

Just as highway signs often give more information than simply *which way* and *how far*, *Past to Present* offers you many glimpses of side roads that will help you understand and enjoy World History. Here are some of them:

1. *Contents and Index*. You have already seen that the Table of Contents can help you get a broad view of World History and of the scope of this book, as well as find the page number for a particular unit quickly. The *Index* (pp. 694-708) will prove even more useful. Here you will find listed almost two thousand subjects, a guide to pronunciation, and a list of the pages throughout the book on which they appear or are discussed. Using the *Index* will save you much study time by helping you find a specific topic quickly.

2. *Maps*. Nearly all the maps you will use in *Past to Present* were drawn especially for the book. They are placed where they will be of the most use to you for study and understanding, and the text will sometimes refer you to one of them for a specific reason. When it does, turn to the map immediately and find on it what is being discussed.

There are also six special maps (pp. 46-47, 170-171, 326, 499, 524, and 530). These will give you an idea of large areas of the world on which history has taken place—more or less as these areas would look from some distance out in space. Each includes a descriptive caption that sketches important facts about the land on which man has de-

veloped and against the background of which history still takes place.

Use all the maps in this book to assist your history study and to learn more about our world.

3. *Charts and illustrations*. You will find a number of charts and many photographs in *Past to Present*. These supplement the text and give details that are of interest. Look at them carefully, read captions to the pictures, and pay special attention to the time lines.

4. *Lesson Reviews*. You have already had a chance to see the usefulness of the four kinds of question that you will find in each of the Lesson Reviews. *Special activities* in particular can increase your over-all understanding of each lesson, as well as your enjoyment of it. Your teacher may assign these, or you may have a chance to choose one that appeals most to you. Some of the special activities are individual projects; completing others will require co-operative effort by a committee.

5. *Books to read*. There are 16 guideposts of this kind at your service in *Past to Present*. On page 19 is a general list of books you will find useful for reference or for exploring more fully areas that particularly interest you. At the end of every unit is a list of (1) specialized accounts of events and issues the unit deals with and (2) biographies and historical fiction. Most titles are followed by a brief note about the book.

Books will help you realize that the past was quite as alive as the present. These *Books to read* furnish source material for reports, offer answers to questions that will occur to you, and can be used as a springboard for your own voyages of exploration and understanding of the history of human beings.

Scan headings for a quick overview of lesson. Use headings for your notebook outline. See the examples below and review the outline of Lesson 1 on page 8.

2 / MAN'S ACHIEVEMENTS IN THE NEW STONE AGE

I. Lesson title (An important aspect of subject)

1. Center heading (Chief guidepost)

a. Subheading (A guide to details)



Thousands of years before the close of the Old Stone Age, conditions on earth changed greatly. As the Fourth Ice Age came to an end and the glaciers began to recede, the broad grasslands of Europe gradually gave way to thick forests of birch, pine, and oak. The hairy mammoth and woolly rhinoceros vanished from the earth, and the great herds of reindeer, wild horses, and bison migrated northward. Faced with the more difficult conditions of living and hunting in forests, the peoples of Europe migrated to open areas near rivers, lakes, and seas. In such places hunting was easier, and they could add to their food supply by fishing and fowling.

At the same time, once-fertile regions in Africa and Asia were drying up, becoming the Sahara and other desert regions we know today. Some of the peoples who had lived in these areas migrated to Europe, mingling with the people already there. Others migrated to northeastern Africa and western Asia, where most of the land consisted of lightly forested meadows and plains. Wild grains grew abundantly, and wild sheep, cattle, and goats roamed the plains. It was in northeastern Africa and western Asia, about ten thousand years ago, that mankind first entered the New Stone Age and began making rapid progress on the road to civilization.

(1) A CHANGED WAY OF LIVING

(a) **Improved Tools and Weapons.** The New Stone Age gets its name from the fact that the men of this period began making better stone tools and weapons. The fist hatchets, arrows, and scrapers of the Old Stone Age had been fashioned by chipping or flaking. Now it became common to grind and polish these implements on sandstone, thereby producing a sharper and more durable cutting edge. This improvement was accompanied by another remarkable invention. New Stone Age men learned to attach wooden handles to their fist hatchets. At first, leather thongs were used to bind the handle to the axhead. Later, some unknown inventor bored a hole through the axhead to insert the handle.

The stone ax was a great improvement over the old fist hatchet. It greatly reduced the dangers of hunting fierce animals, for with the stone ax, man could now strike a much more forceful blow. Man also found the stone ax an excellent woodworking tool, using it to cut down large trees, build log houses, and construct rafts and boats. All in all, the improved tools and weapons of the New Stone Age brought about great advances in human life.

(b) **Beginning of Farming and Herding.** While the men hunted, fished, and engaged

in other activities, women gathered nuts, fruits, and the seeds of wild grasses. Perhaps as they gathered this wild harvest year after year, women began to sense the rhythm of the seasons and planted some seeds themselves. In any case, farming was discovered shortly after the New Stone Age began. Women, rather than men, were usually the first farmers. Their first attempts were probably not very successful, but as time passed rough fields of grain appeared among the weeds and grasses of the plains. Gradually people's activities slipped into the regular cycle of the seasons—planting, weeding, and harvesting. Wheat, barley, and millet, which were developed from wild grasses, became important foods.

Long before farming was discovered, man and the dog had become friends. Probably, wild dogs had long lurked around hunters' camps searching for discarded food. In time, the dogs became tame and children made pets of them. It is likely that pet-keeping brought about the taming of other animals. Hunters occasionally must have captured a young wild sheep or goat and brought it back to their camp. There, no doubt, it became a pet and playmate of the children. As it grew to maturity in the company of men, the animal became docile, friendly, and dependent. From beginnings such as this men realized they could tame and breed other animals. About the time farming was discovered, men began to keep sheep, goats, pigs, and cattle.

When men learned to farm and to domesticate animals, they became food producers as well as hunters and gatherers. Hunting and fishing were still important, but the day's catch no longer meant feast or famine. Farming gave men foods which they could store from season to season, and their animals provided them with a steady supply

of meat, hides, and milk. Herding and farming so greatly changed men's way of living that they are often spoken of as being revolutionary discoveries.

(c) **Permanent Homes and Villages.** Once men realized that they could produce more food by farming and herding than by hunting, they settled down permanently. They built simple homes of wood or of mud and branches. Related families gathered together in groups called clans. In time, clans joined together to form tribes, each with its own village. The houses of the village were built close together for protection. The land and animals usually belonged to the whole community. Men pooled their efforts to plant and harvest and to make village improvements.

A settled way of life encouraged men to collect possessions and to create new inventions. They made crude furniture and utensils of wood. The hoe was fashioned when men attached a sharpened piece of flint to a long stick. For harvesting, they made sickles of clay or of flint, set in a curved piece of wood. Women learned to make thread from flax and wool and to weave it into cloth. One of the most important discoveries of New Stone Age man was the making of pottery from soft clay, which was then hardened by fire. Pottery could be used to store grain and water and to boil foods. Soups and soft foods, necessary for infants, could easily be prepared. All in all, a settled existence produced easier living conditions, which enabled people to live longer and population to increase.

Some men began to specialize in making tools and weapons and became craftsmen. Specialization, in turn, encouraged trade. This trade was carried on by a system of barter—the exchange of goods for goods. Craftsmen exchanged their products for the

Develop the technique of picking out the most important points. Put them under the proper heading in your outline. The underlined passages above are examples. Do not mark your book. See page 8 for help.

12 Before Written History

food or pottery of other tribesmen. People who lived by herding alone exchanged animal hides and wool for grain and for the products of village craftsmen. A village which had more flint than it needed exchanged the surplus flint for the cloth or grain of another village.

Although people spent most of their days working at hard and often tedious tasks, they had time to engage in other activities. They expressed their artistic skill by making figurines of wood or clay, decorating their pottery with designs, and weaving bright patterns into their cloth. At planting and harvesting time they held festivals, with music and dancing. Around the fire they exchanged stories about great heroes and their inspiring deeds. Legends grew up about the origin of the world and of man. These stories and legends were passed down from generation to generation. Some, like the ancient Mesopotamian story of the Flood, have come down to us and are part of our literary heritage.

Beginning of Government. Settled society led to important advances in government. Even in the family, which was the earliest unit of society, rules for living together were needed. The father or oldest male member of the family was usually the leader. He made the decisions, such as where to live, when to move on to better hunting grounds, and who was to perform certain tasks. This was the first form of government. But when men settled down in villages, life became more complicated.

- (d) In order for many people to live together without quarreling over land, animals, and private possessions, rules were needed which everyone in the village would accept. These rules, based on traditional practices or customs which were considered by all to be right and proper, were the earliest laws. People usually obeyed the rules or laws of the community because of fear of public disapproval.

If a man broke a minor rule, he had to face the ridicule or contempt of his fellow men. If he broke a major rule, he might be driven from the community, mutilated, or put to death.

The chief or leader of the tribal community was usually the oldest man or someone of proved ability. He governed with the advice of the village wise men. It was his responsibility to see that disputes were settled according to custom. He made decisions which involved the whole community, organized its efforts, and led it in time of war.

- (e) **Early Religious Ideas and Practices.** New Stone Age men, like their ancestors, were surrounded by forces of nature which they could not understand. The daily rising and setting of the sun, the changes brought about by the seasons, and the mysteries of birth and death inspired in men a sense of awe and wonder. They trembled in fear at the fury of a sudden storm, the crash of thunder, and raging floods. These natural forces, so far beyond early man's ability to understand or control, could only be explained in terms of all-powerful, supernatural beings. Men came to believe that the sun, the oceans, thunder, and other aspects of nature were controlled by certain gods.

In death, men were faced with another great mystery. Early men were aware that death was certain and that the body decayed. Yet, we know from the study of their burial places that they believed in some form of life after death. They believed that every living thing had within it a life spirit, or soul, which governed its existence on earth and which lived on after death. Cro-Magnon men colored the bodies of their dead with red clay to make them lifelike. Beside the body they placed a few tools and weapons for use in the next life. Some early men believed that the spirits of the departed

Study all illustrations. Maps, charts, and pictures add meaning to the text.



The first tools man fashioned for himself were crude, but they were superior to the simple stones and sticks he had first used. By the end of the Old Stone Age, they had become relatively specialized. Shown here are six examples. Left to right: a harpoon point and a lance point (both of bone), a planing tool of flint, an etching tool (flint), a knife blade or spear point (flint), and—at the top—a fragment of bone on which part of the outline of a horse has been etched.

watched over the living. Others believed that after death the spirit enjoyed life in a far-off, happy land.

The religion of early man was mixed with magic and superstition. Men believed that a puzzling sickness, an accident, or bad luck might be caused by evil spirits. They sought to rid themselves of these evil spirits with magic incantations, ceremonies, and rituals. Through such devices, they found relief from their fears and anxieties, which arose from a sense of helplessness in a hostile world.

Religious ceremonies and rituals were performed by the medicine man or priest. He

was the most important member of the tribe except, perhaps, for the chief. The priest also acted as the doctor and teacher. It was his duty to instruct the young in the traditions of the tribe and the myths by which men explained their world.

Since earliest times, religious feeling had played an important part in men's ideas of right and wrong. They believed that some actions were pleasing to the gods and others displeasing. Since one man's action might anger the gods enough to bring disaster to the whole group, men observed codes of behavior and taboos (actions which should not

Read every caption. Mentally relate caption and illustration to what you read in the text.

14 Before Written History

be taken). As time passed, different groups of men worshiped one god as their chief deity. Hunting people might worship the god of the sky above all other gods. To farmers, the earth goddess or sun god might be the most important. To please their gods, men built temples and made sacrifices. These sacrifices, such as a fat sheep or fruits and grain, were tokens of the riches of the people. By offering up sacrifices they showed their gratitude for good crops and sought to obtain the help of the gods for the tribe, village, or nation to which they belonged.

(2) AT THE THRESHOLD OF WRITTEN HISTORY

(a) **The Races of Mankind.** Early in the earth's history, climatic changes had caused ocean levels to fall, exposing land bridges connecting the continents. Later, ocean levels rose once again. These geographic changes isolated large numbers of men from other groups of men. As a result of differences in climate and long isolation, each group developed distinct physical traits. The different groups are known as races. Already, during the New Stone Age, the different races of mankind were distributed over the world in a pattern which remained almost unchanged until a few centuries ago.

The Caucasians inhabited Europe, North Africa, and western Asia. The Mongolians lived in eastern Asia and the Americas. (The American Indians are generally believed to be members of the Mongolian race who migrated from Asia by way of the Bering Strait and Alaska.) The Negroes were found mainly in central and west Africa. Most of the Pacific islands were occupied by a brown-skinned people, whom some scientists consider a mixture of other races. It is important to note that despite their physical differences

all human beings belong to the same species of mankind, *Homo sapiens*.

(b) **Geography and Cultural Development.** As man spread over the earth, he adapted himself with remarkable cleverness to all types of environment. In the frozen arctic, however, he made few cultural advances or improvements in his way of life because almost all his time was spent in the struggle for survival. In humid tropical regions, his progress was hindered by the highly oppressive climate and by the fact that he could satisfy his needs with little effort. Even most of Europe was unfavorable for early man because of the thick forests and the harsh seasonal changes. Early settlements have been found on that continent only in places like the Swiss lakes and along the Baltic Sea coasts, where fish and game were abundant.

In many parts of the world where rainfall is light, there are wide areas of plains or grasslands. Here the inhabitants became herdsmen, tending flocks of sheep and cattle. The needs of their flocks for fresh pasture caused them to lead a wandering or nomadic existence. They moved from place to place as the season changed or the grass was worn out. Because they had to be constantly on the move, they lived a simple life. Hardened by their way of life, the nomads became fierce warriors. Spurred on by overpopulation or drought, they frequently attacked and conquered peoples more advanced than themselves. Later, we shall meet a number of such nomadic peoples, especially the Mongols of central Asia, the Semitic tribesmen of southwestern Asia, and the Indo-European tribes from the vicinity of the Caspian Sea.

Despite their dramatic conquests, the nomads contributed little to mankind's advancement. As we shall see, the earliest civilizations were born in four great river valleys.

Here, fertile soil, an abundance of water, and a long growing season made farming easy and profitable. It was in these rich valleys, about six thousand years ago, that men made three great discoveries which opened a new era in human history.

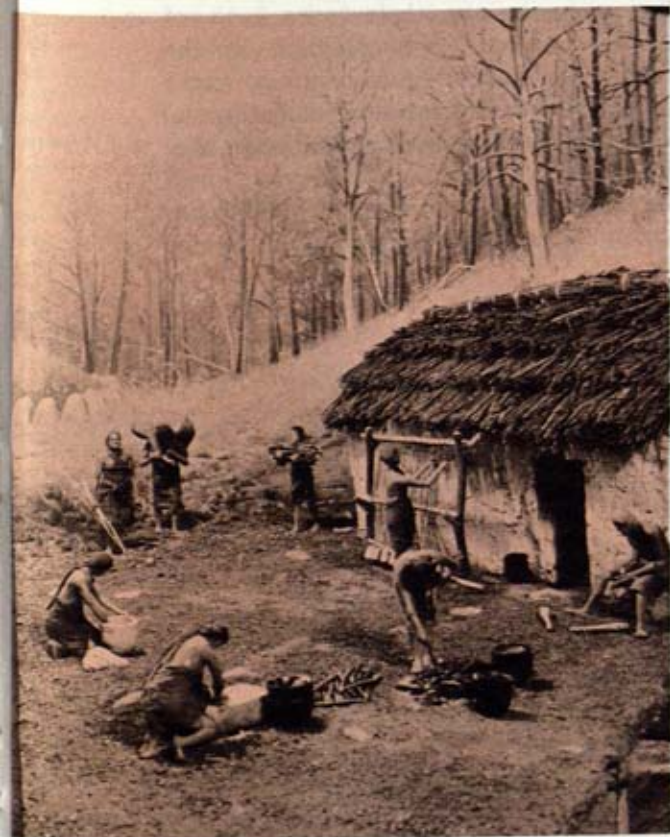
(c) The Discovery of Metals. One of these epoch-making inventions was the smelting of copper. The theory is that some New Stone Age hunters built their campfire among ore-bearing rocks. They were surprised to find the ashes full of shining metal beads. Once men learned to identify and smelt the ore, copper became popular for many uses. Because it was soft and easily shaped, it was used at first to make bracelets and other ornaments. Later it was used for tools and weapons. For about fifteen hundred years copper was the most widely used metal, but during this period men also learned to use

gold and silver. Like copper, gold and silver were easily shaped and used mostly to make jewelry. With the introduction of copper, gold, and silver, the New Stone Age came to a close and the Age of Metals began.

Copper was too soft to make lasting tools and weapons. Their cutting edge soon became dull. About 4,500 years ago, men discovered that a small amount of tin mixed with copper produced a much harder metal, bronze. Bronze, however, was too expensive to be used by large numbers of people. The main reason was that tin was rare. To obtain it, traders sometimes made long voyages, from the eastern Mediterranean to such far-away places as Spain and the British Isles.

Most men continued to use tools and weapons of stone, until iron came into use about 3,500 years ago. The smelting of iron represented a great achievement. Though

These pictures show at least a half-dozen major achievements of New Stone Age man. How many of them can you find?



Each unit's time line helps you relate the trends, events, and people in the unit. It helps you visualize the period of history covered. Also good for review.

iron was much more abundant than either copper or tin, it was far more difficult to extract the metal from the ore. However, once the process was mastered, the cost of the metal decreased rapidly. Within a relatively short time, iron became the material for most tools and weapons. These implements could be given a sharper edge and were far more durable than stone or the softer metals.

(d) **Writing.** The second great invention was writing, which developed gradually from pictures used to represent objects and ideas. The magic of writing helped mankind as have few other inventions. By writing down their thoughts, people could organize them better and communicate them to others. Rulers could send commands and make their will known to a much larger number of people; merchants could communicate with other merchants in distant lands and keep records of their business dealings; and scholars could transmit knowledge to later generations. With the invention of writing, about six thousand years ago, the long prehistoric period—the era before written records—came to a close. The period of written history commenced.

(e) **The Calendar.** The third great invention, the calendar, grew out of man's study of the

heavens. Living under the open sky, he was aware that the sun, moon, and stars made their appearance at regular intervals. In time, the priests made records of the movements of these heavenly bodies and used them to forecast seasons. Most early calendars were based on the appearance of the moon. By keeping track of the number of times the moon rose and fell, farmers knew when to plant and harvest their crops. The moon, or lunar, calendar was fairly satisfactory, but to make it accurate an extra month had to be added every three or four years.

More than six thousand years ago, the Egyptians devised a simple and accurate solar (sun) calendar. They divided the year into twelve months of thirty days each, with five feast days added at the end of the year. Our calendar is very much like that of the ancient Egyptians, except for the leap years which make it more exact. However, our system of dating events—B.C. (before the birth of Christ) and A.D. (Anno Domini, "In the year of the Lord")—is of relatively recent origin. For obvious reasons, this dating system is not used by Moslems and other non-Christian peoples. Whichever system men use, they enjoy many advantages if they can date and time events with accuracy.

Important summary of the unit. Reread introduction at beginning of unit also. See how they tie together. Can you answer questions at end of introduction? 17

Before Written History

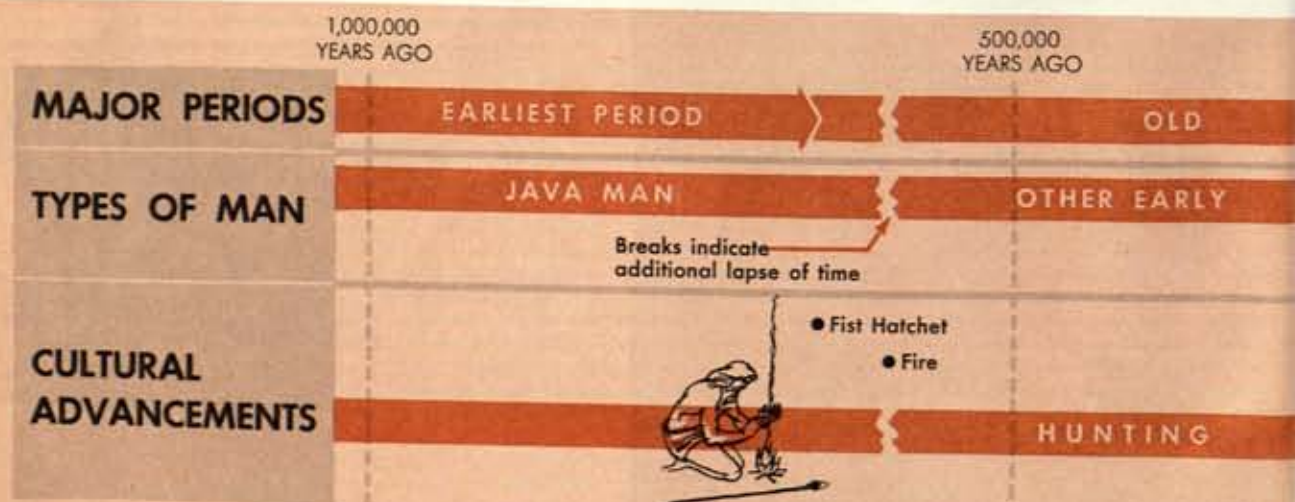
Our Debt to Prehistoric Man

The First Steps Forward. It took almost a million years for man to achieve a culture or way of life which we consider advanced. For hundreds of centuries he moved forward so slowly that progress was hardly noticeable. Then, during the Old Stone Age, he learned to make the fist hatchet and the spear and to use fire. These discoveries raised man far above the animals about him.

Building on the work of their ancestors, the men of the New Stone Age learned to tame

animals and raise plants and to make crude huts and clothing. They gathered in tribes, organized a system of government, and developed simple religious concepts. Three very significant inventions—metalworking, writing, and the calendar—brought them to the threshold of civilization. By civilization we mean that advanced stage of culture in which men, living together in large communities, enjoy such prosperity and well-being that they are free to concern themselves with intellectual and artistic activities.

The Perspective of History. A mere six thousand years have elapsed since the beginning of the historic period—that is, the period of written history. If we compare the story of mankind to the life of an individual, the prehistoric period is like the first twenty years, when the young person acquires the habits and knowledge which will stay with him for the rest of his life. In contrast, the entire historic period is equal only to the first five weeks of his manhood! It is hardly surprising that man still shows on occasion many of the weaknesses and fears of his primitive childhood and adolescence. What is amazing is the amount of progress he has made in the brief span of his civilized existence, during the historic period.



Use the Lesson Review to help you pick out the important things to understand in each lesson.



2 / Lesson Review

Checking the facts

1. Explain: New Stone Age; barter; culture; nomads; Caucasians; Negroes; Mongolians; B.C.; A.D.; prehistoric period; historic period.
2. Explain how man's way of living during the New Stone Age was improved by the stone ax; farming; herding; permanent housing.
3. Describe the early forms of government and religion in the New Stone Age.
4. Explain the significance of these inventions: the smelting of metals; writing; the calendar.

Applying history

1. List in parallel columns the inventions and discoveries of the Old Stone Age and those of the New Stone Age. Why was it possible for man to advance more rapidly in the much briefer New Stone Age?
2. Describe the changes in man's economic activities during the New Stone Age. How did specialization improve his way of life?
3. What is the definition of the term *race*? What are the major races in the world today? Why is it scientifically incorrect to speak of "Celtic race," "Latin race," or "Semitic race"?
4. Why was the discovery of metals important to early man? Why are metals of even greater significance to people today?
5. Abraham Lincoln considered writing the greatest of all inventions because, he said, it enables us "to converse with the dead, the absent, and the unborn, at all distances of time and space." Explain and discuss this remark.
6. Why are farming and herding called "revolutionary discoveries"? What other prehistoric discoveries or inventions might also be considered revolutionary?

History and geography

1. Locate (map, p. 3): Asia; Africa; Europe; North America; South America; Australia; North Pole.
2. Locate, on the same map:
 - a. The areas inhabited by the various races of mankind in early history
 - b. The areas occupied by early Mongols, Semitic tribesmen, and Indo-European tribes
 - c. The regions where man first entered the New Stone Age.

Special activities

1. Arrange a class exhibit on the tools, clothing, economy, and art of prehistoric man.
2. Prepare a class report on the history of the calendar from the time of the ancient Egyptians until today.
3. Explain the development of writing from picture to ideogram to phonogram.

Summarizing Unit 1

1. Examine the time line for Unit 1 (pp. 16-17). Explain how it proves or discredits these statements:
 - a. The further prehistoric man advanced, the faster his rate of progress became.
 - b. Civilization is a recent development in the story of mankind.
2. What progress did Stone Age man make in clothing, shelter, tools, and weapons?
3. Prepare an exhibit showing the system of government, economic activities, social organization, and religious ideas of early man during the Old and New Stone Ages.
4. In your history notebook make a brief outline of the important achievements of prehistoric man.

Use these questions to help you pick out the important things in the unit.

Make a habit of reading the notes following the titles of the books. They will help you find reading that will be of interest and use to you.

General Reference Works

General Surveys and Textbooks

- BRINTON, C., J. B. CHRISTOPHER, and R. L. WOLFF. *A History of Civilization*. Prentice-Hall, 1960.
- FERGUSON, W. K. and G. BRUUN. *A Survey of European Civilization*. Houghton Mifflin, 1958.

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- BREASTED, JAMES. *The Conquest of Civilization*. Harper, 1938.
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- PAINTER, SIDNEY. *A History of the Middle Ages, 284-1500*. Knopf, 1953.
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- PALMER, R. R. and J. COLTON. *A History of the Modern World*. Knopf, 1956.
- ZEBEL, SYDNEY H. *A History of Europe since 1870*. Lippincott, 1948.

Source Books

- BEATTY, J. L. and O. A. JOHNSON. *Heritage of Western Civilization*. Prentice-Hall, 1958.
- KNOWLES, G. G. and R. K. SNYDER. *Readings in Western Civilization*. Lippincott, 1951. *They Saw It Happen* series, Macmillan, 1957-1958. Eyewitness accounts.
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Atlases

- **Abridged Historical Atlas* (Palmer). Rand McNally, 1958.
- Collier's World Atlas*. Collier, 1957.
- Encyclopaedia Britannica World Atlas*, 1957.
- **Hammond's Historical Atlas*, 1957.

Books to Read

Specialized Accounts

- *ANDREWS, ROY C. *Meet Your Ancestors*. Viking, 1945. Life in the Old Stone Age.
- *CHILDE, V. GORDON. *What Happened in History*. Penguin, 1946. A brief survey of early history.
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- JESSUP, RONALD. *The Wonderful World of Archeology*. Doubleday, 1956. A beautifully illustrated, easily understandable book describing the methods of modern archeology.
- LUCAS, JANNETTE M. *Man's First Million Years*. Harcourt, Brace, 1941. An account of various types of primitive man.
- *QUENNELL, M. C. and C. H. B. *Everyday Life in the Old Stone Age and Everyday Life in the New Stone, Bronze, and Early Iron Ages*. Putnam, 1955. Profusely illustrated descrip-

tions of prehistoric occupations, customs, and culture.

- *WHITE, ANNE T. *Lost Worlds: Adventures in Archeology*. Random House, 1941. A dramatic account of important archeological finds and how they were made.

Biographies and Historical Fiction

- COE, FREDERICK L. *Graven with Flint*. Crowell, 1950. Adventures of two Cro-Magnon boys.
- GILBERT, MARION. *Jade Brings Luck*. Longmans, Green, 1936. Life among the Swiss Lake Dwellers in the New Stone Age.
- KJELGAARD, JAMES A. *Fire-Hunter*. Holiday, 1951. Adventures of a Stone Age youth exiled by his tribe.
- WATERLOO, STANLEY. *The Story of Ab*. Doubleday, 1939. A fictional account of the life of the early cave dwellers.

* Books starred are of special interest or usefulness.

To be sure you are getting the most out of the time you spend studying World History, refer to your "How to Study" section regularly throughout the year.

UNIT 2

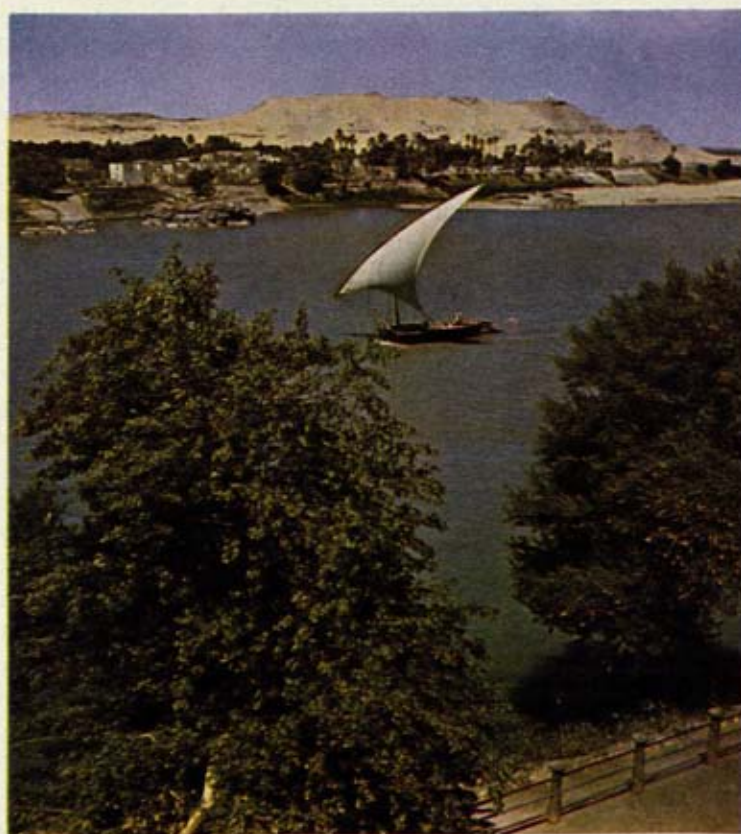
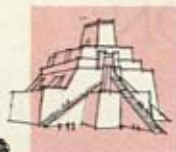
THE EARLIEST CIVILIZATIONS

It is only a few centuries since Europeans achieved the comforts and conveniences of modern civilization. Yet historians tell us that a number of advanced civilizations existed long before our own. Thousands of years ago, there were peoples who enjoyed splendid homes, fine food, and elegant clothing, who encouraged the work of gifted writers and artists. Four of these great civilizations—those of Egypt, Mesopotamia, India, and China—appeared early in the period of written history. Although each civilization had unique features, they all had much in common.

All began in fertile river valleys, where the struggle for existence was neither too severe nor too easy. In order to control the rivers and to protect their rich lands from invasion, the inhabitants had to work together. This necessity led to the rise of strong governments. Two privileged classes, the priests and the nobles, came into existence. The ruler and the members of the upper classes held large tracts of land, which were worked by the common people. Possessing wealth and leisure time, the upper classes could devote themselves to government, learning, art, and many other phases of culture. As a result, each of the four early civilizations made many important contributions to the progress of mankind.

Various other peoples soon achieved an advanced way of life. Some, especially those of western Asia, were also responsible for significant contributions to mankind. In studying these early civilizations, we should seek answers to such questions as these:

1. What were the ancient Egyptians' outstanding achievements?
2. What did the Sumerians and Babylonians contribute to modern civilization?
3. In what ways did other peoples of western Asia enrich the civilizations created by the peoples of Egypt and Mesopotamia?
4. What were the main features of the ancient Hindu civilization in India?
5. What were the unusual characteristics of the ancient Chinese civilization?



3 / THE CIVILIZATION OF ANCIENT EGYPT



The modern traveler, flying eastward across Africa, grows weary as hour after hour he sees below him the monotonous, unchanging wastes of the Sahara. Suddenly he spies a vast oasis in the desert and, like a blue thread running through the center of the green countryside, a great river. This is the land of Egypt. The river is the Nile, whose waters have created a rich region in the midst of the rainless desert. Each summer, heavy rains pour down on the distant mountainous plateau of Ethiopia in east-central Africa where the Nile originates. Until only about a half century ago, when large dams were constructed, the swollen river overflowed its banks and flooded the Egyptian lowlands. When it receded, it left on the fields a layer of dark, rich topsoil. During the rest of the year, the river provided precious water for irrigation. Egypt has aptly been called "the gift of the Nile."

EARLY LIFE IN THE NILE VALLEY

Irrigation Leads to Civilization. Thousands of years ago, the barren plateaus flanking Egypt had ample rainfall, and the Nile River valley was an almost impassable jungle and marsh. As time passed, however, the rains lessened and the land on either side of the valley became increasingly dry (see p. 10). Tribes of hunters, living on the pla-

teaus, followed the wild animals and found new homes in the river valley below. Soon they became herders and farmers.

The early settlers in the Nile valley had to root out the jungle and drain the marshes. Once it was cleared, the flood-rich soil produced good crops. Attracted by the rich soil, tribe after tribe settled in the valley. In time, some of these tribes realized that more land could be farmed if there were water for the long dry season. They labored mightily to construct reservoirs in which to store the water. They dug miles of canals and ditches to distribute the water to the fields.

This was a tremendous undertaking which required the united effort of many tribes. Out of common need, different groups of tribes accepted a leader to plan and direct their efforts. Once the irrigation system was built, the leader supervised its repair and regulated the flow of water into the canals. Through his control of irrigation he became a powerful ruler. As district after district constructed an irrigation system, the land of the Nile became dotted with small kingdoms, each with many villages tied together by a network of canals.

Every year the floodwaters of the Nile deposited still another layer of rich soil on the land and provided precious water for irrigation. Three times a year Egyptian farmers

seeded the land with grain, flax, and vegetables, and three times a year they harvested rich crops! Their cattle and sheep fattened on the lush grass, and the herds and flocks multiplied. In time, the farmers learned to grow many fruits, including melons, dates, oranges, and lemons. They also improved their farming methods. They invented a more efficient way to lift water from the canals into their fields. They also learned to turn the loose soil with a wooden plow. To the plow they harnessed oxen, man's first source of power outside himself.

For the first time farmers could raise much more food than they needed for themselves. This meant that part of Egypt's population could raise more than enough to feed all, leaving some people free to devote their full time to other activities. Priests and nobles were able to concentrate on their religious and governing duties. Large numbers of craftsmen—metalworkers, carpenters, stonemasons, weavers, and potters—became skilled at their trade. These craftsmen set up shops in the chief village of their district. Some of these villages eventually grew into towns, and the towns into cities. The needs of craftsmen for food, copper, wood, stone, and other materials stimulated trade. As trade increased, the many kingdoms were drawn together. By 4000 B.C., there were only two kingdoms, Upper and Lower Egypt (map, p. 27). About nine hundred years later, King Menes, the pharaoh (ruler) of Upper Egypt, welded the two lands into one nation.

Power of the Pharaohs. King Menes established the first of a long line of dynasties, or families of rulers, which governed a united Egypt. This early period of Egyptian history is known as the Old Kingdom or Pyramid Age. The pharaoh was a very powerful ruler. As head of the government, he made the laws and saw to it that they were carried out.

He levied taxes in the form of grain, cattle, cloth, and gold. He was also the religious leader of his people and was himself worshiped as a god. As we shall see later, religion played an important role in the life of the ancient Egyptians.

In running the government, the pharaoh was aided by his priests and by numerous other officials. There were ministers in charge of taxes and the census, governors for the districts, mayors, judges, and thousands of scribes or bookkeepers to keep the records. Memphis, the first capital of Egypt, grew to be a large and splendid city studded with storehouses for grain, buildings to house the government records, temples, and the homes of nobles, priests, and merchants.

Different Classes of Society. Egypt's wealth was enjoyed mainly by the pharaoh and the nobles and priests, who were the pharaoh's officials. They owned large estates and fine homes, which they adorned with elaborate furniture, statues, and wall paintings. Their wives wore fine clothing and beautified themselves with jewels, cosmetics, and perfumes. Servants attended to their wishes and frequently entertained them with singing and dancing.

Merchants, craftsmen, and scribes formed the middle class. Most of these lived modestly, but some became wealthy and influential. Below the middle class were the peasants, who made up the great majority of the people. They lived in small mud-brick huts, with only a few crude furnishings. A large share of their produce was claimed as taxes or rent by local governors, priests, and the pharaoh. Even less fortunate were the slaves, who were mainly captives taken in time of war. A few were employed by their wealthy owners as household servants and craftsmen. The rest worked in the copper mines and stone quarries and farmed the large estates.

The Pyramids. Nothing shows more clearly the political and religious power of the pharaohs of the Old Kingdom, as well as the scientific achievements of the early Egyptians, than the great pyramid-tombs. The Egyptians then believed that the welfare of the pharaoh, even after death, was closely related to the welfare of the state; that only the pharaoh could enjoy life after death; and that life after death was connected with the preservation of the body. Therefore, they carefully embalmed, or mummified, the body of the dead ruler and placed it in one of these huge pyramid-tombs. Food, drink, and precious belongings were buried with him.

At Gizeh, scores of the pyramid-tombs still stand. The largest, the Great Pyramid of King Cheops, was built about 2500 B.C. One of the most massive structures ever erected, it measures 750 feet wide at the base and is almost 500 feet high, about one-half the height of the Empire State Building. Egyptian architects skillfully designed the structure so that the many rooms and passages did not weaken it. The pyramids are rightfully considered among the foremost architectural wonders of the world.

Trade and the Spread of Egyptian Civilization. The Egyptians found it possible to construct the pyramids only because of their growing prosperity, in which trade was an important factor. Early in Egyptian history, the Nile became a highway plied by craft of every size and shape. The Egyptians made their first foreign trade contacts with the people to the south, in ancient Nubia (now the Sudan), from whom they obtained ostrich feathers, ivory, and gold. As boat-builders became more skilled, they built seagoing ships which ventured out into the Mediterranean, to Syria, Phoenicia, and the island of Crete (map, p. 27). They carried

Egyptian grain, linen cloth, fine pottery, and glassware. These they exchanged for cedars from Lebanon, gold, silver, tin, and spices. Later, one of the pharaohs ordered a canal dug across the Isthmus of Suez, and Egyptian vessels traded in the Red Sea. A good deal of trade was also carried on overland by means of donkey caravans.

In the early period, all trade was conducted by the clumsy system of barter, the exchange of one type of goods for another. Later, rings of metal were used as payment. It was necessary to weigh the metal whenever a purchase was made. Through trade, the Egyptians and other peoples became acquainted with each others' goods, customs, and ways of doing things. It is believed that the Egyptians learned to make bronze from their contact with other peoples. In the same way, the knowledge of glassmaking spread from Egypt to other lands, eventually reaching distant China.

Egypt Becomes an Empire. Ancient Egypt flourished for about three thousand years, a longer period than the entire span of western European civilization! During that time, its history was not always peaceful. By 2200 B.C., the Old Kingdom had come to an end. The nobles who governed the provinces had gradually gained power at the expense of the pharaohs. As rival groups of nobles tried to control the pharaoh, the land erupted into civil war. For more than a century there was such chaos that an ancient Egyptian wrote, "The land spins around as does a potter's wheel. . . . He who had no oxen is now the possessor of a herd. . . . He who was a robber is now a lord."

About 2050 B.C. the ruler of Thebes, a small town six hundred miles up the Nile, reunited Egypt and began the period known as the Middle Kingdom. Under a succession of energetic kings the land once again en-

joyed prosperity and peace. The Theban kings opened up new copper mines in the Sinai peninsula, repaired irrigation systems, and built a huge dam at Aswan to reclaim thousands of acres of desert (map, p. 27).

For many centuries, Egypt was protected

from invasion by the Mediterranean Sea to the north and the deserts to the east and west. Nubia, usually controlled by the Egyptians, acted as a barrier to invasion from the south. However, Egypt's riches were bound to attract enemies. About 1750 B.C.,



Concern for the dead played an important part in the religion of ancient Egypt. At the left, mourners perform the ceremony of farewell before the mummy is placed in the tomb. Below, three of the great pyramids built at Gizeh during the Old Kingdom as tombs for the pharaohs.



it was attacked by a nomadic people from Syria, known as the Hyksos or "Shepherd Kings." The Hyksos rode into battle in horse-drawn chariots. The Egyptians, who had never seen horses before, fled in terror. The Hyksos ruled Egypt for over 150 years. Finally, the Egyptians, led by a Theban prince, rebelled and drove them out.

The Egyptians did not stop at their own borders but went on to conquer Palestine, Phoenicia, and Syria. Under the warrior pharaoh, Thutmose III, Egyptian frontiers were pushed eastward as far as the Euphrates River. By bringing many different peoples or countries under one rule, Egypt became an empire. During the Empire period (1580–1150 B.C.), Egyptian civilization spread throughout all the conquered lands (map, p. 27).

THE SPLENDOR OF EGYPT

Writing and Literature. Most of what we know about the ancient Egyptians comes from their written records, dating back about six thousand years. At first, they used a complicated system of writing called hieroglyphics, which grew out of picture writing. In time, they developed a simpler system of writing in which many of the symbols stood for specific sounds. They eventually reduced these to twenty-two letters, but they continued to write picture symbols alongside the letters as though to make doubly sure that the reader would not miss their meaning.

The Egyptians also learned to make a useful writing material from the papyrus plant (whence our word "paper"). They cut the stem of this plant into thin strips and pressed them together to form a sheet. The sheets were pasted together, so that a long manuscript looked like a roll of wallpaper. For writing on the papyrus, sharpened reed pens and an ink made of vegetable gum, soot, and

water were used. Records written on this paper are known as papyri.

Thanks to Egypt's dry air, many ancient stone inscriptions and even some of the papyri have survived. They include official histories, religious and philosophical writings, stories of travel and adventure, and some beautiful poetry.

The Egyptian Religion. From their literature and monuments, we know that religion played a very important role in Egyptian life. An ancient writer referred to the Egyptians as "the most religious of men." In early times they worshiped many gods, which generally represented the forces of nature. Each city had its special patron god. In time, however, great gods known to all arose. Most important was the sun god, Ra, who was believed to cross the sky daily in a boat, each time crushing the forces of darkness and injustice. Later a Theban god, Amon, was identified with Ra, who was thenceforth called Amon-Ra. The second god in importance was Osiris, whose legend was especially popular with the Egyptians. Osiris was killed by his evil brother but was restored to life by his faithful wife. The Osiris legend symbolized the Egyptian faith that the soul was immortal. The Egyptians regarded their pharaohs as descendants of both Osiris and Ra.

By the time of the Empire, the Egyptians believed that everyone, not only the pharaohs, could enjoy immortality and that it could be achieved by good behavior rather than by sacrifices and other formal ceremonies. When a person died, his soul appeared before the gods for final judgment. If he were free of sin and had performed many good deeds, he would be allowed to enter paradise. If he failed to pass the test, he was condemned to eternal suffering in a place of darkness. In this way the Egyptian religion stressed the personal value of morality and righteousness.



EGYPTIAN EMPIRE • 1450 B.C.

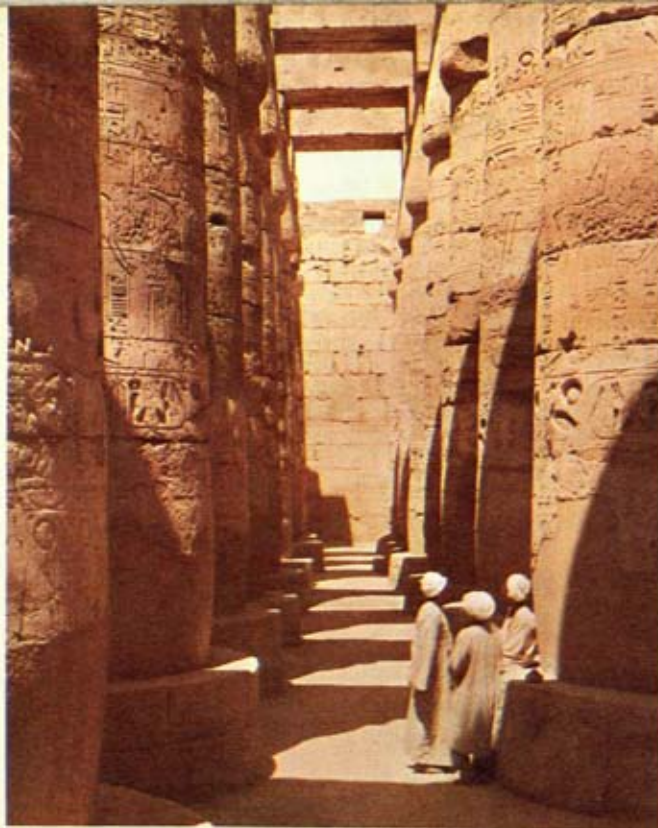


In late Egyptian history, the Pharaoh Ikhnaton (1375–1358 B.C.) rejected the idea that there were many gods. He proclaimed that all people were ruled by a single god, which he identified with the sun. This was a step toward monotheism, or the belief in one god. When the priests opposed his religious reform, Ikhnaton closed their temples and had the names of the old gods removed from monuments. After his death, however, the priests were able to restore the old worship.

Temples at Thebes. In Ikhnaton's time, the Egyptians could look back more than a thousand years to the pyramids standing at the dawn of their history. However, the pharaohs of the Empire period no longer built

pyramids. Fearing grave robbers, who were attracted by the riches deposited in the tombs, they arranged for secret burials. The most important architectural achievements of the Empire were the magnificent temples the pharaohs now erected in honor of the gods. The ruins of some of these temples still stand at Thebes, one of the ancient imperial capitals.

The Egyptian architects who built the temples were the first to design buildings with vast halls, the roofs of which were supported by rows of columns. Each column was covered with fine carvings and topped with an immense capital in the shape of a lotus bud or papyrus leaf. An upper story of the



Ancient Egypt's civilization was one of great material splendor. Magnificent temples were erected to the gods (left). The wealthy wore ornate jewelry and lived in luxurious houses with fountain-cooled gardens.

Metropolitan Museum of Art



The Egyptians often interred their royal dead in secret tombs filled with valuable possessions, such as the golden throne with jeweled portraits found in the tomb of the young pharaoh Tutankhamen (below).



temples containing windows brought in light and air. The temple walls were decorated with huge paintings and elaborate carvings. One of the most striking paintings shows the giant figure of a pharaoh, standing in his war chariot, his horses plunging among his enemies. Because they combined artistry and craftsmanship with massive size, these temples marked the highest achievement of ancient Egyptian architecture.

Arts and Crafts. The Egyptians also created other works which rank among the world's great art. Sculptors in ancient Egypt carved many statues, especially of the pharaohs. These were noteworthy for their immense size, dignity, and simplicity, though at first glance they seem stiff and solemn. Egyptian artists adopted a style which showed what they knew, not what they saw from any particular angle. In later Egyptian history, some sculptors and painters broke away from tradition. They produced some amazingly lifelike portrait busts and scenes of nature.

About a generation ago archeologists (students of early human history) discovered the tomb of a young pharaoh, King Tutankhamen, who died about 3,300 years ago. Unlike all such earlier finds, this tomb had not been looted by robbers. The outer rooms were filled with an assortment of furniture, weapons, musical instruments, and jewelry—all beautifully decorated and enriched with ivory, gold, and precious stones. The inner room contained a huge mummy case carved from a single block of crystalline rock. Within the case were three coffins, one within another. The innermost coffin was made of solid gold, almost one-quarter of an inch thick! The mummy itself was swathed in wrappings of the finest linen, within which had been enclosed dozens of jeweled ornaments. This find allowed students of

ancient Egyptian civilization for the first time to appreciate the full extent of the Egyptians' artistic genius and craftsmanship.

Progress in Science and Medicine. In science, too, the Egyptians made notable advances. They could add, subtract, multiply, divide, use fractions, and compute the area of triangles and rectangles. The pyramids and temples show us their grasp of architecture and engineering, as well as mathematics. Though the base of the Great Pyramid covers thirteen acres, its sides deviate from a true square by only six-tenths of an inch! The Egyptians also discovered how to make glass and invented the sundial for telling time.

A number of papyri have been found that deal with medicine. In these books, the symptoms of many maladies and their remedies are discussed. Egyptian doctors had a fair knowledge of the human body. They prescribed castor oil and other useful drugs, knew how to set fractures, and even performed simple operations. In spite of their advanced knowledge, however, they often relied on magic remedies.

The End of Egyptian Independence. The Egyptian Empire began to break up under Ramses III, the last of the great pharaohs, who ruled in the twelfth century B.C. Wave after wave of invaders attacked various parts of the Empire. Ramses fought many campaigns and even succeeded in ousting the invaders for a time, but the wars exhausted the country. Succeeding pharaohs were unable to restore Egypt's empire. Gradually, invaders stripped Egypt of its possessions in western Asia and attacked Egypt itself. In the centuries which followed, the country was conquered by the Assyrians and other peoples. Finally, in 31 B.C., Egypt was made a province of Rome and ceased to be an independent power in the ancient world.



3 / Lesson Review

Checking the facts

1. Explain: oasis; irrigation; kingdom; pharaoh; dynasty; pyramid-tomb; empire; hieroglyphic; papyrus; monotheism.
2. Identify: Menes; Thutmose III; Ikhnaton; Tutankhamen; Ramses III.
3. Why has Egypt been called the "gift of the Nile"?
4. How did irrigation in the Nile River valley encourage the rise of a strong government?
5. Name the four great social classes of ancient Egypt. What were the main functions of each?
6. In what ways was Egyptian civilization spread to neighboring lands?
7. Describe briefly the achievements of the ancient Egyptians in writing and literature; religion; architecture; arts and crafts; mathematics and science; education.

Applying history

1. List the powers exercised by the Egyptian pharaohs. In what ways were these powers greater than those of modern rulers?
2. What were the advantages of the class system to ancient Egyptian society? the disadvantages?
3. Why are the pyramids considered important achievements of ancient Egyptian civilization? Is it likely that our civilization will leave such enduring monuments?
4. The modern Egyptian government has begun to build a great dam at Aswan, near

the site of one built by an ancient pharaoh. What were the main reasons for building the original dam? What additional purposes will be served by the new dam?

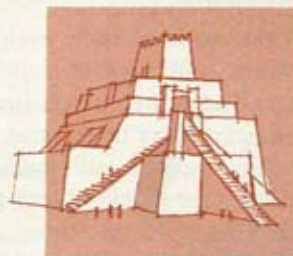
History and geography

1. Locate (map, p. 27): Mediterranean Sea; Red Sea; Nile River; Crete; Upper Egypt; Lower Egypt; Nubia; Palestine; Syria; Phoenicia; Sinai Peninsula; Memphis; Gizeh; Thebes; Aswan; Arabia; Asia Minor.
2. Locate the sources of the Nile (map, p. 499). Why is it considered one of the great rivers of the world?
3. Why was the northern part of the country called "Lower Egypt" and the southern part "Upper Egypt"?
4. What geographic factors encouraged the ancient Egyptians to become an important trading nation (map, p. 27)?
5. Why did the ancient Egyptians build a canal connecting the Nile and the Red Sea? By looking in an atlas or at the map on p. 686, locate the position of the modern Suez Canal.

Special activities

1. Prepare a class exhibit entitled "Life in Ancient Egypt."
2. After consulting books on ancient Egypt, write a report describing one of the important archeological finds which have thrown light on the country's early civilization.

4 / CIVILIZATION IN ANCIENT MESOPOTAMIA



High in the mountains of Asia Minor rise two mighty rivers, the Tigris and the Euphrates. Flowing southeast for about a thousand miles, the rivers gradually draw closer together before they empty into the Persian Gulf. Between them they form a broad, level valley which we today call Iraq but which the ancient Greeks called Mesopotamia ("The Land Between the Rivers"). Mesopotamia was once a rich and prosperous land crisscrossed with irrigation canals. It was the site of a great civilization probably as old as that of Egypt.

Long ago, as a result of shifting river beds, invasions, and neglect, the irrigation system crumbled. The land became reed-filled marsh or barren desert, and its teeming population dwindled. In recent years, the government of Iraq has been working on a series of projects which may one day restore the land's original fertility. But now the only reminders of Mesopotamia's ancient splendor are occasional hills rising up from the monotonous level plain. These hills are the ruins of cities whose buildings crumbled with the passing of time. As new generations built on the rubble of the old, the cities rose higher and higher. Archeologists, digging through the layers of ruins, have unearthed a fascinating record of great accomplishments and great disasters, of peaceful trade and destructive wars.

THE SUMERIAN CIVILIZATION

The Sumerians. About six thousand years ago, southern Mesopotamia was inhabited by a short, stocky people of unknown origin who called their land Sumer (map, p. 34).

There was little rain there, but each spring the flood-waters of the Tigris and Euphrates left a layer of rich topsoil on the land. To take advantage of the fertile soil, the Sumerians, like the Egyptians, had to drain marshes and build extensive irrigation systems. Their irrigated fields produced such abundant crops that one ancient historian wrote in wonder, "Of all the countries that we know there is none so fruitful in grain. The yield commonly is two hundredfold and sometimes three hundredfold."

Besides growing grain, the Sumerians raised dates and a variety of other foods and kept cattle, sheep, and other animals. To help in farming, the Sumerians invented a metal plow and attached to it a device for sowing grain at the same time. To their plow they harnessed oxen or donkeys. As in Egypt, the farmers of Sumer raised more food than they needed, allowing some men to specialize in crafts and trade. This, in turn, led to the growth of cities and a rich civilization.

Sumerian craftsmen skillfully worked copper and bronze. They made beautiful pottery, vessels of alabaster, finely wrought

ornaments of silver and gold, and enameled jewelry set with precious stones. Artists decorated the walls of their buildings with fine sculptures and mosaic panels made from shells and sapphires. Since there was no stone in Sumer and very little wood, the Sumerians built their homes and public buildings of sun-dried clay bricks. Over the ages these bricks crumbled, so there are fewer Sumerian monuments and buildings remaining than Egyptian. Nevertheless it is evident that Sumerian architects possessed great skill. They were the first to use the arch in constructing their buildings. The principle of the arch represented an important development. From Sumer the arch spread all over the ancient world and many later styles of architecture were based on it. The Sumerians were also the first people, as far as we know, to use the potter's wheel for shaping pottery and the first to weave cloth of wool.

Sumerian City-States. Each Sumerian city, together with the surrounding countryside, formed a little city-state, which had its own government. The area controlled by each city was not large; the whole of Sumer was only about half the size of either Maine or South Carolina. Most famous of the city-states was Ur—according to the Bible, the original home of the Hebrew patriarch Abraham. Towering above each city was a tall, terraced temple called the ziggurat. On the top of the ziggurat was the shrine of the city's chief god, who owned much of the city and surrounding land. A priest-king represented the god on earth. He lived within the temple, as did the priests, who served both as religious and as government officials.

In addition to their religious duties, the priests supervised irrigation, collected grain as rent and taxes, kept accounts, and were leaders in industry and trade. Surrounding the temple they had storehouses for grain and workshops for bakers, potters, jewelers,

and weavers. The temples also served as meeting places for traders and as banks. Businessmen could leave their extra funds with the temple, or they could borrow money at interest to finance their activities. Although some land was privately owned and some craftsmen and traders worked for themselves, the priests controlled the economic life of Sumer and were a powerful and wealthy class.

Sumerian Religious Ideas. The Sumerians worshiped many nature gods, among whom were the earth goddess and the gods of the sky, storm, and waters. As we have already seen, each city had its own chief god, who was represented on earth by the priest-king. The Sumerians had no belief that the good were rewarded with a future life in heaven. Saint and sinner alike led a cheerless existence in a dark underworld. However, it was believed that righteous persons were rewarded by the gods in this existence. To obtain favors or forgiveness for wrongdoing, the Sumerian brought animal sacrifices and food offerings to the temple. He also bought magic charms from the priests and eagerly consulted them for predictions about the future.

Writing and Mathematics. Perhaps even earlier than the Egyptians, the Sumerians invented a system of writing. Lacking papyrus, they used clay tablets on which they pressed wedge-shaped marks with a sharp reed. They hardened the tablets by baking them or by drying them in the sun. This form of writing is called cuneiform (from the Latin *cuneus*, meaning "wedge"). It began as picture writing. Gradually the pictures became symbols representing sounds, and the number of characters was reduced. The clay writing tablets must have been inconvenient to handle, but they were cheap and durable. Thousands have survived to this day and provide us most of our knowledge of this ancient people.

These examples of the craftsmanship of Sumerian artists recall their skill. The roaring lion is a famous specimen of their work with sun-dried tile. Sumerians invented a system of writing called cuneiform: wedge-shaped marks were impressed with a sharp reed into clay tablets which were then baked (below).



Metropolitan Museum of Art





**BABYLONIAN
EMPIRE
ABOUT 2000 B.C.**

The Sumerians, like the Egyptians, had to restore land boundaries after the annual floods and keep records of tax receipts. As a result, they became quite expert in arithmetic and simple geometry. They devised a system of counting by sixties, with special importance attached to the divisor twelve. This system survives today in our method of timekeeping, in the division of the circle into 360 degrees, and in our twelve to the dozen.

Trade Spreads Civilization. Natural barriers offered considerably less protection for Mesopotamia than for early Egypt. However, Mesopotamia's exposed position had both advantages and disadvantages. The main disadvantage, as we shall see, was that Mesopotamia was frequently attacked by neighboring peoples. The greatest advantage was that it encouraged the growth of commerce. Land and water routes made contact with other peoples easy.

The needs of trade, in turn, led to many inventions. Most important was the wheel,

which plays so large a part in our own lives. The Sumerians built wheeled carts, to which they harnessed oxen or donkeys. Before this, people used large sleds to drag heavy goods. The Sumerians also developed standard weights and measures which other peoples adopted. Their money was the *shekel*, a silver ring weighing about half an ounce.

In return for imports of metal, wood, and precious stones, the Sumerians exported cloth, jewelry, carpets, and other finished products. Wherever the Sumerians went—north up the river valleys, west to the Mediterranean coast, or east into the hill country—they carried with them their ideas of government, laws, religion, and art as well as their goods. In this way their achievements reached other peoples. For example, many other peoples learned the Sumerian cuneiform writing and used it to write their own languages. Thus commerce promoted the spread and development of civilization.

Disunity and Wars. The main disadvantage of the Sumerians' position was the constant danger of foreign invasion. To protect themselves from attack, they built thick walls around their cities. Unfortunately, the Sumerian city-states, because of rivalries over territory and trade, were often at war with each other. One city after another tried to control its neighbors, but none was successful for long. Weakened by disunity and constant wars, the Sumerians eventually were conquered by other peoples.

SEMITIC PEOPLES BUILD ON SUMERIAN BEGINNINGS

The Early Semitic Conquests. To the west and southwest of Mesopotamia are the Syrian and Arabian deserts. Except for a few weeks in the winter, there is no rain in these

lands, and vegetation is sparse. From the earliest times these deserts were inhabited by peoples speaking a group of related languages. The languages are called Semitic and the people who spoke them, Semites. The Semites were nomads, ever on the move in search of fresh pastures for their flocks. From time to time, groups of Semites pushed out of the desert and settled in more fertile lands. As early as 3000 B.C. some had settled on the Mediterranean coast.

Another group settled north of Sumer, where they eventually founded the kingdom of Akkad (map, p. 34). The Akkadians adopted many Sumerian customs, even learning to write their Semitic language using the Sumerian script. Around 2600 B.C. there arose among them a mighty conqueror, Sargon of Akkad. One by one, he subdued the Sumerian cities. With Mesopotamia unified, Sargon led the victorious Akkadian armies westward and made himself master of an empire that stretched to the Mediterranean Sea.

The empire of Sargon did not last long. Attacks by barbaric tribesmen from the mountains to the east brought it to an end. There followed a period of constant wars and chaos. The Sumerian cities briefly regained their independence but were soon overwhelmed by new invaders. Eventually the Sumerians and Akkadians were absorbed among their many conquerors and disappeared from history. The Sumerian writing, art, scientific knowledge, and religious beliefs survived, however, and were carried on by new Semitic peoples.

The First Babylonian Empire. Around 2000 B.C., Mesopotamia was conquered by a people from Babylon, a small city on the Euphrates. Like the Akkadians, the Babylonians were a Semitic people who had given

up their nomadic life to settle down in Mesopotamia. Their greatest king was Hammurabi. In his day, Babylonia, as Mesopotamia came to be called, controlled lands as far west as Syria on the Mediterranean. The peace the Babylonian conquest brought to Mesopotamia also brought prosperity. Many new irrigation works were built to increase farmland. Potters, weavers, smiths, and jewelers produced fine wares. By boat and caravan, Babylonian merchants sold these wares throughout western Asia, reaching even Egypt and possibly India.

Under Hammurabi, Babylon was the most splendid city of its day. It was protected by a strong wall, surrounded by wide, water-filled moats. Looking down upon the city was a ziggurat three hundred feet tall! The height of the ziggurat and the many languages spoken by the city's inhabitants may have inspired the Biblical story of the Tower of Babel.

The Babylonians also created a rather remarkable literature, much of which was based on old Sumerian legends. In fact, one of the stories in the epic of Gilgamesh, a legendary Mesopotamian hero, may have inspired the flood story in the Bible.

The Code of Hammurabi. The Babylonians also made an important contribution in the field of law. Hammurabi gathered together the old laws of the Sumerians, revised them, and added Babylonian laws. He had this code inscribed on stone pillars for everyone to see. The Code of Hammurabi expressed one of the basic legal principles of modern society—that crime is the concern not only of the victim but of the whole community. When an evildoer was caught, the code provided for punishment by the government, rather than by the victim or his family.

The code also had many other advanced legal ideas. To protect both parties, all contracts had to be in writing. Bribing a witness or a judge was severely punished. A person had to pay damages if he injured the property of another. Children were required to honor and obey their parents, and masters to treat their servants kindly. Married women could own property, engage in business, and divorce their husbands for just cause. If, on the other hand, a woman "has neglected her house, and belittled her husband, they shall throw that woman into the street."

Some of the penalties of the code were severe by our standards. Numerous offenses were punishable by death or mutilation. For instance, "If a man destroys the eye of another they shall destroy his eye." Similarly, if a poorly constructed house collapsed and the tenant was killed, then the builder was executed. However, the code was not always as harsh as these punishments would suggest. Another of the laws reads: "If a man strike another man in a quarrel and wound him, he shall swear: 'I struck him without intent,' and he shall be responsible for the physician." The important distinction made here between planned (premeditated) and accidental crime has been carried over as a basic principle in modern law.

Babylonian Society. The law of Hammurabi recognized three distinct classes. At the top were the priests, nobles, rich merchants, and bankers, who enjoyed most of the wealth, privilege, and leisure. Next were the small farmers, shopkeepers, artisans, and scribes. Though they were free, they had little influence in the government and seldom rose to the class above them. Lowest of all were the slaves, who were either captives or poor Babylonians who had been sold to pay off their debts.

Slavery was much more widespread in Mesopotamia than in Egypt. Anxious for cheap labor, the Babylonians organized special expeditions to gather slaves. Most of the war captives could look forward to nothing but hard work and harsh treatment. The lot of the Babylonian debt-slaves was not excessively hard, however, for they were allowed to marry, carry on trades, and accumulate a fund to buy back their freedom.

An interesting feature of Babylonian society was the different punishment accorded members of the different classes when crimes were committed. The heaviest fines or penalties were imposed for injuries against the upper classes and the lowest for injuries to a slave. On the other hand, the government expected members of the upper classes to set a good example for the rest of society. They were punished much more severely than were members of the lower classes for the same crimes.

The Fall of Babylon. The Babylonian Empire flourished for several centuries. Then around 1750 B.C., about the same time that the Hyksos conquered Egypt, the Babylonian cities were conquered by barbarian invaders called the Kassites. During the next six hundred years or so, Mesopotamia played only a minor role in history.

The many wars and invasions of early Mesopotamia had some good results. The mingling of different peoples gave rise to new ideas. Traders and conquerors spread Mesopotamian achievements to neighboring peoples of western Asia. Long after the Sumerians had disappeared from history and the Babylonians had passed their peak, these other peoples continued to advance. Later we shall see how Mesopotamia regained its leadership and enjoyed a brief revival of power.

4 / Lesson Review



Checking the facts

1. Explain: Mesopotamia; Sumerians; city-state; priest-king; cuneiform writing; Semites; Akkadians; Babylonians.
2. Identify: Sargon; Hammurabi.
3. Describe briefly the achievements of the Sumerians in trade and industry; architecture; writing; mathematics.
4. Who were the Akkadians? How were they influenced by the conquered Sumerians?
5. List the important legal ideas found in the Code of Hammurabi. What were the major weaknesses of the Code?
6. Why did the Babylonian Empire decline?

Applying history

1. Why did ancient Mesopotamia experience more frequent invasions than Egypt? How did these invasions help spread Mesopotamian civilization to neighboring peoples?
2. What disadvantages did the Sumerians suffer because they failed to form a united kingdom? Why is it easier to create large political units today than it was in the ancient world?
3. Compare Sumerian and Babylonian re-

ligious ideas with those taught by the Pharaoh Ikhnaton.

4. Why has the Code of Hammurabi been called a "mirror of Babylonian civilization"? Why do countries which carry on a great deal of business usually develop an advanced system of law?

History and geography

1. Locate (map, p. 34): Persian Gulf; Euphrates River; Tigris River; Asia Minor; Syria; Arabia; Mesopotamia; Sumer; Akkad; Babylon; Ur.
2. Trace the course of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers (map, pp. 46-47).
3. After looking carefully at that map, tell why it was easy for neighboring peoples to invade Mesopotamia.

Special activities

1. Find and read a book about life in ancient Mesopotamia. Then pretend that you are a member of the upper classes, a commoner, or a slave. Tell how you work and live.
2. Prepare a class exhibit entitled "The Civilizations of Sumer and Babylon."

5 / CIVILIZATION IN THE FERTILE CRESCENT



From the Persian Gulf to the borders of Egypt there stretches a narrow strip of fertile land shaped somewhat like a quarter-moon. This strip of land is called the Fertile Crescent. Though small in area, it has played an important part in the history of mankind. The eastern end, Mesopotamia, was one of the cradles of earliest civilization. The western portion, Syria and Palestine, was a broad highway linking Mesopotamia with Egypt and the Mediterranean Sea. The entire area had rich soil and flourishing cities, which attracted both the nomads of the south and the mountain peoples of the north. On numerous occasions it was invaded, its inhabitants were conquered, and new peoples made their homes there. It became the "melting pot" of the ancient world. The mingling of many different peoples and cultures proved fruitful, for the achievements of each became the heritage of all.

THE FERTILE CRESCENT AND ASIA MINOR

The Iron Empire of the Hittites. West and north of the Fertile Crescent is Asia Minor (map, p. 43). Among the invaders of the Fertile Crescent were the Hittites, who first settled in central Asia Minor about 2500 B.C. Little is known of their origin ex-

cept that they probably came from the north, from the region around the Caspian Sea. From Mesopotamian merchants, they learned to write their language in the cuneiform script. Once they had learned to write, they made rapid progress and by 2000 B.C. were a civilized people.

A few years ago, archeologists excavating a site near modern-day Ankara, in Turkey, uncovered thousands of clay tablets from the library of a Hittite king. From these tablets we know that the Hittites possessed an advanced system of government, art, and especially law. Their laws were more just and humane than those of most people of their time. For most crimes they had no sentences of mutilation or other physical punishments but instead imposed heavy fines.

The Hittites are best known for their discovery of a method of smelting and working iron, a mineral which was abundant in their mountains. Their monopoly, or exclusive control, of this tough and useful metal brought them wealth and power. Armed with sharp iron swords and spears, they conquered the central portion of the Fertile Crescent. Their conquests continued until they clashed with the Egyptian Empire, which was also expanding at that time. The Hittites and Egyptians fought again and again. Both empires finally collapsed about 1200 B.C.

In the course of their career, the Hittites played an important role in history. Their knowledge of how to smelt iron spread to other peoples. The Hittites were also important because they transmitted the culture of the Fertile Crescent to the inhabitants of Asia Minor.

The Lydians—Discoverers of Coinage. After the collapse of the Hittite and Egyptian empires, several small kingdoms were formed from their territories. Among them was the Kingdom of Lydia, in western Asia Minor. Lydia was famous for the great wealth of its gold and silver mines and its extensive trade. One of its kings has been immortalized in the expression “as rich as Croesus.” Lydian merchants traded with the peoples of the Aegean Sea area, including the early Greeks, and thus linked them with the peoples of the Fertile Crescent.

The Lydians were the first people to make coins of precious metals and to stamp them with a government guarantee of their value. Before this, other peoples had used rings or lumps of metal as money, but these were not real coins. Since they had no government stamp indicating their value, they had to be weighed and the purity of the metals determined before each transaction. The great invention of coinage eliminated all this inconvenience. Businessmen knew exactly how much they were getting in exchange for their goods. From Lydia the use of coins spread over the ancient civilized world.

The Phoenicians—“Missionaries of Civilization.” Along the western part of the Fertile Crescent, hemmed in between the mountains and the sea, lies a narrow strip of land rarely more than twenty miles wide. Here lived the Phoenicians. Because fertile soil was scarce and good harbors plentiful, the Phoenicians took to the sea. They became the most daring sailors and traders of

the ancient world. While the Phoenicians were more famous as traders than as manufacturers, they were also skillful at making papyrus paper, glassware, artistic works in silver and bronze, fine cloth, and other products. Their “royal purple,” a dye extracted from shellfish, did not fade in washing and was used to color the garments of kings.

To keep records of business transactions, the Phoenicians learned to write their Semitic language using a simple alphabet of only twenty-two signs, each representing a single sound. This phonetic alphabet was a great improvement over the many hundreds of signs representing syllables used by the early Egyptians and the Sumerians. The Phoenician alphabet made reading and writing much easier. From Phoenician traders the use of the alphabet spread to the Greeks, and in time it became the basis of our own

THE EVOLUTION OF MONEY

HUNTING STAGE



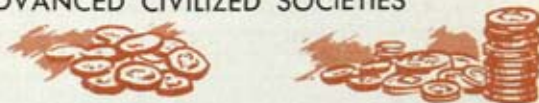
HERDING AND FARMING STAGE



EARLY CIVILIZED SOCIETIES

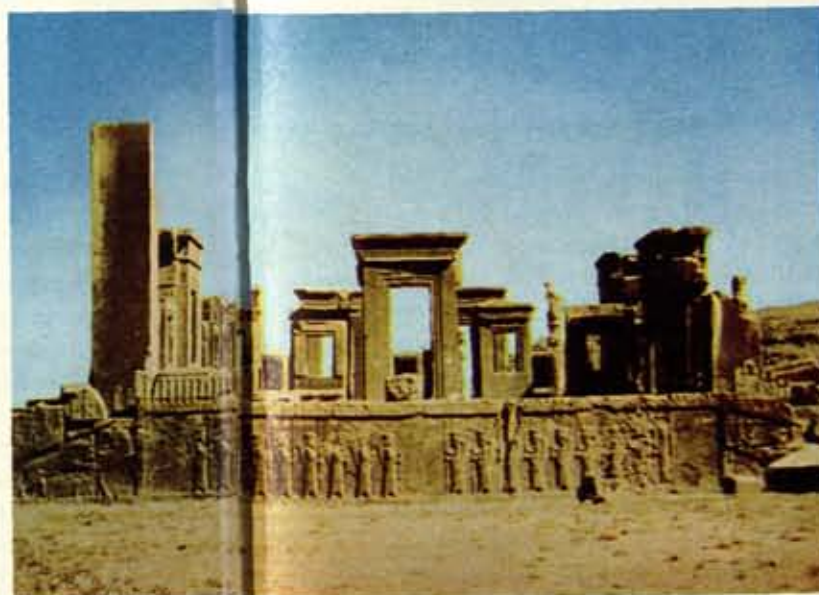


ADVANCED CIVILIZED SOCIETIES





This miniature head, carved from semi-precious lapis-lazuli, was found in the ruins of the ancient Persian capital, Persepolis (right). The crown indicates that it was the portrait of a prince. His hair is in stylized ringlets.



alphabet. In fact, every alphabetic system of writing in the world owes its origin to the Phoenician alphabet.

The Phoenicians are often referred to as "missionaries of civilization." From their ports of Tyre and Sidon they sailed all over the known world—to Egypt, Greece, Sicily, and Spain. They even sailed out into the stormy Atlantic, to Britain for tin and to west Africa for ivory. Wherever they went, they spread ideas and knowledge as well as goods. Along the Mediterranean coasts of Europe and Africa, they established trading posts from which civilization spread to the barbarian peoples of those continents. The most important Phoenician trading post was Carthage, on the coast of North Africa. In the eighth century B.C., the Phoenicians were conquered by the Assyrians. But even after they lost their independence, they remained an important commercial people.

The Hebrews. Of even greater importance were the Phoenicians' neighbors to the south,

the Hebrews, also known as Israelites or Jews. Their holy book, the Old Testament, tells much about their early history. The first Hebrew leader was a great religious teacher named Abraham. He left his home in Mesopotamia and became the leader of a tribe of Semitic nomads in the Syrian Desert about 1800 B.C. After wandering for centuries, the Hebrews journeyed down to Egypt, where they were enslaved by a pharaoh. About 1200 B.C., they were rescued by a second great leader, Moses, who led them out of Egypt to the borders of the "Promised Land" of Palestine (map, p. 43). In the centuries which followed, the Hebrews had to fight constantly, first to win Palestine and later to hold it. Frequently they suffered disastrous defeats.

Around 1000 B.C., their twelve tribes were united by a strong ruler, King David. He also conquered many neighboring peoples. His son, the wise King Solomon, encouraged commerce and built a splendid temple in

Ruins, such as those of Persepolis (above), are not our only reminders of the early Fertile Crescent civilizations. In modern Israel, a Jewish family in Central European dress partakes of the Passover Seder (right). This ceremonial meal originated more than 3000 years ago, when Moses led the Israelites out of Egypt.



Jerusalem. Shortly after Solomon's death, however, the Hebrews split and formed two kingdoms. The northern Kingdom of Israel was conquered by the Assyrians in 722 B.C. and its people, known as "the lost ten tribes of Israel," disappeared from history. The southern Kingdom of Judah survived for some centuries longer. Eventually, it too ceased to exist and its people were dispersed by the Romans in A.D. 70. Even in exile, however, the Hebrews continued to play an important role in history.

The Jewish Religion. On the surface, the sad story of the Hebrews is merely that of a weak, almost defenseless people surrounded by powerful and aggressive neighbors. In reality, they had mighty defenses, which were spiritual in nature. Their religious ideals were a unifying force which enabled them to survive long after the empires of their oppressors had crumbled into the dust. For while other peoples still worshiped idols and some even engaged in human sacrifice, the great law-giver Moses brought to his people the Ten Commandments, "written by the finger of God." The Hebrews were called on to smash their graven images and to worship one God, the Creator and Judge of the Universe. They were also forbidden to kill, to steal, or to commit other sinful acts. The laws of Moses gave mankind the concept of a monotheistic religion which placed its main emphasis on ethical behavior.

The ideals of Moses continued to inspire his people. Especially during times of trouble, prophet after prophet arose to denounce greed and evil-doing and to make fiery appeals for a higher moral order. From the teachings of their great religious leaders, their contacts with neighboring peoples, and their own sad experiences, the Hebrews developed the religion known as Judaism. It was to prove of lasting importance in his-

tory as a great religion in its own right and as the inspiration for two other great world religions, Christianity and Islam.

THREE GREAT EMPIRES

The Assyrian Empire. When Moses led the Hebrews out of Egypt (about 1200 B.C.), another people, the Assyrians, were rising to power in the Fertile Crescent. The Assyrians were a Semitic people who had settled along the upper Tigris River near the hill country of northern Mesopotamia (map, p. 43). Situated thus, between the desert and the mountains, they were constantly attacked by nomads from both directions. To protect themselves, the Assyrians created a standing army which eventually developed into a mighty military machine. For centuries, however, they still had to fight off the Hittites and other civilized powers who were seeking to control the trade routes passing through their land. Then in the eighth century B.C., equipped with iron weapons, war chariots, and heavy battering rams, the Assyrians themselves embarked on a mighty march of conquest. Mesopotamia, Syria, Phoenicia, Israel, and Egypt fell before their arms.

To manage their far-flung empire, the Assyrian rulers divided it into provinces and appointed a governor for each. They built good roads along which their messengers and armies could travel quickly. With the tribute collected from their subjects, they built a splendid new capital, Nineveh, whose massive walls towered high above the surrounding countryside. One Assyrian ruler, Assurbanipal, created one of the world's great libraries. Many thousands of clay tablets have been found containing records of Assyrian conquests and literature. Most of the literature, however, was copied from that of the Babylonians and Sumerians.

The Assyrians were noted for their cruelty. They taxed their subjects heavily and reduced them to virtual slavery. Rebellions were suppressed in ruthless fashion. Typical was the boast of one Assyrian ruler: "The booty and possessions, cattle, sheep, I carried away; I reared a column of bodies and a column of heads. . . . Their boys and girls I burned up in flame. I devastated the city, dug it up, in fire burned it; I annihilated it." Yet Assyria's reign of terror failed in the end. Time and again, its subjects revolted. Peoples from outside the empire attacked to gain its wealth. Gradually, Assyria's fighting men were killed off by the constant wars, and its power grew weaker. Finally, in 612 B.C., the Assyrians were defeated by rebels under the leadership of the city of Babylon. Everywhere people rejoiced as proud Nineveh was razed to the ground.

The Second Babylonian Empire. The victorious Babylonians went on to take over

much of the Fertile Crescent from the Assyrians. The greatest ruler of the Second Babylonian Empire was Nebuchadnezzar. Under his rule the capital city, Babylon, was rebuilt to a magnificence which would have outdazzled even Nineveh. Among the spectacles to be seen were the terraced roof gardens of his palace, the "hanging gardens of Babylon," which the ancient Greeks listed as one of the Seven Wonders of the World.

An outstanding feature of later Babylonian culture was the part astrology played in its religion. The Babylonians believed that the planets were divine powers which controlled the fate of men and that the future could be foretold by studying their movements. This superstitious belief in astrology is still held by many people. However, the Babylonians' interest in the heavenly bodies also led to important advances in the science of astronomy. The priests were careful observers, keeping accurate records of the move-



ments of the planets. From these records they were able to calculate in advance the relative position of the planets and predict eclipses of the sun and moon. Their achievements in astronomy were taken over by the Greeks, who carried them still further.

The Persian Empire. The glory of the Second Babylonian Empire proved short-lived. Within less than a century, it was conquered by the Persians. The Persians were originally a nomadic people who had settled on the Iranian Plateau to the east of Mesopotamia. They were closely related to the people who invaded India in 2000 B.C. (see p. 49). Like them, the Persians called themselves Aryans and spoke a tongue belonging to the family of Indo-European languages. At the time of the Assyrian Empire they were mostly farmers and herders, divided into many tribes. Together with the Medes, a closely related people, they fought against invading Assyrian armies many times, imitating their military methods and improving them.

About sixty years after the fall of the Assyrian Empire, the Persian tribes were united under a leader named Cyrus. Under King Cyrus, the Persians began a career of conquest greater even than that of the Assyrians. Lydia, Babylonia and the rest of the Fertile Crescent, Egypt, and part of India fell to the Persians. Within little more than a generation, they had conquered an empire stretching three thousand miles, from the valley of the Indus to beyond the Nile (map, p. 43). With an area of about two million square miles and an estimated 75,000,000 inhabitants, Persia was the greatest empire the world had yet seen.

The Persians proved able administrators. Like the Assyrians, they divided their realm into many provinces, each under a governor. However, to check on the governors, there were royal inspectors, known as "the King's

Eyes and Ears," who visited provinces and heard complaints of the people. Good roads, a fast postal service, and a single system of coinage encouraged trade and bound the empire closer together. Over one road, couriers using relays of horses could cover 1,500 miles in seven days.

Like other rulers before them, the Persian kings had absolute power. Their will was law for all their subjects. But unlike previous rulers, the Persians took pride in a just administration of their empire. The many peoples under their rule were free to worship as they pleased. Providing they paid their yearly tribute in taxes, they were also allowed a large amount of self-government.

The Persian kings were followers of a religion taught by the Persian prophet Zoroaster. They believed that life was a struggle between the forces of light and goodness and the forces of darkness and evil. The spirit of all that was good was Mazda, who waged ceaseless war against the forces of evil. For all men there was a final judgment in which the righteous were rewarded with life in paradise and the wicked doomed to burn in hell. With truth, good thoughts, and good deeds, man could be saved. Eventually, so Zoroaster predicted, Mazda would reign supreme over a righteous world.

In many ways, the Persians learned from their subject peoples. The architecture of their palaces shows Egyptian influence. In painting and sculpture they were indebted to the Assyrians and Babylonians. To keep records they used both the cuneiform writing of Mesopotamia and an alphabet based on that of the Phoenicians. Persian rule brought two centuries of peace and prosperity to the peoples of western Asia until the conquest by Alexander the Great. During this time, the many different cultures of the Empire were slowly fused into one rich civilization.

5 / Lesson Review



Checking the facts

1. Explain: Fertile Crescent; monopoly; coinage; phonetic alphabet; Old Testament; Ten Commandments; Judaism; astrology.
2. Identify: Croesus; Abraham; Moses; King David; King Solomon; Nebuchadnezzar; King Cyrus; Zoroaster.
3. Tell what each of these peoples contributed to civilization: the Hittites; the Lydians; the Phoenicians; the Hebrews; the Assyrians; the later Babylonians; the Persians.
4. Why were so many important cultural achievements made in western Asia?
5. Why were the Assyrians the "most hated people" of the ancient world? In what ways did Persian rule represent an improvement over that of the Assyrians?

Applying history

1. Why has western Asia been called the "melting pot of the ancient world"? What advantages and disadvantages did its peoples derive from this situation?
2. How did iron weapons help the Hittites win a great empire? Why has it always been important for nations to possess abundant mineral resources?
3. Compare the achievements of the ancient Hebrews with those of the Assyrians. Why did the Hebrews' "empire of the spirit" prove more lasting than the Assyrians' "empire of the sword"?
4. Why did the Assyrians and the Persians maintain good roads? How did the Persian rulers supervise their local officials? Why

are modern governments able to rule large areas more easily and effectively than governments in ancient times?

History and geography

1. Locate (map, p. 43): Black Sea; Caspian Sea; Indus River; Fertile Crescent; Iranian Plateau; Land of the Hittites; Phoenicia; Lydia; Assyria; Syria; Palestine; Babylonia; Persepolis; Persian Gulf; Egypt.
2. Name the important peoples in and around the Fertile Crescent during ancient times (map, p. 43), then locate the areas in which each lived.
3. What were the principal natural boundaries of the ancient Persian Empire (map, p. 43)?
4. What geographic factors contributed to making the Phoenicians the important maritime people they became (map, p. 43)?
5. On a modern map of Europe, locate Sicily, Spain, and Great Britain. Trace the probable route of Phoenician traders from their home ports to these points.
6. After looking at the map on pp. 46-47, explain the term "Asia Minor."

Special activities

1. Prepare a class report on recent archaeological discoveries in western Asia.
2. Read to the class the Ten Commandments and other passages from the Old Testament which illustrate the basic teachings of Judaism.
3. Prepare a class exhibit entitled "The Ancient Cultures of Western Asia."



The great land mass of Eurasia—Europe and Asia combined—is regarded by some geographers as a single continent. Even by itself, however, Asia is the largest of the continents, occupying approximately one-third of the world's land area.

Asia's scale is huge. Its plains and desert areas are vast; its mountains—which include the highest on earth—tower unbroken by low passes; its rivers are wide and long; distances are almost unbelievable.

Asia's southeastern margins have abundant rainfall and were once covered by forest. Toward the interior these regions are bordered by high mountains and a great expanse of desert. Northward lie broad semiarid grasslands, or steppes. These merge into a wide belt of lowland and low mountains too cold for agriculture. The large rivers in this region are frozen much of the year, and the coldest temperatures known outside Antarctica have been recorded there.

Southwest Asia—now often called the Middle East—has fertile valleys and oases, notably between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, where one of the first great civilizations in history arose. This area has long been the crossroads between East and West.

Two other great early civilizations developed in eastern Asia: the Chinese in the Yellow River valley, that of India along the Indus River and in the valley of the upper Ganges.

In southeast Asia, where Indian and Chinese cultures came together, many plants were first put to man's use, and pigs and poultry were first domesticated. Here the great food grain rice has been grown from very early times. The densest populations on earth live here today.

From the steppes of Central Asia, the traditional home of the nomad, came invaders who built vast empires in India, China, southwest Asia, and Europe.

6 / HINDU CIVILIZATION

IN INDIA



At about the same time great civilizations were arising in Egypt and western Asia, another very important civilization appeared in India. This Indian civilization requires careful study for at least two reasons. First, it is a civilization which, though altered greatly by later outside influences, still profoundly affects the lives of hundreds of millions of people in India and neighboring countries. Second—and this is indeed a regrettable reason—it is a civilization which is little known and appreciated by the West.

To many of us, India even today is a land of mystery, inhabited by a strange people who wear loincloths, ride on elephants, play music for cobras, and sit on boards full of nails. Though such customs exist and naturally attract attention, they are only a small part of the story. For India is a huge land, more like a continent than a country. In area and population, it is almost equal to all of Europe without Russia. It is a land of modern cities and primitive villages, of splendid luxury and grinding poverty, of enlightened culture and widespread ignorance. To understand these great contrasts, we must study both the geography and the history of India.

THE RISE OF THE HINDUS

The Geography of India. India is an immense triangle, bounded on the east and west by the Indian Ocean and on the north by the towering Himalaya Mountains (map, p. 50). The country is divided into three main geographical regions. Northern India is a broad plain stretching for about 1,500 miles from sea to sea. The central portion consists mainly of a large plateau, the Deccan, which is separated from the north by a mountain range. The extreme southern tip of the peninsula, known as Tamil Land, is a jungle-clad tropical region.

India's climate varies a great deal but is for the most part harsh and inhospitable. For about half the year the hot sun shines down from a cloudless sky, until the earth is all parched and dry. Then the southerly summer wind, the monsoon, brings the life-giving rain. This comes pouring down week after week with hardly an interruption until vast areas become muddy swamps. Whenever the rains are too light or too late, the crops dry out and millions of people are threatened by famine.

The wide northern plain, however, is watered by two mighty rivers which come down from the Himalayas—the Indus in the northwest and the Ganges in the northeast. Their valleys are the most fertile and densely populated regions of India. With the aid of irrigation, two and even three harvests are reaped each year. Millet, wheat, and rice are the main crops. Cotton and sugar cane, which probably originated in India, have also been grown there from very early times. As in Egypt and Mesopotamia, the warm, fertile river valleys were the cradles of early civilization.

Remains of Early Civilizations. In the valley of the Indus, archeologists have dug up the remains of two ancient cities dating back to almost 3000 B.C. These remains, which closely resemble those of the Sumerians of Mesopotamia, show that the inhabitants lived in comfort and luxury. Their brick homes were two- or three-story buildings, with open courtyards, private wells, and even bathrooms. The streets were wide and laid out at right angles to each other. Articles in common use—bronze knives and razors, beautifully painted pottery, elegant jewelry, and finely carved seals—reveal a skillful and artistic people. There is some evidence that this early Indus civilization was destroyed when the rainfall decreased and the Indus River shifted its course.

Remains found elsewhere reveal the existence of another early civilization in India, developed by a short, dark-skinned Negroid people, the Dravidians, whose descendants are still found in southern India today. Some archeologists believe that the Dravidians originally occupied the Indus River valley but were driven out by the people mentioned above. Not much is known about either of these peoples because the writings

of the early Indus people have not been deciphered and early written records of the Dravidians have not been found.

Coming of the Aryans. The true historic period in India begins sometime after 2000 B.C., following the arrival there of numerous tribes of Caucasian nomads from the northwest. These were probably part of a large group of tribes or peoples known as the Aryans, who all spoke the same or kindred languages. Scholars believe that the Aryans originally inhabited the steppelands around the Caspian Sea. For reasons not completely clear, they dispersed and settled in many places—in India, Persia, northern Asia Minor, and most of Europe. The evidence for this theory is that their languages have survived in these areas and show certain similarities to one another even today.

The Aryans who invaded India were typical nomadic barbarians (see p. 14). Driving their cattle before them, they wandered from place to place in search of good grazing land. Each tribe was ruled by a warrior-chief and a council of fighting men. Within the family, the father had complete authority, even over his married sons and their children, all of whom lived together. The father also conducted the religious services, which consisted of simple sacrifices and ceremonies to the tribal gods and family spirits. Women and children took care of the household chores and tended the herds. The men spent much of their time in hunting and fighting or drinking and feasting.

For centuries, wave after wave of these Aryan nomads poured through the mountain passes. Gradually they conquered the entire Indus River valley. In time, the Hindus, as the invaders came to be called, took over most of India. They despised the conquered Dravidians, whom they described as "black-

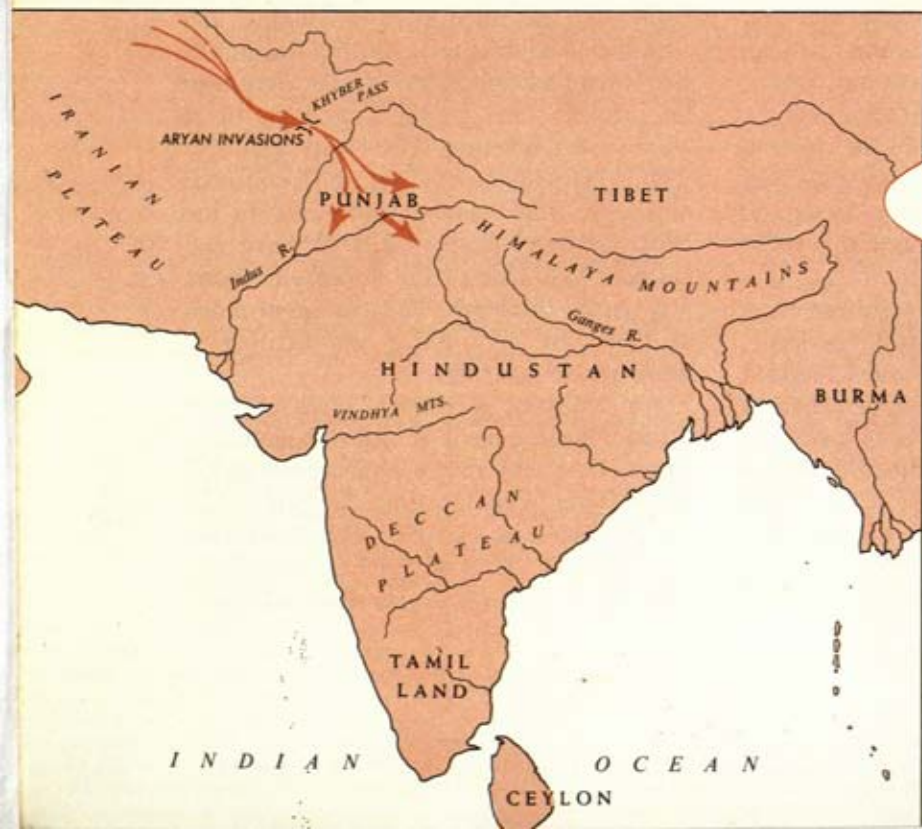
skinned" and "noseless." Nevertheless, there was probably a good deal of intermarriage, and the newcomers learned much from their more civilized subjects. Abandoning their nomadic way of life, they settled down as farmers and herdsman.

The Early Hindu Way of Life, about 1000 to 500 B.C. In early Hindu agriculture, each family tilled a separate plot of ground. However, like the early Egyptians and Sumerians, they soon discovered that they had to cooperate for protection and irrigation. They therefore grouped themselves in villages, each ruled by its own headman. These little village communities supplied almost all the needs of their members. They were so self-reliant that they were able to survive countless wars, famines, and other disasters. Unfortunately, they also retarded progress because, without the approval of the community, no individual could do things dif-

ferently from the way the other villagers did them. As a result, the Indian peasant still lives and works very much as his ancestors did several thousand years ago.

Gradually, groups of tribal villages were combined to form small kingdoms. The kings, or rajahs, protected their subjects, dispensed justice, and presided over religious ceremonies. They were assisted in these functions by the nobles and priests. A middle class, composed of merchants and skilled craftsmen, also soon appeared. Trade and industry led to the rise of flourishing towns and cities.

Many of the early Hindu kings had splendid capitals, with broad streets, well-stocked shops, and large market places. They encouraged poets, artists, and musicians. Their courts became important centers of culture. However, these rulers fought continual wars with their neighbors in order to expand their



ANCIENT INDIA



power. Eventually, there emerged several very sizable kingdoms which brought unity to large portions of India.

TWO MAJOR RELIGIONS— HINDUISM AND BUDDHISM

Early Hindu Literature. The outstanding achievements of the early Hindus came in the fields of literature and religion. Even as barbarians, the Aryans had loved to listen to their minstrels or bards as they sang about the exploits of their forefathers. Later, when a system of writing developed, the Hindus wrote down their songs. In time, they created one of the first great collections of literature in the world. It includes stirring poems of heroes and wars, a collection of religious hymns, and many deep philosophical reflections about the nature of the universe. This great literature was written in Sanskrit, the ancient language of the Hindus.

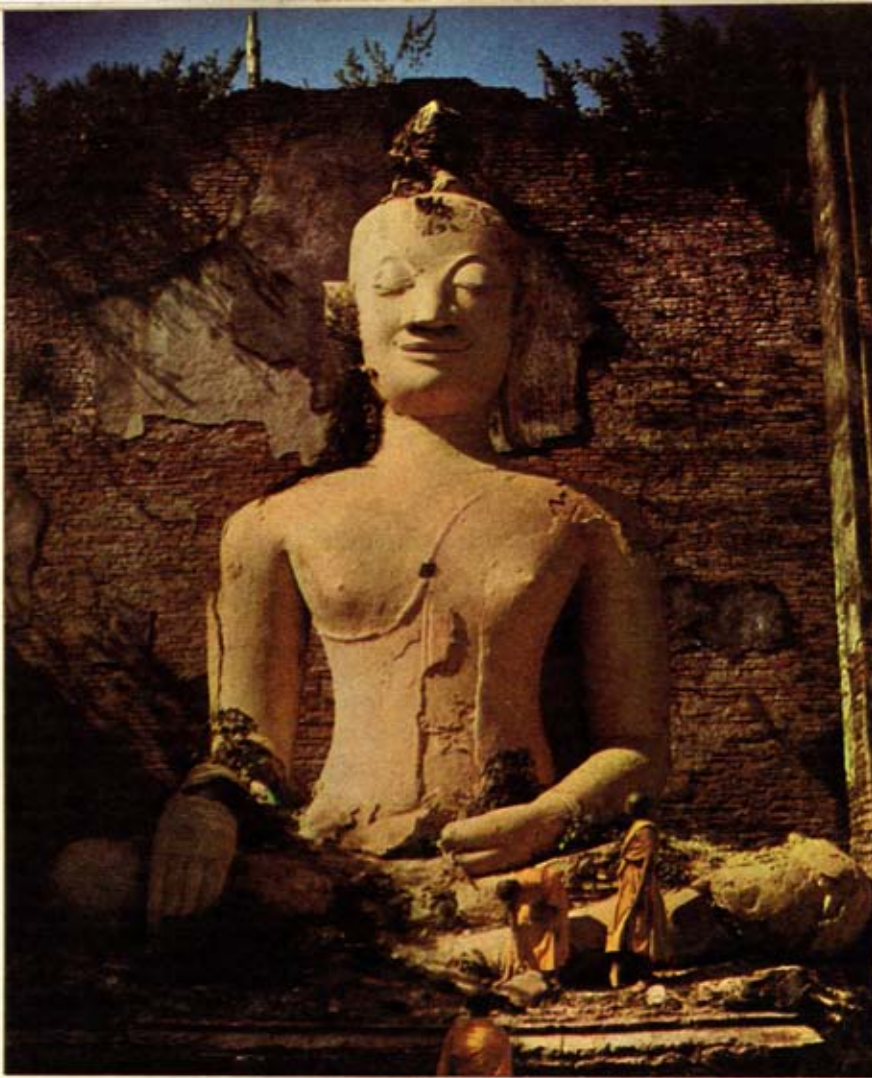
The Hindu Religion (Brahmanism). The Hindu religious writings dealt with profound questions which have interested many peoples: "Whence does man come, and whither is he bound?" "What is the purpose of life?" "Which is the right way of living?" The Hindu thinkers came to the conclusion that the entire universe is governed by a spirit or soul force, *Brahma*, which is "without body and without mind, pure, higher than the high, imperishable." Each living creature contains a portion of this immortal soul, which never dies and is reborn many times and in many forms. This idea is called reincarnation, or the transmigration of souls. A person's behavior in each existence determines how he will be reborn in the next life. The final purpose of life is to attain eternal peace, *Nirvana*, in which the soul of the individual is merged with *Brahma* and is no longer compelled to return to earth.

The deep thoughts and lofty ideals of Hinduism have won the praise of many thinkers even in our own day. Over the centuries, it inspired millions of people to lead a more godly life. Devout Hindus sought to achieve *Nirvana* through learning, good deeds, and self-denial. They devoted much time to studying the sacred writings and to religious meditation. They were thoughtful of their fellow men and treated animals kindly. Because of their belief that every living creature has a soul, some very pious persons would not eat any kind of meat and a few even felt it wrong to kill harmful insects.

On the other hand, many Hindus became more concerned with the outward symbols of their religion than with its deeper meaning. They worshiped thousands of gods and offered bloody sacrifices to them. They became fatalistic about life, passively accepting the evils about them. Fanatical holy men achieved fame by half-starving themselves or by performing incredible feats like lying for years on a bed of nails. In such ways they hoped to free their souls from the burden of flesh and to become one with *Brahma*.

The Caste System. By far the greatest problem which developed in Hinduism was the caste system. Every Hindu is born into a certain caste or social class and must remain in that caste for his entire life. The caste system is based on the religious belief that a person's station in life is fixed by fate as a reward or punishment for his behavior in a previous existence. It is a fundamental part of the doctrine of reincarnation.

In early times, there were four castes. Three of these—the priests or scholars (*Brahmans*), the rulers and warriors (*Kshatriyas*), and the landowners and businessmen (*Vaiśyas*)—were of honorable rank. Though there were some restrictions on social relations, it



In modern Indo-China, Buddhist monks in saffron-color robes perform religious rites before a handsome statue of the founder of their religion.

was possible for a person belonging to the second or third of these castes to advance to a higher caste. The fourth caste (Sudras) was composed of lowly laborers, who were looked down upon by the other three.

Later, as new occupations developed and new groups were converted to Hinduism, the four original castes were divided into thousands of new castes and subcastes. The regulations became more rigid. Members of a

caste were forbidden to change their occupations, to marry outside of their own caste, or even to eat with someone of lower caste. Thus the caste system divided the Hindu people into many small groups and hindered economic and social progress.

Lowest of all were the Untouchables, who probably were the descendants of India's primitive inhabitants. The Untouchables performed work scorned by all others, such

as skinning dead cattle or collecting refuse. They were required to stay away from the caste Hindus. They were forbidden to enter a temple or schoolhouse or to use the wells used by others. A high-caste Hindu considered himself polluted if even an Untouchable's shadow fell on him! Yet the Untouchables did not complain because in theory they were being punished for their past sins. Only in very recent times has the caste system begun to break down; efforts are being made to improve the condition of the Untouchables.

Buddhism. The second great religion which arose in India, Buddhism, rejected the caste system and other rigid doctrines of Hinduism. Its founder was Gautama Buddha, who lived about 500 B.C. (The title "Buddha" means "the Enlightened One," or great teacher.) Gautama was a wealthy young prince with a lovely wife whom he adored. He enjoyed a life of luxury until, at the age of twenty-nine, he began to notice the misery and suffering about him and to wonder about the purpose of existence. Suddenly, he left his wife and infant son to adopt the life of a monk. After long years of meditation and self-torture, he was finally "enlightened"—that is, he believed that he understood the real meaning and purpose of life.

Man is unhappy, according to Buddha, because he cannot satisfy his desires. He must learn not to want anything for himself but to live simply and to serve his fellow men. Buddha accordingly drew up a set of good principles, such as "right thinking," "right feeling," and "right actions." He also drew up a list of evils, like greed, anger, lying, and jealousy. In short, he called for a return to the original ideals of Hinduism.

Dressed in the yellow robe of a Hindu monk and carrying a beggar's bowl, Buddha walked barefoot among the people of India

to bring them his message. He died at the age of eighty, after eating spoiled food because, it is said, he would not hurt his host's feelings by refusing it. Buddha's own unselfish life was the best example of his enlightened teachings.

The Influence of Buddhism. For many years, Buddhism gained converts only slowly. Then, about 250 B.C., a powerful Hindu ruler named Asoka acquired control of most of India and set out to conquer the rest. Shocked by the horrors of war he saw during his conquests, Asoka suddenly turned to Buddhism and devoted the rest of his life to helping his people. Among other things, he built many highways, irrigation works, and hospitals. He also sent out Buddhist missionaries to spread the faith in neighboring countries. So well did they succeed that Buddhism became one of Asia's leading religions. Today there are more than 150 million Buddhists in Ceylon, Burma, Tibet, Thailand, Indo-China, China, and Japan.

After Asoka's death, his empire crumbled. The petty Hindu kings recovered their power and resumed their civil wars. Meanwhile, Buddha's teachings fell into the very evils which he had tried to eliminate. A powerful priesthood gained control, built large temples, and made Buddha himself into a god. Instead of righteous living, they emphasized sacrifices and other ceremonies. Later still, the Indian Buddhists divided into two rival sects and grew very weak. The worshipers of Brahma regained control, persecuted the Buddhist priests, and won away their followers. Buddhism eventually disappeared from the land of its birth, and Hinduism again dominated the people's lives. In neighboring countries, however, Buddhism continued to flourish. And in distant China, as we shall see, it played a significant role as one of the country's major religions.



6 / Lesson Review

Checking the facts

1. Explain: monsoon; Dravidians; Aryans; Hindus; rajah; Hinduism; Brahma; reincarnation; caste system; Untouchables; Buddhism.
2. Identify: Gautama Buddha; Asoka.
3. Why were the Indus and Ganges rivers important in the development of early Indian civilization?
4. Describe the way of life of the Aryans who invaded India. What changes took place after the period of their invasions?
5. Describe the main features of the Hindu religion and tell how each affected the Indian people.
5. Explain how Buddhism resembles and differs from Hinduism.

Applying history

1. Explain the statement, "The heart of India beats in her villages." How has this situation begun to change in recent years?
2. How does the nirvana of the Hindus differ from the heaven of other important religions? In what ways does Hinduism stress the importance of righteous conduct here on earth?
3. Compare India's caste system with the class structure of other ancient countries. Why has the Indian government found it difficult to abolish the caste system even in the mid-twentieth century?
4. Only a few years ago, a leader of India's Untouchables persuaded several hundred

thousand of his followers to become Buddhists. What were his reasons? Why did the vast majority of the Untouchables fail to respond to his appeals?

5. Emperor Asoka said, "The chief conquest is not by force but by good behavior." What did he mean? How did his career reflect his teaching?

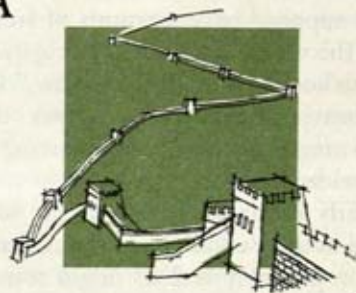
History and Geography

1. Locate (map, p. 50): Indian Ocean; Ganges River; Himalaya Mountains; Deccan Plateau; Iranian Plateau; Tamil Land; Ceylon; Burma; Tibet; Indus River.
2. Why is it said that India is "more like a continent than a country"? What are the main geographic regions into which it may be divided? Why do temperatures vary a good deal from one region to another?
3. Why are the river valleys the most densely populated parts of India? Which areas of India would you expect to be sparsely settled? Explain why.

Special activities

1. After consulting an encyclopedia or geography book, report to the class on the monsoon and how it affects the climate of India.
2. Find and read a recent book or magazine article that describes the life of the Indian peasant today. Explain why Indian peasant life has remained virtually unchanged for some three thousand years.
3. Prepare a class report on the life and teachings of Gautama Buddha.

7 / THE ANCIENT CIVILIZATION OF CHINA



THE RISE OF CHINESE CIVILIZATION

The Chinese often claim that theirs is the oldest *living* civilization. This is undoubtedly correct. For the ancient civilizations of Egypt and Mesopotamia disappeared long ago, and the Hindu civilization changed greatly when invading enemies settled in India. The Chinese are also justified in claiming that they made many important discoveries and inventions which were not learned by other peoples until centuries later.

Important though their achievements were, the Chinese did not influence other civilizations for a long time. And they, in turn, were slow to benefit from the achievements of other peoples. The main reason is to be found in China's geographical location (see map, p. 59). In early times, seamen did not dare venture across the broad oceans between China and other civilized countries. The overland route was even more forbidding. It wound its way for several thousand miles across towering mountain ranges, parched deserts, and barren steppelands that were inhabited by fierce Mongol tribesmen. For many centuries, the Chinese remained isolated from other civilized peoples.

Main Geographical Features. Geography has played a major role also in China's internal development. The main fertile regions border the Pacific Ocean and are divided into three distinct areas. South China is a warm country, well watered by the monsoon rains. In the valleys, the people cultivate a swamp grass, rice, which has such a high yield per acre that it has become the staple food of a large part of the human race. On the dry hillsides, they raise tea bushes and mulberry trees on which silkworms are fed. Rice, tea, and silk are three of China's important contributions to the world.

Central China consists largely of the valley of the mighty Yangtze River, which flows some three thousand miles from mountainous Tibet to the sea. The climate is generally pleasant, the soil is fertile, rainfall is abundant, and the river makes travel easy. This area contains almost half of China's population today.

North China, on the other hand, has a harsh climate, with hot summers, cold win-

ters, and irregular rainfall. Its great asset is a deep fertile soil, loess, which has been brought there by winds and streams from the steppelands of the interior. The richest part is the valley of the Yellow River. The river supplies large amounts of fresh topsoil and the water necessary for irrigation. But it is also known as "China's sorrow." In periods of heavy rainfall, it overflows its banks, drowning thousands and leaving millions homeless.

Early Remains. It was in the north, at a bend in the Yellow River, that Chinese civilization probably had its origin sometime before 2000 B.C. Archeologists have uncovered in this region the ruins of early villages surrounded by walls of pounded earth. The remains show a culture typical of the New Stone Age. The inhabitants lived in small mud huts or even in caves dug out of the loess. They engaged in herding and farming. Wheat, barley, and other cereals were grown. Pigs and poultry were the main domesticated animals, although the horse and ox were also known. The finds include polished stone axes, knives, and hoes, together with a crude type of pottery. However, we know relatively little about this very early period of Chinese history because no written records have been discovered. Later Chinese accounts of this period, though interesting, are based on legend.

It is likely that the Chinese advanced most rapidly in the north because they found it easier to work the soft loess than to clear the dense forests and thickets of central and southern China. It is true that they also encountered some difficulties here. They had to erect dikes along the Yellow River, build canals for irrigation, and provide for defense against their warlike Mongol neighbors. But these obstacles actually proved a blessing in disguise. To overcome them, the Chinese

learned to work together and eventually developed an efficient government. As in other countries, advances in the arts and learning went hand in hand with economic and political progress.

China's First Historic Dynasty. Chinese civilization, as we know it, began to take shape during the time of the Shang Dynasty or family of rulers, about 1750 to 1125 B.C. The Shangs ruled a small kingdom in the valley of the Yellow River (map, p. 59). Though the large majority of the inhabitants still engaged in agriculture, they had already advanced well beyond the Stone Age. A few of the villages had grown into towns. Craftsmen made tools, weapons, and vessels of bronze. They manufactured silk and linen cloth and other articles which required a considerable degree of skill. Most of their products were purchased by the king and the wealthy landowners or nobles. However, there is also evidence that Shang merchants engaged in trade with less civilized neighboring peoples.

By the time of the Shangs, the Chinese had developed a system of writing much like that still in use today. Most of the early written records have been lost but enough have been found to show the basic similarity. Chinese writing consists of characters which symbolize either objects, ideas, or sounds. Each of these characters represents a single one-syllable word. They are written in vertical columns which start on the right side of the page. Since the Chinese never developed an alphabet, a student has the difficult task of learning tens of thousands of different characters! This complex system of writing has undoubtedly proved an obstacle to China's progress.

The earliest known Chinese written records are prayers scratched on fragments of bone or shell, indicating the significant role

played by religion in the life of the Chinese. Like many other ancient peoples, they believed that they were surrounded by a host of invisible beings, whose displeasure they feared. These included gods of the sky and earth, household deities, and the souls of departed ancestors. To win the good will of these spirits, the people offered up sacrifices and performed elaborate ceremonies. Their rituals were often accompanied by music and dancing. The king took a leading part in the early Chinese religion. He served as high priest and presided over all important religious ceremonies. He was called the "Son of

Heaven," a title which indicated that he had been sent by heaven to rule over the people.

According to later tradition, the Shang Dynasty ruled for more than six hundred years. However, many of the later monarchs were corrupt or incompetent. They devoted themselves to pleasure and showed little concern for the welfare of their subjects. The nobles, freed from royal control, fought constantly among themselves. Finally, the Shangs were overthrown by a powerful noble, who founded a new dynasty, the Chou. Chinese history has contained many such cycles, in which a dynasty rose to power and

Many Chinese customs have changed little through the centuries. Writing the complex characters of the language is still done by means of brush and ink, as it has been for thousands of years (right). And, even today, on a junk in Hong Kong harbor, the grandmother occupies the place of honor while a Chinese family eats its simple meal.



flourished, then suffered a period of decline and finally was replaced by a new dynasty.

The Chou Dynasty and Its Achievements, about 1125 to 250 B.C. The Chous held the throne for almost a thousand years. During their long reign China achieved so much that many Chinese still regard it as their country's "Golden Age." The early Chou kings restored peace and established a strong government. They drafted men for the army and for large public works projects, such as dams and irrigation canals. They were also active in the country's economic life. Fishing and salt mining were carried on by the government, and other industries came under its supervision. Each of these activities was directed by a minister appointed by the king. The ministers were assisted by a body of government officials chosen for their ability with little regard for social class. This was the beginning of China's famous civil service, which was destined to play a very important role in the country's history.

Another important achievement of the Chou period was the spread of Chinese influence among neighboring peoples. Chinese armies, equipped with iron weapons, were able to advance southward and to occupy part of the Yangtze River valley. They also defeated the barbarians to the northwest and extended their holdings in that direction (see map, p. 59). In the newly conquered lands, the Chinese established colonies, which helped to civilize the original inhabitants.

Since their kingdom had become too large for them to rule directly, the Chous appointed nobles as governors of the outlying provinces. These governors, together with the other important royal officials, formed a wealthy and influential upper class. They lived in many-roomed brick mansions built around spacious inner courts and colorful



gardens. Skilled craftsmen worked to provide them with fine furniture, expensive jewelry, and other luxury goods. Large numbers of clerks and laborers also found employment in their service. In time, the capitals of the Chous and of their governors grew into bustling, prosperous cities.

The Golden Age was also marked by a great deal of artistic and intellectual activity. Metalworkers cast graceful bronze vessels and bells for the temples. Jewelers spent months, or even years, carving beautiful ornaments of precious jade or ivory. Historians kept careful records, which are of great value to later students seeking information about the Chou period. Poets turned out a remarkable variety of verse. These included solemn religious hymns, gay lyrics for court festivals, and songs dealing with events in the everyday life of the common people. Many of these poems are still known and sung today.

Most important of all, however, were the developments in philosophy and religion. Unlike the mystical Indians, whose lives were dominated by Brahmanism and the caste system, Chinese philosophers concerned themselves mainly with practical worldly problems. "How can people lead happier lives and create a more perfect society?" they asked. China's two greatest philosophers, Confucius and Lao-tse, both of whom lived in the late Chou period, about 500 B.C., found very different answers to this question. Nevertheless, the teachings of both were adopted by the Chinese people and became a basic part of the Chinese way of life.

THE INFLUENCE OF RELIGION

The Teachings of Confucius. According to the traditional account, Confucius first won fame by editing the "classics," a collection of the country's early writings on his-

-  The Shang Dynasty
about 1500 B.C.
-  The Chou Dynasty
about 1000 B.C.
-  The Han Dynasty
about 100 B.C.

ANCIENT CHINA



tory, religion, poetry, nature, and music. One of the provincial governors, impressed by the wisdom of Confucius, appointed him to high office. Within a short time, the sage succeeded in setting up a model government. But the governor soon tired of his adviser's strict moral standards and dismissed him. Confucius wandered about for years, unable to gain another important post. Finally, he settled down and spent his remaining years teaching a small group of devoted pupils.

The followers of Confucius made a collection of his wise sayings or proverbs, in which he expressed his philosophy of life. Like many Chinese, the sage believed that all men had been wise and good in very early times. He urged people to abandon the "new ways" and go back to the customs of their ancestors. To guide them, he set forth detailed rules for every important human relationship—between ruler and ministers, husband and wife, brother and brother, father and son, and friend and friend. "With righteousness in the heart," he declared, "there will be beauty in the character. With beauty in the character, there will be harmony in the home. With harmony in the home, there will be

order in the nation. With order in the nation, there will be peace in the world."

Effects of Confucianism. The teachings of Confucius had a profound effect on the Chinese way of life. Since Chinese farming required a very great amount of hand labor, people lived together in large family groups or clans. Confucius strengthened these traditional family ties. People were taught to regard the oldest member of the family as its "honored head" and to grant him the deepest respect and veneration. Children learned obedience and good manners so thoroughly that they seldom had to be punished. Crime was relatively rare because the offender brought disgrace on his entire family. When some members of the family were in need, the others found them employment or contributed to their support. By working closely together in family groups, the Chinese managed to survive many periods of trouble and won a reputation for courtesy, honesty, and good humor.

Confucius' teachings greatly appealed to the upper classes. The philosopher advised the people to obey their rulers, whom heaven had set over them. He urged them to regard

the king in particular as the honored head of the entire nation. It is hardly surprising that later monarchs ordered that Confucianism should be taught in the schools and that the philosopher himself should be worshiped as a god.

However, one follower of Confucius pointed out that the relationship between the ruler and his subjects worked two ways. The people were obligated to serve their king. But he in turn had an obligation to look out for their welfare. If the people were miserable, their suffering was evidence that the king had lost the "Mandate of Heaven"—that is, he no longer had the favor and support of the gods. In that case, the people had the right to rebel and depose him. This principle, like the teachings of Confucius himself, was adopted by the Chinese and was used to justify revolt on a number of different occasions.

China's Other Religions. Almost nothing is known about the life of Lao-tse, the second great philosopher of the Chou period. The traditional account is that he withdrew from civilized society to live in a desert region. On the way to the desert, he wrote a little book in which he expressed his views on life generally. The individual can find happiness, according to Lao-tse, by giving up the struggle for wealth and power and by leading a simple life in accordance with the laws of nature. "The wise man does not push himself forward nor make himself great," wrote the philosopher. "He does not fight and therefore no one can fight with him. . . . He meets the good with goodness and he meets the bad, too, with goodness. He makes himself the lowest of all and yet all the world will flock to the man who knows the Tao [the way of nature]."

Lao-tse's teachings became known as Taoism. They spread rapidly among the com-

mon people, who welcomed a faith which seemed to praise their own humble way of life. But they changed Taoism considerably by adding many of their ancient beliefs and ceremonies. In particular, they looked to the Taoist priests to drive away evil spirits and to perform feats of magic. Centuries later, Buddhism was introduced into China and won many people away from Taoism. In time, however, the two religions borrowed so much from each other that they became very much alike. Many Chinese even found it possible to follow at one and the same time the principles of all three great teachers—Confucius, Lao-tse, and Buddha.

The Short-Lived Ch'in Dynasty, 221–207 B.C. By the time of Lao-tse and Confucius, the Chou Dynasty was already in a state of decline. Weak kings neglected affairs of state and exercised little real power. The nobles held complete control over their territories and fought many wars to enlarge them at the expense of their neighbors. As conditions grew worse, it became evident that the Chous had lost the Mandate of Heaven. Revolts broke out and the country was torn by conflicts among rivals for the throne. Finally, one noble succeeded in deposing the king. He established the Ch'in Dynasty, from which China gets its name.

The Ch'in rulers conquered large new territories, especially in the south, and assumed the title of emperor. They also built the Great Wall to stop the frequent Mongol invasions (see map, p. 59). However, they ruled harshly. Their expensive wars and construction projects required high taxes and long periods of forced labor. The opposition grew so great that the dynasty was overthrown after a short time.

The Powerful Han Dynasty, 206 B.C.–A.D. 220. The throne now passed to a new family of rulers, the powerful Han Dynasty.

The Han emperors were generous patrons of scholarship and literature. They supported and encouraged writers and built a great library containing over ten thousand volumes. They also strengthened the hold of Confucianism on the Chinese people. One of the Han rulers established a college to train future government officials. Students took a series of very difficult examinations, which were based on the Confucian classics, and those getting the highest marks were appointed to government posts. This system of examinations weakened the nobility by creating a new ruling class based on learning, rather than on heredity or wealth.

The Hans were interested in conquest as well as culture. One of them, Wu Ti (140–87 B.C.), was called the “Martial Emperor”

because of his military achievements (see map, p. 59). He reconquered southern China, which had broken away for a time. He also annexed part of Indo-China. In the north, he added portions of Manchuria and Korea to his empire. Still not satisfied, Wu Ti sent explorers and armies westward to make contact with other civilizations of which he had heard rumors. Despite the geographic obstacles, he succeeded in establishing an overland trade route to India and to western Asia. His successors maintained this route for several centuries. At about the same time, daring mariners began to make the long voyage by sea from China to Ceylon and India. Under the Hans, China's long isolation from other great centers of civilization was brought to an end.

These two bronze objects—a ceremonial wine vessel (right) and a cup—show the degree of craftsmanship Chinese artisans had attained as long ago as a thousand years before the birth of Christ.

Metropolitan Museum of Art



The Earliest Civilizations

The Legacy of the Ancient East

Our Debt to the Ancient East. In the early ancient period, various important peoples built civilizations on the foundations laid down by prehistoric man. Two of these civilizations, the Hindu and the Chinese, greatly influenced most of Asia but were relatively isolated from our own civilization until fairly recent times. The Egyptians, Sumerians, and other peoples of the Near East, on the other hand, were in the main stream of our civilization and directly influenced it from the beginning. To appreciate how much we owe to these peoples of the past, let us review their accomplishments.

1. *More complex social groups.* People in the ancient East learned to live together in large and complex social groups. The family, clan, and tribe gradually gave way to the village, town, and city. Social classes arose, each performing a different function for society. The leisured classes, the priests and nobles, had time and energy to concern themselves with art, literature, science, and other cultural matters.

2. *Economic advances.* The existence of larger social groups was made possible through economic advances. A variety of trades and crafts sprang up. From specializing in one or another of them, men became more skilled and were able to produce more and better goods. The methods of farming employed by the ancient Egyptians and Mesopotamians were not much improved until a few hundred years ago. Until recent times, too, few improvements were made in the smelting of metals. Even modern factories do not produce finer cloth than the ancients made by hand. The early civilized peoples also learned how to build roads and ships and to use money as a medium of exchange. In short, our agriculture, industry, and commerce all rest on their discoveries.

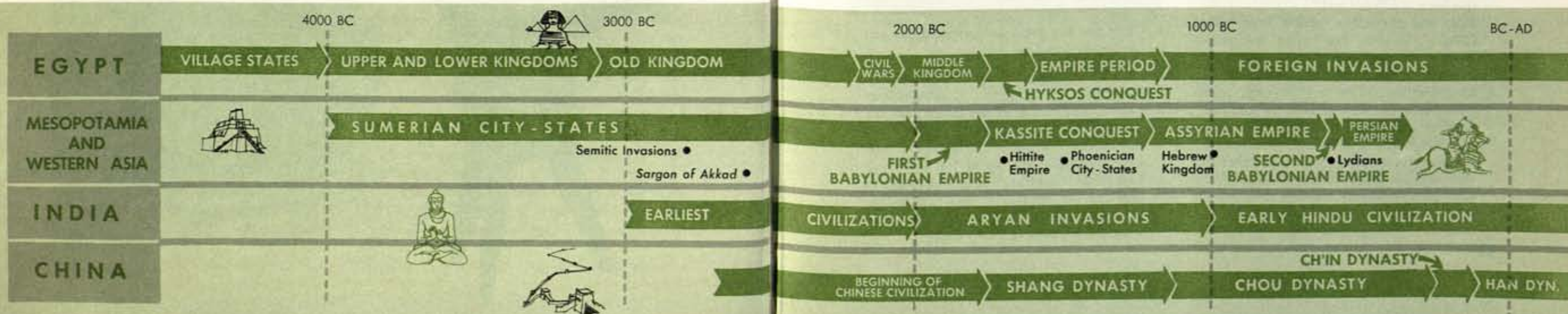
3. *Establishment of law and order.* Organized government also dates back to these early civilizations. The Egyptians were the first people to become a nation, with the whole country united under a single ruler. The peoples of the Near East, especially the Persians, developed efficient methods of ruling an empire. The Code of Hammurabi in the First Babylonian Empire stated the principle that a crime against an individual is a concern of the entire community. The rule of law and order was already well established in ancient times.

4. *Cultural achievements.* Many basic cultural advances were made by the peoples of the ancient East. These include the solar calendar, on which our own calendar is based; a simple system of writing using the phonetic alphabet (based on speech sounds); numerous great works of literature and philosophy; and the fundamental principles of mathematics, engineering, and astronomy. Remarkable achievements were also made in architecture, painting, and sculpture.

5. *Advanced religious ideas.* Five of the major religions of the modern world were born before 500 B.C. These were Hinduism, Buddhism, Taoism, Confucianism, and Judaism. One, Judaism, paved the way for

the two leading faiths of our time, Christianity and Islam. To the ancient civilizations of the East we owe many spiritual and ethical principles which still serve us as moral guides.

Growing Stagnation in the East. For several thousand years, the ancient peoples of the East advanced rapidly in many fields of endeavor. Even so, their civilizations had a number of undesirable features. Slavery was perhaps the worst of these, but the common people, working long hard hours, were often little better off than slaves. A good part of their produce went to enrich the rulers and members of the upper classes. Liberty in the modern sense was unknown; kings ruled with absolute power over their subjects. War was regarded as a normal state of affairs. Women had few rights and, for the most part, were kept secluded in the home. Bound by ancient customs and the rigid rule of kings and priests, most of the civilizations that we have been studying began to lose their power to originate new ideas and ways of life. Fortunately for mankind, a new civilization, created by the Greeks, was arising in the region of the Aegean Sea. The Greeks were to add fresh and original features to world civilization.





7 / Lesson Review

Checking the facts

1. Explain: Mongols; loess; "Son of Heaven"; Confucianism; family system; "Mandate of Heaven"; Taoism.
2. Identify: Confucius; Lao-tze; Emperor Wu-Ti.
3. Why was China long isolated from other advanced civilizations? How did this isolation influence its development?
4. Why did Chinese civilization arise in the Yellow River valley? How did it spread to neighboring areas?
5. Describe the important achievements of the Chinese people under their early dynasties.
6. Compare briefly the teachings of Confucius and Lao-tze. How did each of these great religious teachers influence the Chinese people?

Applying history

1. It has been said that the Chinese thought in terms of centuries the way occidental peoples do in years. Why did they have this attitude? How did it affect the Chinese way of life?
2. Why have recent Chinese governments tried to introduce a phonetic alphabet? Why has this been a difficult task?
3. Why has the Chou period been called China's "Golden Age"? Did the people living at the time consider it a golden age? Explain.
4. Confucius said, "Do not do unto others what you do not wish them to do unto you." Buddha said, "Let no one do unto others what he would not have done unto himself." Compare these sayings with each other and with the Christian "Golden Rule." Why have great religious teachers and philosophers often had similar views about human behavior?

5. Why did Chinese rulers seek to spread the teachings of Confucius? Explain how the "mandate of heaven" idea might be used to justify revolts against unsatisfactory rulers.

History and geography

1. Locate (map, p. 59): Yellow River; Yangtze River; Korea; Manchuria; Mongolia; Pacific Ocean; Tibet; Gobi Desert.
2. What were the major geographic regions of ancient China?
3. Trace the boundaries of the Chinese Empire during the Han Dynasty (map, p. 59).
4. What obstacles of geography did traders have to overcome in traveling from China to western Asia (map, pp. 46-47)?

Special activities

1. Prepare a class exhibit on the civilizations of ancient India and China. Emphasize both similarities and differences.
2. After consulting a biography or a reference work, prepare a class report on the life and teachings of Confucius.

Summarizing Unit 2

1. Chart the five great early civilizations you have studied in Unit 2.

- | Civilization | Approximate dates | Major achievements |
|--|-------------------|--------------------|
| 2. Take a cross section of this unit's time line and tell what was happening in the then-civilized world about 3000 B.C.; about 2000 B.C.; about 1000 B.C.; about 500 B.C. | | |
| 3. Review the important terms and names in this unit by holding a "bee." A player, from each side in turn, picks a word from a hat and explains or identifies it. | | |

4. In your notebook, prepare an outline of the main political developments discussed in this unit.
5. Label on an outline map:
 - a. *Rivers and Seas*: Mediterranean Sea; Nile River; Red Sea; Tigris River; Euphrates River; Persian Gulf; Indian Ocean; Indus

River; Ganges River; Pacific Ocean; Yangtze River; Yellow River.

- b. *Places*: Egypt; Nubia (the Sudan); Palestine; Syria; Asia Minor; Mesopotamia (Iraq); Iranian Plateau; India; Deccan Plateau; Tamil Land; China; Mongolia; Manchuria; Korea; Tibet.

Books to Read

Specialized Accounts

- *CASSON, LIONEL. *The Ancient Mariners*. Macmillan, 1959. An absorbing book about the sea fighters and merchants of ancient times.
- CERAM, C. W. *Gods, Graves, and Scholars*. Knopf, 1951. A popular account of various early civilizations as revealed by archeological finds.
- *CHIERA, EDWARD. *They Wrote on Clay*. Chicago, 1957. Life in ancient Babylonia as reconstructed from accounts on clay tablets.
- CONTENEAU, GEORGES. *Everyday Life in Babylonia and Assyria*. St. Martin's, 1954. A good description of the way people lived in ancient Mesopotamia.
- FITCH, FLORENCE M. *Their Search for God*. Lothrop, 1947. A concise account of the religions of India and China.
- *GLUECK, NELSON. *Rivers in the Desert*. Farrar, 1959. A fascinating work that deals with religion, history, and archeology in Palestine.
- GOODMAN, PAUL. *History of the Jews*. Dutton, 1953. A highly readable brief survey.
- HEATON, E. W. *Everyday Life in Old Testament Times*. Scribner's, 1956. Life in the ancient Middle East.
- KRAMER, SAMUEL N. *From the Tablets of Sumer*. Falcon's Wing, 1956. The text of twenty-five very early written records, translated and explained by a noted archeologist.
- MOSCATI, SABATINO. *Ancient Semitic Civilizations*. Putnam, 1958. A valuable, well-organized survey.
- ORLINSKY, HARRY M. *Ancient Israel*. Cornell, 1954. A brief, readable, scholarly work.
- *SEEGER, ELIZABETH. *The Pageant of Chinese History*. Longmans, Green, 1947. An in-

teresting introduction to Chinese history.

- *SENGUPTA, P. *Everyday Life in Ancient India*. Oxford, 1950. A well-illustrated survey of early Indian civilization.
- STEINDORFF, G. and K. C. SEELE. *When Egypt Ruled the East*. Chicago, 1957. Beautifully illustrated account of Egyptian history from early times to the Empire.

Biographies and Historical Fiction

- BEST, ALLENA C. *Honey of the Nile*. Oxford, 1938. The romantic story of a girl-queen who escaped from the royal Egyptian court.
- BURROWS, MILLAR. *Founders of Great Religions*. Scribner's, 1931. Valuable for its biographical sketches.
- COOLIDGE, OLIVIA. *Egyptian Adventures*. Houghton Mifflin, 1954. Twelve colorful stories of everyday life in ancient Egypt.
- *CROW, CARL. *Master Kung: The Story of Confucius*. Harper, 1938. An interesting account of the great Chinese sage.
- *GERE, FRANCIS K. *Boy of Babylon*. Longmans, Green, 1941. A novel concerning life in Mesopotamia in the time of King Hammurabi.
- KING, MARION. *Young King David*. Lippincott, 1948. A novel based on the Biblical account.
- MCGRAW, ELOISE J. *Mara, Daughter of the Nile*. Coward-McCann, 1957. A pretty slave girl helps a pharaoh recover his throne. Useful for its description of conditions under the Empire.
- *PAYNE, ROBERT. *The Gold of Troy*. Funk & Wagnalls, 1959. The story of Heinrich Schliemann and his discovery of the buried cities of ancient Greece.

UNIT 3

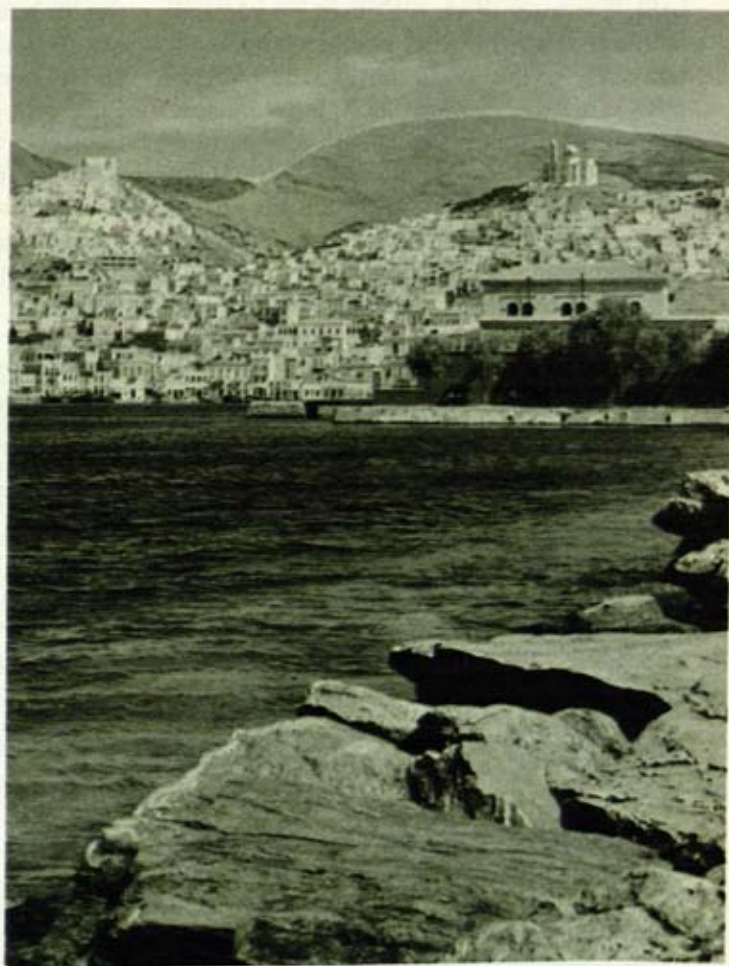
THE ANCIENT MEDITERRANEAN WORLD

In the days when Egypt and Mesopotamia were already great, most of the lands around the Mediterranean Sea were still inhabited by barbarians and savages. Traders from Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Phoenicia brought them their first taste of civilization and started them on the road to progress. By the time the old cultures of the East had lost their creative spark, a fresh new world was arising in the West.

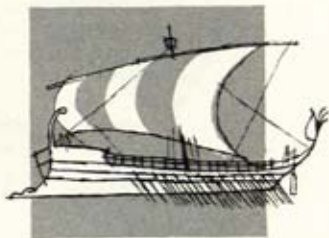
First the Greeks, a people who loved freedom and beauty, created a culture glorious for its art, literature, and philosophy. From the Greeks leadership passed to the more practical and more ambitious Romans, who eventually united the entire Mediterranean world under their rule. Thus civilization, like trade, passed from the narrow little river valleys out into the broad expanse of the Mediterranean Sea. The Mediterranean became a new center of civilization.

In studying the Greeks and Romans, we shall be mainly concerned with these questions:

1. How did the Greeks develop a new and progressive culture?
2. What were the great contributions of the Greeks to civilization?
3. What led to the fusion of Greek culture with the older civilizations of the East?
4. How did Rome become the ruler of the Mediterranean world?
5. What problems did Rome encounter as a result of its conquests?
6. What were the outstanding contributions of the Roman Empire to civilization?



8 / GREECE: FROM BARBARISM TO GREATNESS



Set in the sparkling blue waters of the Aegean Sea is the Greek peninsula. It is a land of purple-tinted mountains and green valleys, of deep blue skies and golden sunlight. The warmth of its climate is tempered by the sea-cooled breezes and bracing mountain air. In the small but fertile valleys, farmers cultivate wheat and other grains. The sunny mountainsides provide pasture for flocks of sheep and goats. Grapevines and olive trees thrive even where the soil is rocky. Bees, feeding on the mountain flowers, produce rich honey. Clay for pottery and marble for sculpture are abundant, and the surrounding seas beckon to fishermen and traders. The Greek peninsula is truly a land of beauty, where nature inspired man's artistic spirit and provided the setting for a vigorous new civilization.

THE GREEKS MASTER THE AEGEAN WORLD

A Forgotten Civilization in the Aegean. Until the end of the nineteenth century, almost nothing was known of an Aegean civilization earlier than that of the Greeks, although Greek legends mentioned such a civilization. In the great Greek epic, the *Odyssey*, Homer wrote: "There is a land called Crete, in the midst of the wine-dark

sea. . . . Among their cities is the great Knossos where Minos reigned . . . he that held converse with the great Zeus." Most scholars of the nineteenth century regarded these legends as myths. However, one person who believed otherwise was the noted amateur archeologist Heinrich Schliemann.

As a boy, Schliemann was fascinated by the stories of Homer. Years later, having become wealthy in business, he began to search for the places described by the blind Greek poet. Despite the scoffing of many people, Schliemann found several of the places mentioned by Homer. Excited by his discoveries, other archeologists began excavating in Aegean lands. To an astonished world, they revealed that an ancient civilization had indeed once flourished on the shores and islands of the Aegean Sea.

By far the most important remains were found on the island of Crete (map, p. 70), where the Aegean civilization probably began. At Knossos, the largest of many cities once existing on Crete, archeologists uncovered a magnificent palace which was several stories high, and spread over six acres. It had grand staircases leading to huge columned halls, covered with beautiful wall paintings. The palace was even equipped with running water and sewage drains! Also within the palace were storerooms, olive presses, school-

rooms, and workshops. A road forty miles long, paved with cobblestones and equipped with bridges, led to a neighboring city. Thousands of clay tablets with Cretan writing were also found, which scholars have only recently begun to decipher. It is still not known where the Aegean peoples came from or when they arrived on Crete.

Living on a small but strategically located island, the Cretans soon became an important trading people. As early as 3000 B.C., they probably learned from neighboring Asia Minor how to manufacture copper and bronze. They also exchanged their wares with Egypt, which was only a two-day sail away. By 2000 B.C., Crete was the center of a far-flung naval empire. There were large Aegean cities on the mainland of Greece and on nearby islands. Another outpost of Aegean civilization was the city of Troy, in Asia Minor. It is not known whether the kings of Crete controlled all these cities, but there is

little doubt that their sturdy ships ruled the seas. Long before the Phoenicians, daring Cretan mariners ventured forth into the western Mediterranean, trading with the peoples of Italy, Sicily, and distant Spain.

The chief Cretan deity was an earth or mother goddess, whose son later became known to the Greeks as Zeus. However, for reasons not known to us, the Cretans built no great temples or monuments to their gods. In their art-work, the Cretans revealed themselves as a gay and joyous people with a strong love of nature. Their paintings show leaping youths, prancing animals, and brightly colored birds and flowers—all almost lifelike in their realism. Cretan craftsmen displayed equal artistry. They produced very fine pottery and beautiful bronze and gold goblets. Apparently the Cretans were fond of athletics. In outdoor theaters, they enjoyed many sports, including boxing and gymnastics.

The throne in the great hall of the magnificent palace at Knossos on Crete is guarded by a wall painting of two griffins—mythical animals with the head of an eagle and the body of a lion.



The Greek Invasions. The Cretan cities prospered for many centuries. Then, about 1400 B.C., the great palace at Knossos was destroyed, probably by raiders. The raiders may have been a Greek-speaking people known as Achaeans, who had long before settled on the mainland. They belonged to the larger group of peoples known as Aryans or Indo-Europeans (see p. 49).

The Achaeans first began to invade the Balkan Peninsula around 2000 B.C., about the time their kinsmen were invading India and Persia. They came in several migrations, gradually giving up their nomadic way of life and settling down to a simple existence of farming and herding. Intermarrying with the more advanced Aegeans, they absorbed much of their culture. However, the invaders became the ruling class, and their language began to be used throughout the peninsula.

The invaders gave a more warlike character to Aegean culture. They attacked Crete, Egypt, and Asia Minor. Their ten-year siege of Troy, which took place about 1200 B.C., has been portrayed for us in

Homer's great epic poems, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. These poems, based on old legends, were composed by Homer about four hundred years after Troy fell. The *Iliad* tells of the long war between the Achaeans and the Trojans. The *Odyssey* describes the many exciting adventures of the Achaean hero Odysseus on his voyage back from Troy.

Sometime after the coming of the Achaeans, other waves of Greek-speaking people invaded the Aegean lands. The last of these invaders, the fierce and barbarous Dorians, destroyed the Aegean cities on the mainland and occupied Crete and other Aegean islands. Unable to resist the Dorians, many of the Achaean Greeks fled to Asia Minor and founded new cities there. By about 1100 B.C., the old Aegean civilization had almost disappeared.

Beginnings of Greek Civilization. The people known in history as the Greeks were a mixture of the Greek-speaking invaders and the earlier Aegeans. Though the Aegean civilization was all but destroyed, the Greeks built their own on its remnants. For a time



after the Dorian invasion, the Greeks led a somewhat primitive existence. There was little trade, and craftsmen produced few goods. The vast majority of the people cultivated small farms and tended their herds and flocks. Every man was a jack-of-all-trades, making his own furniture, tools, and utensils. Such goods as the Greeks could not make they bought from Phoenician traders who brought their wares to the shores of Greece. From Phoenician traders, also, they learned the alphabet which they adapted to fit the Greek language.

The Greek cities of Asia Minor played an important role in the development of Greek civilization. They were the first to show progress, perhaps because of the stimulation they received from their more advanced Lydian neighbors (see p. 39). They learned to manufacture fine woolen cloth, excellent bronze ware, and beautiful pottery. They also became expert in the production of wine and olive oil. Their trade in these articles was further increased when they began to use coins instead of relying on barter. Following the lead of their kinsmen in Asia Minor, farmers and craftsmen on the Greek peninsula began to produce goods for trade. Within a few centuries after the Dorian invasion, the Greeks were the most important traders in the Aegean and serious rivals of the Phoenicians in the Mediterranean.

As trade became profitable and as population increased, the Greeks resumed their migrations. Like swarming bees, they took to their ships to establish colonies elsewhere. They planted new settlements all along the Black Sea coast and sailed westward to Sicily, southern Italy, France, and Spain. By the sixth century B.C., there were Greek colonies from one end of the Mediterranean Sea to the other (map, p. 70). Though most of these colonies were independent, they

usually maintained close trading relations with their mother city.

The Greek City-States. The many mountain ranges which divide Greece into countless valleys discouraged the Greeks from forming a united nation. The early Greeks lived in small, isolated villages. However, to protect themselves from attack, they established strongholds in some of the more strategically located settlements. As trade and population grew, some of the settlements became commercial centers and developed into thriving cities. Each Greek city, together with its surrounding villages, was an independent and self-governing city-state—really a small nation. Most of the city-states had only a few thousand people, but Athens, Sparta, Corinth, and Thebes were considerably larger. At its height, Athens probably had about 300,000 inhabitants.

Whatever its size, each city-state jealously guarded its independence. Its citizens were bound together by their belief that they were all members of the same close family group. The right to citizenship was therefore a privilege each man enjoyed by birth. If he moved to another city-state, he was considered a foreigner who had no legal rights. Even his descendants, though they might be born in his adopted city-state, were usually not granted citizenship. Thus the Greeks developed a strong sense of loyalty to their particular city-state. Since city-states were often rivals for trade and power, Greek often warred against Greek.

Despite the geographic barriers and frequent conflicts, the Greeks thought of themselves as one people. All Greeks believed they were descended from a common ancestor, Hellen, after whom they called themselves Hellenes. They spoke the same language, or dialects of the same language. Every Greek was familiar with the heroes of

Homer's poems and regarded them as part of his heritage. Though loyal to his own city-state, he also felt affection for "Hellas" (Greece) and regarded all non-Greek peoples as "barbarians."

Religion was another powerful tie binding the Greeks together. They worshiped many gods, whom they identified with the forces of nature. Zeus, for example, was the ruler of the sky, Apollo was the sun god, and Poseidon was the god of the sea. According to the Greek religious myths, the gods continually feasted, loved, and quarreled among themselves, very much like their mortal subjects. Although each city had a special patron god or goddess, all Greeks worshiped at certain famous temples and frequently consulted the same priests for advice or prophecies about the future.

On occasion, groups of city-states formed alliances for common defense or for war. However, loyalty to the individual city-states proved too strong for the alliances to last after the emergency disappeared. When political unity finally came to the Greeks, it was forced upon them from the outside.

ATHENS, SPARTA, AND THE PERSIAN WARS

The Development of Democracy. Democracy, the form of government in which authority is vested in the people, originated in the city-states of Greece. The word itself comes from the Greek words *demos* ("people") and *kratein* ("to rule"). The achievement of democracy in Greece was the result of a long and bitter struggle. In early times each city-state was ruled by a king, aided by a council of lesser chieftains or nobles. The nobles, together with the rich landowners, formed an aristocratic class with special rights and privileges that were handed

down from generation to generation. The aristocrats gradually became powerful enough to depose the king or make him a figurehead, and to substitute their own control.

Under the rule of the aristocrats, the rich gained more wealth while the poor fell into debt. Most of the common people owned small farms on which they could grow only enough food to support themselves and their families. A bad season forced them to borrow money from rich landowners, for which they mortgaged their farms. If they were unable to repay their loans, they lost their land. Worse still, some farmers mortgaged themselves and their families; that is, they became slaves of the landowners.

A long struggle began between the common people and the aristocrats. In many of the city-states, ambitious individuals, usually leaders of the poor, seized control of the government. The Greeks called these dictators "tyrants," a word they used for anyone who became a ruler by irregular methods. Though some tyrants were able men, others were incompetent. In any case, their rule offended the Greeks' love of freedom and was usually short-lived. Through the rule of tyrants, however, the people of many city-states gradually gained enough power to introduce a democratic government. Thus many of the states advanced—from monarchy to aristocracy, to dictatorship, to democracy—until they became the first civilized people in the world to rule themselves.

In the small Greek city-states, the individual citizen was able to play a more active role in the government than in any large modern nation. All the citizens had the right to take part in the lawmaking body, the assembly. Officials were generally elected by the assembly or simply chosen by drawing lots. Terms of office were short, so that many

persons had the opportunity to serve. This system of government, in which all citizens could actively participate, is known as direct democracy.

Democracy in Athens. The city-state which made the greatest contribution to Greek civilization was Athens. Located on the barren peninsula of Attica, in eastern Greece (map, p. 75), Athens was unable to support its growing population by agriculture alone. To pay for the grain they were forced to import, the Athenians turned to manufacturing and commerce. They made fine wares, especially pottery, which their ships carried to other lands. Athens in time became one of the chief centers of trade in the Mediterranean.

Trade and manufacturing brought wealth to Athens, but for a time most of it was in the hands of the aristocrats. As in the other city-states, the small farmers were poverty-stricken. Craftsmen, laborers, and sailors were not much better off, and the growing middle class of merchants was discontented because its members had no voice in government. By the turn of the sixth century, the common people of Athens were so dissatisfied with the rule of the aristocrats that they were ready for revolt.

To prevent this, the aristocrats chose a rich, well-traveled merchant named Solon to draft a new set of laws. Solon's laws freed the people who had been enslaved because of their debts, forbade debt slavery in the future, and canceled all mortgages on land. To help the merchants, he made Athenian coins like those of neighboring cities and encouraged foreign artisans to settle in Athens. Every father was required to teach his son a trade by which he could support himself. In the political field, Solon made two important reforms. Hereafter the Assembly, the Athenian lawmaking body, was open to all

citizens. Courts of justice with juries of ordinary citizens were set up where Athenians could appeal the decisions of the aristocratic judges.

Although Solon's reforms went far to improve the lot of the common people, the latter remained discontented. They were still without land. Furthermore, the right to hold important offices was limited to the upper classes, and the voting system was weighted in favor of that group. Taking advantage of the people's discontent, tyrants seized power and ruled Athens for about fifty years. The tyrants introduced land reforms and granted other concessions to the people. Nevertheless, they eventually proved so unpopular that the last one was driven out by a rebellion.

Athenian democracy was given a second great boost by Cleisthenes, another reformer who became head of the government. Cleisthenes changed the voting system so that the power of the upper classes was finally broken. In its place he created one that distributed the voting fairly among all the people. By 500 B.C., after a century of reforms, the Athenians had a government in which power had passed from the few to the many.

By modern standards, the Greek idea of democracy was limited, even in progressive Athens. There were large numbers of slaves. Though generally well treated, they naturally had no political rights. Immigrants from other city-states were regarded as foreigners, as we have seen, and usually even their descendants were denied citizenship. Moreover, women were not allowed to vote and were kept secluded in the home. Since only free male citizens could vote and hold office, each Greek city-state had many people with no voice in their government. Nevertheless, even with these limitations, Greek democracy represented a great achievement. The

Greeks pointed the way to a priceless ideal, a system of freely elected government directly responsible to the people.

Militaristic Sparta. Most of the Greek city-states became democracies in much the same fashion as Athens. One striking exception was Sparta, a large city-state located on a peninsula of southern Greece, the Peloponnesus (map, p. 75). In Sparta, a few thousand aristocratic families maintained an iron-fisted rule over a population many times their number.

When the Spartans invaded southern Greece, about 1100 B.C., they made helots (slaves) of the natives they conquered and divided the land into large estates. Then, as the Spartan population increased and more land was needed, they seized the territory of a neighboring Greek people. When the latter revolted, the Spartans narrowly escaped disaster. Thereafter, they tightened their control and began to treat their subjects very harshly. A secret police force watched vigilantly for any signs of discontent. Rebellious slaves were murdered as a warning to the rest.

Yet the fear of new revolts made the conquerors no less slaves than their subjects. To keep the hostile population subjugated, the Spartans spent their lives in preparation for war. Weak infants, who might not make good soldiers, were abandoned to die. At the age of seven, the Spartan boy left his home to live in an army barracks. He ate whatever food he could beg or steal, slept on the ground, and spent most of his time in physical exercise and mock warfare. Once a year, he and his comrades were flogged; the hero was the boy who could bear the torture longest without showing pain. At twenty, if he survived this harsh upbringing, he became a soldier and at thirty a full citizen. He was then allowed to marry but, until the age

of sixty, he spent more of his time in the barracks than with his family.

The Spartan training accomplished its object. Sparta kept the slaves subjugated and, for several centuries, had the strongest army in Greece. It became the leader of the Peloponnesian League, a powerful alliance of city-states in the southern part of the peninsula. However, Spartans carried their worship of the state to such an extreme that they became more like military machines than human beings. They produced no great works of literature, philosophy, art, or science.

The Persian Wars. During their early history, the Greeks were not molested by foreign invaders. They were free to develop their own way of life. But in 490 B.C. they found themselves facing the might of the expanding Persian Empire (see p. 44). Trouble began when the Persians conquered the Greek city-states of Asia Minor. In an attempt to regain their independence, these cities revolted. Though Athens and some of its neighbors sent them military aid, the Persian king, Darius, easily crushed the rebels. Then, to punish their allies, he launched an attack against Greece.

Athens seemed doomed to suffer the same fate as the Greek cities of Asia Minor. But at Marathon, northeast of Athens, the outnumbered Athenian spearmen charged the Persian ranks and won a glorious victory. The shattered Persian forces fled to their ships and sailed home. The Athenians had turned back the Persian threat—for a time.

Ten years passed before the Persians were free to renew the conflict. The Athenians wisely used the breathing space to build a large fleet and to form alliances with Sparta and other Greek city-states. Finally, in 480 B.C., the new Persian king, Xerxes, son of Darius, advanced on Greece by land and sea with a huge military and naval force. For a



ANCIENT GREECE 450 B.C.

few days, a small band of heroic Spartans held up the mighty Persian army in a narrow mountain pass at Thermopylae. Although all the Spartans perished, their courage and patriotism served as an inspiration for their Greek countrymen to fight with equal bravery.

As the Persian armies poured through the pass into the Athenian plain, the Greek allies retreated southward to a stronger position. The Athenians, left alone, fled to their ships. As they sailed away, they could see the flames rising from their beloved city. However, the Athenians soon had their revenge. Their commander caught the naval forces of the Persians by surprise. At Salamis, in 480 B.C., the Athenians smashed the Persian fleet. The Persians had been so sure of victory that Xerxes had a throne set on the shore from which to watch the battle. Fearing that he would be cut off from his sup-

plies, the Persian king now withdrew with his main army to Asia.

The following spring, a Spartan-led army destroyed the Persian troops left in Greece. On the same day, a Greek fleet won another great victory over the Persians off the coast of Asia Minor. With these victories, the Greeks ended the threat of Persian conquest. The Battle of Salamis and the victories which followed were among the decisive battles of history. They saved the Greek experiment in democracy from being snuffed out by the absolute rule of the Persian kings.

The triumph over the Persians had other important effects. It stimulated interest in seapower, allowed commerce to expand freely, and brought great prosperity to Athens and other Greek city-states. It was this prosperity which made possible the remarkable artistic and intellectual achievements of the Greeks in the generations that followed.



8 / Lesson Review

Checking the facts

1. Explain: Cretans; Hellenes; monarchy; aristocracy; tyrant; direct democracy; assembly; jury; militarism; Peloponnesian League; Persian Wars.
2. Identify: Homer; Solon; Cleisthenes; Darius; Xerxes.
3. What were the main features of the early Aegean civilization? How was it affected by the invasions of the Achaeans? of the Dorians?
4. Describe briefly the life of the early Greeks. Which of the Greek cities first achieved civilization? How did the Greeks spread their civilization?
5. Why did the Greeks consider themselves one people? Why did they fail to work together?
6. Trace the steps in the development of democracy in ancient Athens.
7. In what ways was Sparta different from most of the other Greek city-states?
8. What were the chief causes of the Persian Wars? What were the most important results?

Applying history

1. How did the ancient Greeks seek to solve the problem of a rapidly increasing population? Why is the problem of overpopulation more difficult to solve today than it was then?
2. Compare the democracy of the ancient Greek city-states with that of the United States. Under what conditions can direct democracy be used today?
3. Compare the ancient Greek idea of citizenship with that of the United States today.

What were the weaknesses of the Greek system?

4. Why is the word "militarism" associated with the city of Sparta? What modern country or countries might be compared with Sparta? Explain.
5. Why is the Battle of Salamis considered one of the decisive battles of history? Do you believe control of the seas is as important today as it was in the ancient world? Explain your answer.

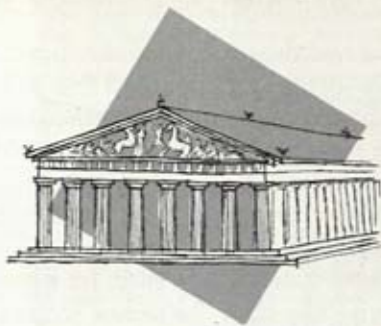
History and geography

1. Locate (maps, pp. 70 and 75): Aegean Sea; Ionian Sea; Danube River; Balkan Peninsula; Italy; Sicily; Gaul; Iberia; Phoenicia; Black Sea; Crete; Peloponnesus; Macedonia; Thrace; Knossos; Troy; Byzantium; Syracuse; Athens; Sparta; Marathon; Salamis; Corinth; Thebes.
2. *Mediterranean* means "in the middle of the lands." Why was the Mediterranean Sea given this name (map, p. 70)? How did the early Greek mariners and merchants contribute to the spread of civilization?
3. Study the map on pp. 170–171, which shows the geographic features of the Balkan Peninsula. How did geography affect the economic life of the early Greeks? How did it affect their political development?

Special activities

1. Find and read passages from Homer's *Iliad* or *Odyssey* that describe the customs and beliefs of the early Greeks.
2. Arrange a debate between "Athenians" and "Spartans" on this question: Which had a superior way of life, Athens or Sparta?

9 / "THE GLORY THAT WAS GREECE"



Following the triumph over the Persians, Athens entered upon a period of greatness and glory. It became the leader of a powerful alliance of Greek city-states. Its mighty fleet was supreme on the seas, and its merchants grew wealthy from thriving trade. Athenian artists, writers, and philosophers produced brilliant works which have greatly impressed later peoples. This prosperous and creative period, which lasted for about a half-century, about 480–430 B.C., is known as the "Golden Age" of Athens.

ATHENS—"THE SCHOOL OF HELLAS"

Athenian Government During the Golden Age. "... We are called a democracy, for the administration is in the hands of the many and not of the few. But while the law secures equal justice to all alike in their private disputes, the claim of excellence is also recognized; and when a citizen is in any way distinguished, he is preferred to the public service, not as a matter of privilege, but as a reward of merit. Neither is poverty a bar, but a man may benefit his country, whatever be the obscurity of his condition." So spoke Pericles, Athens' great leader of the Golden Age, in one of his famous orations.

By the time of the Golden Age, the development of Athenian democracy was virtually complete. The Assembly, in which all

citizens could speak and vote, was the main lawmaking body of the government. It met frequently, sometimes as often as every ten days, and decided all public matters such as tax rates and the size of the navy. Aiding the Assembly was the Council of Five Hundred, which was composed of ten committees of fifty people. Each committee of fifty served for one-tenth of the year, when the next committee would take over. The committees supervised the day-to-day affairs of government and prepared legislation for the Assembly.

Athenian justice was also firmly in the hands of its citizens. Each year six thousand men were selected to serve as jurors. On mornings when there were cases to be heard the entire group assembled and then several hundred were chosen by lot to hear each case. There were no professional judges or lawyers in Athens. Private citizens made accusations against those who broke the law, and the accused defended themselves. The jury determined their guilt and fixed the punishment.

Although most officials were chosen by lot, each year the Assembly elected ten men to command the army and navy and to manage foreign affairs. These "generals," as they were called, acquired such great influence—especially after the Persian wars—that they were able to shape the policies of the government. Usually one of the generals dominated the

rest and was the real leader of Athens. However, an interesting feature of the Athenian constitution prevented any one man or group of men from becoming too powerful. Once a year, the Assembly voted against any Athenians whom they considered a danger to democracy. The person receiving the most votes was ostracized, or exiled, for a period of ten years. The term "ostracism" comes from the Greek word for pottery (*ostrakon*) because the votes were scratched on pieces of pottery.

The Athens of Pericles. During most of the Golden Age, the wise and eloquent Pericles controlled the government of Athens. Year after year, the people showed their confidence in his ability by electing him a member of the board of generals. Pericles urged every citizen to attend the Assembly and to take an active part in public affairs. To make certain that even a poor citizen could serve, he introduced the system of paying jurors and other public officials for their services. "We Athenians regard a man who takes no interest in public affairs," said Pericles, "not as a harmless but as a useless character."

Pericles launched a great program of public improvements, which gave employment to thousands of workers. His largest project, the "Long Walls," ran eight miles from Athens to its harbor. It was designed to protect the city's access to the sea in case of war. He also had the city's religious center, the Acropolis, completely rebuilt. Its magnificent temples and statues made it one of the wonders of the ancient world. Even today, the ruins on the Acropolis impress visitors with their beauty.

The main temple, the Parthenon, has been called the most beautiful building ever constructed. It was made of the finest colored marble, exquisitely proportioned, and

decorated with matchless sculpture. Within the temple stood a tall statue of the city's patron goddess, Athena, carved in marble, ivory, and gold by the most illustrious of all Greek sculptors, Phidias. A second tall statue of Athena, clad in copper armor, overlooked the harbor, beckoning to friends and warning off enemies.

Another important public place in Pericles' day was the Gymnasium, located in a park outside Athens. Before the Persian Wars, it had been an athletic field where youths trained for the Olympic Games and other contests. Later, a stadium and a public bath were added. There were also porticoes (shaded walks) where Athenians could sit and gossip or listen to the city's wise men.

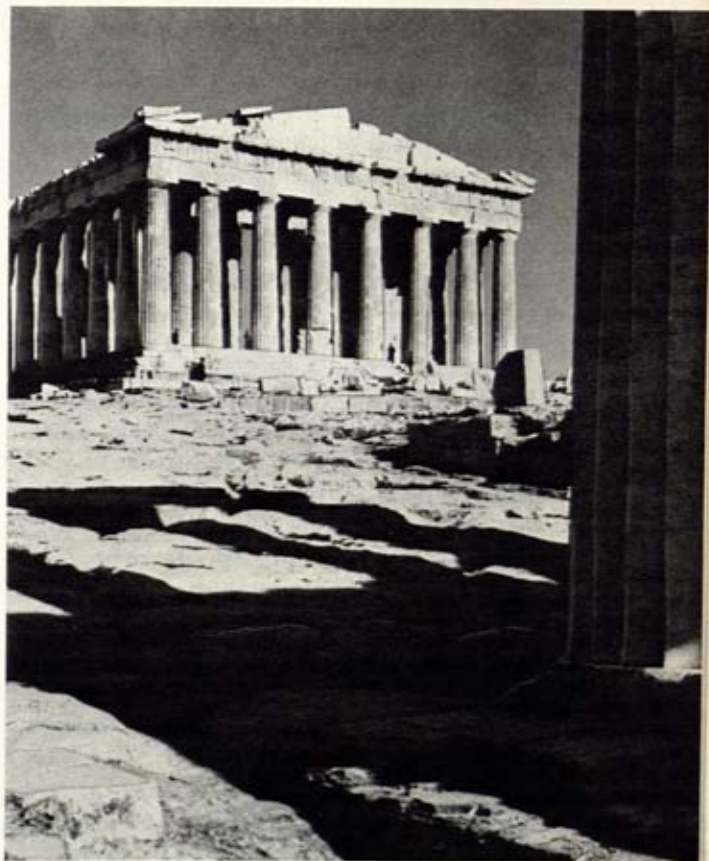
Also very popular was the great market place, the Agora, in the center of Athens. It was lined with hundreds of booths where the products of Athenian farmers and craftsmen and goods from all over the Mediterranean world were sold. Here also were the stately new government buildings, where public business was transacted and groups of citizens gathered to discuss the latest news and argue politics. Crowded, bustling, and noisy, the market place was a fitting community center for busy Athens.

The Athenian Way of Life. Most of Athens was considerably less attractive than the city's public centers. The side streets were narrow dirt paths, often cluttered with refuse because the city had no garbage or sewage disposal systems. Even a rich Athenian's house was simple, consisting only of an open court surrounded by a number of small, dark rooms with bare walls and dirt floors. It was part of the Greek ideal that citizens should prefer to spend their wealth for community works rather than for personal adornment or showy houses. "Wealth we employ not for talk or ostenta-

tion, but when there is a real use for it. . . .”

Home was little more than a place to eat and sleep to the Athenian because he had so many other interests. A moderately wealthy Athenian would probably spend his morning at the market place, attending to his business or public duties, and his afternoon at the Gymnasium. He often spent the evening with friends discussing politics or philosophy or the latest drama. Not all Athenians had this much free time, but even

The ruins of Athens' Parthenon, the supreme example of Greek architectural grace, are still standing. Greek drama has likewise survived, as this modern performance in an ancient amphitheater shows. Vision in such theaters was good, and the acoustics were so excellent that the actors could be heard even in the last row.



a poor Athenian valued his leisure. It was this active community life and constant exchange of ideas which enriched the minds of the Athenians and made Athens the "School of Hellas" and an example for the world.

GREEK CONTRIBUTIONS TO CIVILIZATION

Democracy and Citizenship. Led by the Athenians, the Greeks prepared the way for our own civilization in many fields. They demonstrated that men were capable of governing themselves without a king or hereditary ruling class. They gave to the world the concept of citizenship with its rights and privileges protected by law and a jury system.

However, just as citizenship implied certain privileges, it also involved certain responsibilities. A citizen was expected to take an interest in public affairs, pay taxes, serve

a required time in the army or navy, and be loyal to the state. The Greeks devoted their energies to improving and beautifying their state, and their highest honors were reserved for those who brought it fame and glory. Even today, there are few peoples who can match the ancient Greeks in their devotion to the public good.

Philosophy. Greek philosophers sought to learn the truth about man and the universe. They were not content to accept blindly the traditional beliefs of the past. Through the use of reason, they were convinced, man could find the answer to all his questions.

One of the greatest of these philosophers was an Athenian named Socrates (469–399 B.C.). While still a young man, he felt called on to devote his life to the intellectual and moral improvement of his fellow citizens. Socrates believed that such improvement could take place only through



Especially during the Golden Age, Greek craftsmen produced an amazing variety of beautiful objects for personal use, such as the elaborate bronze mirror at the left and the simple cup pictured below. Notice that each has the basic quality of symmetry or balance.



Metropolitan Museum of Art

constant discussion and challenging of accepted beliefs. His favorite teaching method was to pose an important and difficult problem concerning morality and ideals, such as "What is justice?" or "What is virtue?" Then, by challenging all answers, he sought to break down prejudices and guide the discussion to a logical conclusion.

People with new or different ideas are often thought dangerous. Socrates' searching questions about religion and government angered some of the more conservative citizens of Athens. Finally, they brought him to trial on charges of denying the existence of the gods and corrupting the minds of the young. He was found guilty and sentenced to death. Socrates calmly drank a cup of the poison, bitter hemlock. While the poison slowly took effect, he quietly spoke with his friends about the immortality of the soul. The execution of their greatest teacher was a dark blot on Athenian democracy, but it did not prevent others from carrying on his work.

One of Socrates' pupils, Plato (427-347 B.C.), preserved his master's teachings in the form of dialogues, or conversations, between Socrates and other people. However, Plato was an important thinker and teacher in his own right. A member of an aristocratic family, he established a famous school at Athens, the Academy, where he taught mathematics and philosophy. Besides the dialogues of Socrates, he wrote numerous books of his own, also in dialogue form, expounding his ideas about knowledge, justice, beauty, immortality, and other subjects. Plato's most famous book, the *Republic*, describes an ideal or perfect state governed wisely by a small group of philosopher-kings.

Plato's famous pupil Aristotle (384-322 B.C.) was one of the greatest thinkers of all

time. The son of a Macedonian physician, he studied for twenty years at Plato's Academy and then founded his own school. Aristotle sought to acquire knowledge through a careful study of facts, rather than by reason alone. Interested in almost all fields of learning, he had his students gather vast amounts of information. Then he himself carefully organized their findings in a series of books dealing with politics, logic, natural science, rhetoric, philosophy, and ethics. Aristotle's books are an encyclopedia of ancient Greek knowledge. Some of them are still being studied in our schools more than 2,200 years later!

The Drama. The same inquiring spirit which inspired the Greek philosophers to produce their great works inspired other Greeks to create the drama. The drama began as part of the Greeks' religious festivals. Two or three actors spoke to each other in verse while a chorus chanted an accompaniment. Using this simple form to describe conflicts between man and the gods or between man and man, Greek dramatists created deeply moving tragedies. The three most illustrious—Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides—are famous even today. Modern playwrights still use their plots, and even the plays themselves are occasionally revived.

Sophocles' play *Antigone* might be taken as an example of Greek drama at its best. Creon, king of Thebes, has crushed an uprising in which his rebellious nephew has been killed. Contrary to sacred tradition, Creon orders that the body be left exposed, to be devoured by vultures. Antigone, the dead man's sister, insists on giving the body a proper burial and is killed for violating the King's decree. Creon, who finally recognizes his wrongdoing, is punished when both his son, who loved Antigone, and his wife commit suicide. The moral of the tragedy, given

by the chorus at the close, is that "high boastings of the proud bring sorrow." The religious note is evident throughout the play.

Other Types of Literature. The Greek language, full of liquid sounds, was ideally suited to songs and poetry. In the centuries after Homer, many poets stirred the people with songs both sad and gay, set to the music of the lyre. Their best lyrics, such as the odes of the poetess Sappho, have seldom been surpassed in beauty of language or delicacy of feeling.

The Greeks were much interested in their past. Herodotus, who lived several years in Athens during Pericles' time, has been called the "father of history." He is best known for his history of the Persian Wars, but his accounts of his travels through the ancient Near East also make fascinating reading. The Athenian writer Thucydides was the first scientific historian. He strove for accuracy and was concerned with finding out why things happened as they did. His most famous work is a history of the great war between Athens and Sparta (the Peloponnesian War—see pp. 84-85).

The Greeks considered oratory, the art of speechmaking, an important branch of literature and taught it in their schools. Their leading orator, the Athenian Demosthenes, has been described as the most persuasive speaker who ever lived. The Greeks are also noted for their lighter literature. Some of their stories, notably Aesop's fables and the myths about the gods, are still widely read.

Art. The Greeks are also remembered for the incomparable beauty of their art and architecture. Their graceful columns and ornamentation are still copied in many of our public buildings and monuments. Their statues captured the rhythm of the human form in marble or bronze. Their paintings, only a few of which have survived, likewise

showed remarkable skill. It was the Greek painter Apollodorus who discovered how to give a picture depth by perspective and shading. Even in their simpler crafts—such as pottery, leatherwork, and wood carving—the Greeks expressed the artistry and exquisite sense of proportion which are their marks of distinction.

Science. In science, too, Greek achievements were notable. Hippocrates, known as the "father of medicine," taught that diseases are of natural origin, not caused by demons or other evil spirits as most people believed. He studied his patients carefully and prescribed treatments which were often quite effective. Other Greek scholars started the science of biology, discovered important principles of geometry, and set forth theories about the nature of the universe. Modern scientists have verified one of these theories, the atomic theory of matter. In science, as in other branches of knowledge, the Greeks were indeed pioneers of the intellect.

The Greek Genius. What was the secret of the Greek genius? For one thing, the Greeks could readily adopt new ideas because they were not held down by a powerful king or priesthood. Second, they learned through governing themselves that citizenship meant responsibilities as well as privileges and that they could lead full lives only if they served the group. Third, their city-states were ideal communities, large enough to hold people of many viewpoints, yet small enough for talent to be quickly recognized. Last, and most important, the Greeks were wise in choosing desirable ideals for which to strive. Having little regard for wealth and material possessions, they devoted themselves to civic improvement and the search for beauty, truth, and virtue. In short, the Greek way of life set lofty goals and gave the citizens the opportunity to attain them.

9 / Lesson Review



Checking the facts

1. Explain: ostracism; Acropolis; Parthenon; philosophy; scientific history.
2. Identify: Pericles; Phidias; Socrates; Plato; Aristotle; Sophocles; Herodotus; Thucydides; Demosthenes; Hippocrates.
3. How were laws made in Athens during the time of Pericles? How was justice administered?
4. How did the Athenian way of life encourage the development of good citizenship and a flourishing culture?
5. Describe briefly the achievements of the Greeks in philosophy; architecture; drama; science.

Applying history

1. Athens has been called "The School of Hellas." What does this name mean? Does any single city play so significant a role in modern civilization? Explain why or why not.
2. "Love of freedom, reason, and beauty were outstanding characteristics of the ancient Greeks." Explain this statement and give

examples to support it from your textbook and from outside reading you have done.

3. Describe the ancient Athenian idea of the good citizen. To what extent does the Athenians' devotion to the public good explain the glorious achievements of their city?
4. Socrates has been called "the gadfly of Athenian democracy." What does this mean? Why is Socrates' death a blemish on Athenian history?
5. What were the major themes of ancient Greek drama? Why were their plays an important part of the Greeks' religious observances?

Special activities

1. Select one of the plays of Aeschylus, Sophocles, or Euripides and write a synopsis for presentation to the class.
2. Consult a brief biography of Socrates. Explain why Socrates refused to escape even though he was offered the opportunity to do so.
3. Prepare a class exhibit on the art and architecture of ancient Greece.

10 / THE EXPANSION OF GREEK CIVILIZATION



Despite all their great accomplishments, the Greeks failed in one important respect. Cherishing the intimate and closely knit way of life within the city-state, they never achieved political unity. They were always Athenians, Spartans, or Thebans first and Greeks afterwards. The result was disastrous for Greek civilization. Bitter rivalries for trade, power, and prestige led to a series of crippling wars among the city-states. Within a century after the death of Pericles, the divided Greeks were overcome by a foreign invader.

DECLINE OF THE GREEK CITY-STATES

The Athenian Empire. Following the Persian Wars, many Greek city-states allied themselves with Athens for protection against future Persian attacks. This alliance, known as the Delian League, worked rather well at the outset in safeguarding its members. Athens supplied leadership and most of the ships, while the other members mainly contributed money to operate the fleet. Then, impressed by their growing power, the Athenians insisted that disputes between the member states be judged in Athens. When some of the members stopped paying dues and tried to withdraw from the League, the Athenians attacked the rebels

and compelled them to pay tribute. The Delian League had become the "Athenian Empire."

Control of the seas and trade made Athens prosperous. As the most powerful city in Greece, it was in a position to unify at least a large part of the Hellenic world. But the Athenians, because of narrow local loyalties, missed their opportunity. Though Athens was the finest example of Greek democracy, the Athenians did not extend their citizenship to the Empire or seek a form of government which would give member states equality. Instead, the growing Athenian power aroused the fear and envy of other Greek city-states, particularly Sparta. Sparta resented the military fame which Athens had gained from the Persian Wars and was jealous of its wealth and culture. Most important, the Spartans feared that the growth of Athens menaced their leadership of the city-states of southern Greece, the Peloponnesian League (map, p. 75). A clash between these two strong city-states became inevitable.

The Peloponnesian War. War finally broke out in 431 B.C., when Athens became involved in a conflict with its old trade rival, Corinth, one of Sparta's allies. The Spartans, aided by Corinth and a number of other city-states, invaded Attica, laying waste the crops and cutting down the olive trees. But the Athenians, secure behind their

"Long Walls," brought in the supplies they needed by sea. Meanwhile their fleet blockaded southern Greece. Neither the great land power, Sparta, nor the great sea power, Athens, could gain a decisive advantage.

Then Athens suffered several crippling blows. A terrible plague broke out in the crowded city, killing a large part of the population. Soon afterwards, in 429 B.C., Pericles died. The Athenian government, long accustomed to his strong leadership, now fell into the hands of weaker leaders who sought to maintain power by playing off one part of the population against another. A large part of the Athenian fleet was lost in a rash attack on the distant Greek city of Syracuse, in Sicily. The Spartans, on the other hand, built up a navy with the aid of Persia. Together with Athens' discontented

allies, the Spartans blockaded the port of Athens. After twenty-seven years of bitter struggle, the starving Athenians were finally compelled to surrender. Athens was forced to tear down its walls and give up its empire. The city continued to be a leading center of culture for several centuries, but its political and military power was lost forever.

Sparta took over much of the Athenian Empire and dominated most of the Greek city-states for the next thirty years. But Spartan rule was even harsher and more dictatorial than that of Athens. In 371 B.C., Thebes, leading the city-states of central Greece, crushed the Spartans. But Thebes' control, which replaced that of Sparta, did not last long either. New wars followed and the Greeks continued to waste their resources. Northeast of Greece, in Macedonia

Alexander the Great (at the left) leads a furious charge in one of the great battles by means of which he conquered the vast Persian Empire. His apparently reckless courage helped make Alexander an inspiring leader.



(map below) an ambitious king saw his chance for conquest. Because the Greek city-states could not learn to co-operate, they were doomed to lose their independence.

The Macedonian Triumph. In the fourth century B.C., the Macedonians were mainly simple farmers and herdsman. Though they were neighbors of the Greeks and spoke a dialect of the same language, most of them knew little of Greek civilization. Yet the Macedonian ruler, King Philip, hoped to gain control of the wealth of the Greek city-states. As a youth, Philip had been compelled to spend several years as a hostage in Thebes. There he had learned about the Greeks' political weakness and had studied their methods of warfare. After he returned home and ascended the throne, Philip seized some gold mines in nearby Thrace, thereby obtaining funds to build a strong army. He improved on the Greek military

formation, the phalanx, strengthening it with heavy cavalry, archers, and "field artillery" (machines to shoot arrows and rocks).

At the outset, Philip hoped to achieve control of the Greek city-states without war. He spoke to the Greeks of a plan to attack their traditional enemy, Persia. He promised them wealth and power if they joined with him, and bribed many of their leaders to plead his cause. When the Greeks chose instead to fight the Macedonian ruler, he overwhelmed their disunited forces, in 338 B.C. Philip did not formally annex the Greek city-states; instead he forced them to sign an "alliance" with him. Unity had finally come to the Greeks, but at the expense of their freedom.

Alexander the Great. Soon after this victory, Philip was assassinated and Alexander, his twenty-year-old son, became king (336-323 B.C.). Alexander was a very unusual per-



son. He had been educated by the learned philosopher Aristotle, who had instilled in him a deep appreciation of Greek civilization. So ambitious was he that he is said to have wept over his father's victories because there would soon be no worlds left for him to conquer. Brilliant, daring, and hungry for fame, Alexander was to prove an inspiring leader for the adventure-loving Greeks.

When King Philip died, a number of Greek city-states, led by Thebes, made one last attempt to regain their freedom. Alexander quickly crushed the rebellion and destroyed Thebes as a warning. Then he prepared to attack the Persian Empire. With a carefully chosen force of only about thirty-five thousand Macedonians and Greeks, he began a march of conquest such as the world had never seen.

In one important battle, Alexander destroyed a large Persian army and won control of Asia Minor. Proceeding southward into Syria, he won a second great victory, which gave him control of the harbors used by the Persian fleet. Then he invaded and conquered Egypt, where he spent the winter with his troops. The next year, he led his army northward through Syria into Mesopotamia. Here he routed another vast Persian force.

All Persia now fell to the Macedonian conqueror. Even so, Alexander's hunger for new conquests did not allow him to rest. After establishing control over his new realms, he advanced again, this time into northern India. Here he was finally forced to call a halt when his weary soldiers refused to go farther.

In a dozen years of campaigning, Alexander had conquered a vast empire, extending from Macedonia to the Indus River (map, p. 86). As he was preparing plans for new conquests, he fell sick and died. His mete-

oric career came to an end when he was only thirty-three years old.

THE HELLENISTIC WORLD

The Spread of Greek Civilization. Though Alexander the Great is best known for his conquests, he was more than just a military conqueror. His aim was to "Hellenize" the known world—that is, to spread everywhere the Hellenic (Greek) way of life which he admired so greatly. To further his plan, he founded some seventy great cities throughout his empire to serve as centers of Greek culture. He encouraged his troops to settle in these cities and to intermarry with the conquered peoples. He himself married a Persian princess.

The common people of the empire, especially those in the country districts, were little affected by Alexander's plan to spread Greek civilization. They lived much as they had before, struggling to earn a living from the soil, retaining their old customs, and speaking their native languages. But in the cities, Alexander's plan eventually met with considerable success. Greek adventurers flocked to the new cities of Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt. Here they made careers for themselves as businessmen, civil servants, and soldiers or in any other occupations which offered profitable outlets for their energy. Greeks and Macedonians were the new ruling class, and Greek became the language of government, business, and learning. Through the Greek language, the peoples of Egypt and western Asia became acquainted with Greek ideas of government, law, art, and literature. In time, as intermarriage became common, there arose a mixed population with a mixed culture. The new civilization resulting from the fusion of Greek ways with those of the peoples of

Egypt and western Asia is called the Hellenistic (Greek-like) civilization.

The Hellenistic Empires. However, another of Alexander's schemes failed. The great Macedonian conqueror had been very anxious to form a permanent political union of the many different peoples under his rule. To accomplish this, he had even set himself up as a god-king like the ancient Egyptian pharaohs and had commanded his subjects to worship him. Alexander's sudden

death, however, set off a fierce rivalry for power among the army leaders. After much fighting, his empire was divided into three large kingdoms—Macedonia, western Asia, and Egypt (map, p. 86). Each was ruled by a line of kings descended from his generals.

Meantime, Greece, Persia, and India regained their independence. The Greek city-states resumed their conflicts and continued to decline in importance. The new centers of trade were the cities which Alexander

Alexandria, founded by Alexander the Great more than 2000 years ago, still handles 80 per cent of Egypt's trade. This photograph shows Corniche Drive, the beautiful modern residential and shopping area along the water front.



had established in Egypt and western Asia. The most notable of these was the new Egyptian capital, Alexandria, built by Alexander at the mouth of the Nile.

Hellenistic Civilization. One of the wonders of the ancient world was the lighthouse at Alexandria. Almost four hundred feet high, it was built by the Hellenistic kings of Egypt to guide mariners safely into the harbor. However, the new rulers of Egypt were interested in culture as well as commerce. They established a kind of university, the Museum, which attracted students and scholars from all over the Hellenistic world. Its great library contained more than a half-million books and was by far the largest of the ancient world. The new Egyptian rulers also built an observatory, where astronomers made important discoveries about the heavens.

In Alexandria, and in other Hellenistic cities, scholars progressed in many other branches of learning. The mathematician Euclid explained the principles of geometry so well that his writings were used as textbooks for more than two thousand years. Geographers proved that the earth was round and one of them arrived at a surprisingly accurate estimate of its circumference. (His error was less than two hundred miles!) Doctors learned about the human body by dissecting the bodies of criminals and made great progress in medicine and surgery. Engineers invented remarkable machines, including a stationary engine driven by means of steam power and a catapult operated by compressed air. Archimedes, who was a mathematician, physicist, and inventor, discovered the principle of specific gravity. He also put together an arrangement of screws, levers, cogged wheels, and pulleys, with which he could launch a ship

merely by turning a crank. Hellenistic architects carefully planned their cities, providing for large public squares, street lighting, and water supply and sewage systems. In the various fields of science, Hellenistic scholars far surpassed the Greeks.

Art and literature also flourished under the patronage of the Hellenistic rulers. Stories of love and adventure were popular. Regular performances of plays were given in the theaters. Sculptors and painters made lifelike portraits for rich clients, and architects designed ornate public buildings and luxurious mansions. Despite a high level of skill, however, Hellenistic art and literature lacked the inspiration and beautiful simplicity of the Golden Age of Athens.

In other respects, too, Hellenistic civilization differed from that of the old Greek city-states. Alexander's successors set themselves up as god-kings whose word was divine law. The people had no voice in how they were governed and had little choice but to obey their rulers. Even in the Greek cities, where there was still some self-government, the standards of citizenship declined. People were now usually more interested in taking care of their personal concerns than in public service. Whereas in Pericles' day rich men vied with each other in spending money for the public good, they now spent it on making showplaces of their homes or on personal comforts. However, one very serious problem represented no change at all from earlier times. Like the old Greek city-states, the Hellenistic kings fought constantly with one another to increase their possessions and power. Weakened by chronic conflicts and public indifference, it is hardly surprising that the Hellenistic kingdoms succumbed easily to the attacks of a rising new power in the west, the Roman Republic.



10 / Lesson Review

Checking the facts

1. Explain: Delian League; Peloponnesian War; phalanx; Hellenistic culture; Hellenistic empires; Alexandria; museum.
2. Identify: Philip of Macedonia; Alexander the Great.
3. What were the causes of the Peloponnesian War? Why was Athens defeated?
4. Why was Philip of Macedonia able to conquer the Greeks?
5. Describe briefly the conquests and cultural achievements of Alexander the Great.
6. What were the striking achievements and weaknesses of Hellenistic civilization?

Applying history

1. Pericles was the leading political figure in Athens for about thirty years. What was the basis of his popularity? Why was his death a crippling blow to Athens?
2. Philip of Macedonia boasted that he had brought law and order to the Greek city-states. With what reasons could he support this claim? If you were a Greek, would you have agreed with him?
3. Explain this statement: "Alexander the Great brought the light of Athens to a larger world." Has conquest generally been a means of spreading culture? Give both ancient and modern examples to prove your answer.
4. Alexander the Great sought to bring about

a political and cultural union of all mankind. How? Why did he fail? What present-day organizations seek the same goal?

5. In your opinion, was Alexander a really great ruler? By what standards do you think greatness should be measured?
6. How did Hellenistic culture differ from the earlier Hellenic culture? In which society would you have preferred to live? Why?

History and geography

1. Locate (map, p. 86): Alexandria; Macedonia; Athens; Asia Minor; Egypt; Syria; India; Indus River.
2. How did Alexandria's location help it become a commercial center of the Hellenistic world (map, p. 86)?
3. Compare the maps on pp. 43 and 86. What major countries were included in the Persian Empire? in Alexander the Great's Empire?

Special activities

1. Imagine that you are a member of the Council of Europe, which is working toward a "United States of Western Europe." Make a speech calling for greater co-operation, using as a warning the disaster which befell the strife-torn ancient Greeks.
2. Read a biography of Alexander the Great and stage a play based on the high lights of his life.



According to an old Roman legend, Rome was founded in 753 B.C. by Romulus and Remus, twin sons of Mars, the god of war, and a princess descended from the Trojan warrior Aeneas. As infants, the twins were stolen from their mother and set adrift in the Tiber River. The twins' basket floated to shore, where they were found and nursed by a she-wolf. The boys were eventually adopted by a shepherd, who raised them to manhood. At the spot where they were nursed by the she-wolf, Romulus and Remus founded Rome.

This is a fitting legend for the origin of Rome, for from the outset the war-god Mars played a key role in the history of the city. Within a few centuries, tiny Rome became mistress of a huge empire. The Mediterranean Sea, surrounded by Roman possessions, became virtually a Roman lake. Behind Rome's conquests were the hard-hitting Roman legions, composed of sturdy citizen-farmers who fought like true sons of the she-wolf, the sacred symbol of Mars.

CONQUEST OF THE MEDITERRANEAN WORLD

The Founding of Rome. Historians give a less colorful account of Rome's origin. About 2000 B.C., a number of Indo-European tribes invaded Italy. These were the Italics, after whom Italy is named. Like their dis-

tant kinsmen who invaded Greece at about the same time, the Italics came in several migrations. One later group, the Latins, conquered the central portion of the peninsula. They settled down to a life of simple farming, living for protection in small walled villages. At a place where seven hills overlook a shallow crossing of the Tiber, they established several small villages as trading posts. These eventually grew together and became the city of Rome. The location of the new city was ideal for future growth. Rome was in the heart of a fertile plain and at a point where trade routes met. It was close enough to the sea for trade, yet far enough inland to be safe from sea raiders. Its position in the center of Italy made it a suitable spot from which to control the whole peninsula.

Despite its excellent location, early Rome was beset with dangers from more powerful neighbors. Directly to the north were the cities of the Etruscans. The Etruscans were a civilized seagoing people of unknown origin, who probably came from Asia Minor and settled in Italy about 800 B.C. Farther north, in the fertile valley of the Po River, were the warlike barbaric Gauls. In the mountains to the east lived fierce hill tribes, the Samnites, who frequently raided the farms in the plain below. In the south were the rich Greek city-states of southern Italy and Sicily (map, p. 94).

The Romans had good reason to fear their neighbors. About 600 B.C. the Etruscans crossed the Tiber and conquered Rome. The Etruscans were highly skilled in trade and manufacture, making especially fine metalwork and pottery. Under Etruscan kings, Rome prospered and became the largest city in central Italy. The energetic Etruscans built a drainage system to draw off the stagnant waters which collected at the foot of Rome's hills. They also built a wall around the city and erected many fine stone buildings. From trading with the Greeks, they learned the alphabet, which they passed on to the Romans in modified form.



Mistress of Italy. After a century under Etruscan rulers, the Romans rebelled and drove them out. To make sure they did not return and to protect itself from other enemies, Rome joined in an alliance with neighboring Latin city-states. During the period when far-off Athens was enjoying its Golden Age, Rome and its allies were fighting off attacks by their powerful neighbors. Fortunately for them, the Etruscans, Gauls, Samnites, and Greeks were also busy

fighting one another. As they grew weaker, Rome grew stronger.

Rome suffered a temporary setback in 390 B.C., when fierce Gallic tribesmen captured most of the city. But the hardy Romans made a quick recovery. In fact, Rome was becoming so powerful that some of the Latin city-states feared for their independence and tried to withdraw from the alliance. In 338 B.C., the same year that Philip of Macedon conquered the Greeks, Rome marched on the other Latin cities in Italy and forced them to accept its leadership. A few years later Rome won a crushing victory over a combination of Etruscans and Samnites. The Greek cities of the south, becoming alarmed at Rome's growing power, brought in outside help. They put up a spirited resistance but finally gave in to Rome's might. By 270 B.C., after two and a half centuries of warfare, Rome was mistress of nearly all Italy.

Rome's Struggle with Carthage. As Rome's conquests grew, so did its interest in commerce. But the Romans' ambition to increase their trade brought them into con-

DEVELOPMENT OF THE LATIN ALPHABET

PHOENICIAN		GREEK		LATIN	
LETTER	NAME	LETTER	NAME	LETTER	NAME
	Aleph		Alpha		Ah
	Beth		Beta		Bay
	Gimel		Gamma		Kay
	Daleth		Delta		Day
	Heh		Epsilon		Eh



Land and naval forces were vital in Rome's acquiring and maintaining a great empire. The wall fresco portraying a Roman soldier (above) is from the city of Pompeii. A detail from a piece of sculpture (right) shows a Roman war galley in action.

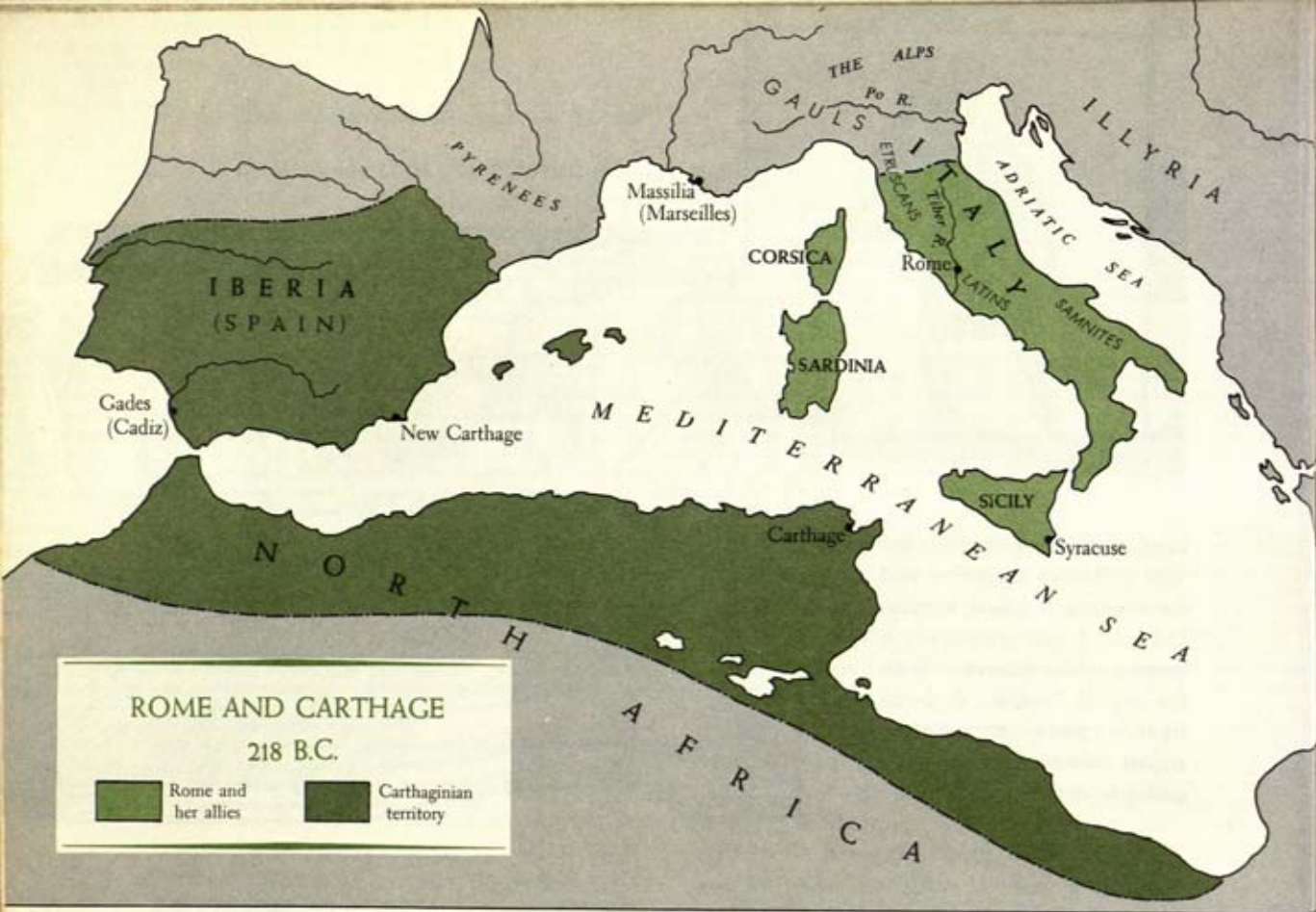


flict with Carthage, located in North Africa opposite Sicily (map, p. 94). Originally a Phoenician colony, Carthage had grown into a powerful and splendid city, rich from its agriculture, industry, and trade. Its armies ruled North Africa and parts of Spain and western Sicily. Its mighty fleet controlled the western Mediterranean. When Carthage attempted to keep Rome and its allies from trading in Sicily, there began a series of wars which locked the two rivals in a life-and-death struggle.

The wars between Carthage and Rome are known as the Punic Wars (after *Poeni*, the Latin name for the Phoenicians and Carthaginians). The First Punic War, 264–241 B.C., was fought largely at sea. The inexperienced Romans lost battle after battle, until their entire fleet was sunk. Although the public treasury was empty, the Romans

did not give up. With funds donated by wealthy citizens, they built new fleets. Eventually, the Carthaginian navy was defeated, and Carthage sued for peace. Rome gained control of Sicily and was paid a large indemnity.

Carthage soon renewed the struggle. In the Second Punic War, 218–202 B.C., the Carthaginian army was headed by a brilliant general named Hannibal, who had sworn as a child to avenge his country's defeat. From bases in Spain, he led an army, including three hundred war elephants, across southern Gaul (France) and then over the wintry Alps into Italy. In a series of great battles, Hannibal wiped out three Roman armies, each larger than his own. In one battle alone, fifty thousand Romans were slain, and virtually every family in Rome went into mourning. Only his lack of manpower and



siege machinery prevented Hannibal from breaking into Rome itself. Even so, he roamed through Italy for thirteen years, devastating the country and causing hardship to its inhabitants.

The Romans refused to admit defeat. Most of their allies, on whom Hannibal had counted for help, remained loyal to the city on the Tiber. Cleverly avoiding an open battle, the Romans harassed Hannibal's supply lines, slowly weakened his forces, and gathered their strength for a counterattack. With a new army, led by the able general Scipio, they invaded North Africa. Hannibal was summoned home to defend Carthage, only to suffer a decisive defeat. Carthage was disarmed, and stripped of a large part of its territory.

Fifty years later, the Romans still feared Carthage, which was enjoying a remarkable economic revival. Believing that Rome would never be safe as long as Carthage existed, the Romans found an excuse to attack their old foe. In the Third Punic War, 149-146 B.C., Carthage bravely held out for three years before its defenses were finally shattered. The victorious Romans destroyed the city, killed or enslaved its people, and sowed salt on its site to make it a desert. North Africa was made a Roman province. Rome was now undisputed mistress of the western Mediterranean.

Rome's Conquest of the Hellenistic Lands. Even before Carthage was destroyed, Roman legions had begun to conquer eastern Mediterranean lands. During the Second

Punic War, the king of Macedonia had aided Hannibal. As punishment, the Romans dispatched an expedition and defeated the Macedonian king, in 197 B.C. For a time the Macedonians and the city-states of Greece were allowed to rule themselves under Roman protection. When they revolted, the Romans completely crushed them and in 146 B.C. annexed them as provinces. Little more than a half-century later, most of Asia Minor also fell under Rome's control. Egypt, which had aided Rome during the Second Punic War, became an ally and was allowed to retain its independence for a time. By the middle of the first century B.C. Rome controlled almost the entire Mediterranean world.

THE ROMAN WAY OF LIFE

The Family and Religion. Why were the Romans able to conquer peoples stronger, richer, and more civilized than themselves? What made them such formidable foes, never admitting defeat or giving way to disaster? The main reason is probably to be found in their rugged and close-knit way of life. Unlike Carthage and the Hellenistic kingdoms of the east, where large estates were the rule, early Rome was a community of sturdy, self-reliant citizens who owned small farms and were accustomed to hard work. Life centered about the family. The father had complete authority over all its members, including married sons and their wives and children. He owned all the property, settled all disputes, and inflicted penalties for disobedience. The mother also held a high and honored place as mistress of the household. Father and mother alike trained their children to honor their family and to serve their city-state.

The Romans' religious beliefs also fostered good conduct, obedience, self-discipline, and courage. Each morning, the family, led by the father, prayed to the spirits of the hearth, the storerooms, the fields, and others who guarded the family welfare. In addition to honoring these household gods, the Romans also piously worshiped the patron gods of their city. Chief among these were Jupiter, god of the sky, and Mars, the god of war. So long as the Romans paid proper respect, the gods were expected to come to their assistance in time of need. On the other hand, a Roman who shirked his duty in time of war disgraced the gods, calling upon himself punishment by death.

The Roman Legions. Strength of body and character made the Romans superb soldiers. They could march for days and get along on a few handfuls of grain. Discipline was strict. In battle, they obeyed orders to the death and rarely sought safety in retreat or surrender. As a result of constant warfare, they steadily improved their equipment, skill, and tactics. They also developed a new type of military formation, the legion. Divided into small companies free to maneuver independently in battle, it was far superior to the rigid military formations of other civilized peoples. Led by capable generals, the tough Roman legions became the world's best fighting force, their short swords the world's most deadly weapon.

The Roman Republic. During the centuries when Rome was conquering Italy, important governmental changes were also taking place. After expelling the Etruscan kings, the Romans had established a republic. (A republic is a form of government in which there is no hereditary ruler and the officials are elected by all or part of the population.) Like early Athens, the

Roman Republic was aristocratic. Only the nobles, called patricians, could hold public office. The consuls, two officials chosen annually from their ranks, headed the government and commanded the army. An assembly of all citizens elected the consuls and lesser government officials and proposed new laws.

The common people, known as plebeians, took part in the assembly. But that body was so organized that the votes of the wealthy counted far more than those of the common people. Moreover, all laws proposed by the assembly had to be approved by another important legislative body, the Senate, composed entirely of patricians who held office for life. New members of the Senate were appointed by the consuls from the ranks of former consuls and other experienced officeholders. Since the Senate included some of the most able and experienced men of Rome, it provided wise leadership for the early Republic, especially in dealing with foreign affairs.

The plebeians were not satisfied with the rule of the patricians, who favored their own interests. For about two centuries, they struggled to obtain more rights. By twice threatening to leave Rome and establish their own city, they forced the patricians to give way to their demands. The plebeians set up a new assembly, which passed on all laws, and elected special officials called tribunes. The tribunes had the right to veto the act of any official if they considered it harmful to the people. These changes considerably restricted the power of the consuls and the Senate.

Other gains which the people obtained were written laws and the right to intermarry with the patricians. Intermarriage was particularly desired by plebeians who had grown rich from trade or industry. In

time, the legal distinction between noble and commoner disappeared. Public offices were opened to all citizens, and plebeians were allowed to sit in the Senate. In practice, however, there was still a distinction between the wealthy and the poor. Only the wealthy could afford to spend the large amount of money needed to campaign for office. The Senate, composed of wealthy former officials, continued to be the most important governmental body throughout the existence of the Republic.

Wise Treatment of Conquered Peoples.

The Senate displayed considerable wisdom in its treatment of the conquered peoples of Italy. They were generally allowed to keep their own government if they agreed to follow Rome's leadership and to supply it with men and materials in time of war. Allies who served faithfully were granted special rights, including full Roman citizenship. Moreover, colonies of Roman war veterans were settled throughout Italy and mingled freely with the local people. Rome was rewarded for its generosity, for during the war with Hannibal most of its allies remained loyal. Eventually, its wise imperial policies, along with increasing trade and intermarriage, welded together the various peoples of Italy into a united people.

Outside Italy, as we shall soon see, the problems of rule proved more difficult and Rome's early policies were less satisfactory. Oppression and misgovernment were common, and other cities suffered the same fate as Carthage. With the passage of time, however, the Romans did see the wisdom of extending political rights and even citizenship to the conquered peoples outside Italy. Ultimately, they succeeded in uniting all the different peoples whom they had brought under their rule. But this accomplishment was to take many centuries.

11 / Lesson Review



Checking the facts

1. Explain: Italics; Latins; Etruscans; Gauls; legions; republic; patricians; plebeians; consuls; Senate; tribunes.
2. Tell how each of these affected the development of early Rome: its location; the Etruscan conquest; Rome's alliance with the neighboring Latin city-states; wars among Rome's rivals.
3. Describe briefly the main events in Rome's wars with Carthage.
4. Explain how each of these factors contributed to Rome's success: the family; religious beliefs; military organization; system of government; treatment of conquered peoples in Italy.
5. How were the plebeians able to gain a greater voice in the Roman government? Why did they remain dissatisfied?

Applying history

1. How does Rome's history show the importance of persevering in the face of difficulties?
2. Why might the Etruscan conquest be considered a "blessing in disguise" for Rome? Give another example of the same sort from the history of one of the other early civilizations we have studied.
3. Describe the Roman government during the period of the early Republic. List as many terms as you can which modern governments have borrowed from the Romans.

Why has such borrowing taken place?

4. Compare the religion of the ancient Romans with that of the Greeks. Why did the Romans seek to identify their gods with those of the Greeks?
5. Compare the way the Romans treated their Italian allies with the way the Athenians managed the Delian League. With what modern great powers might the Romans and Greeks be compared?

History and geography

1. Locate (map, p. 94): Po River; Tiber River; the Alps; the Pyrenees; Sardinia; Corsica; Rome; Carthage; Massilia; Syracuse; Italy; North Africa; Spain.
2. Looking at the map on pp. 170-171, describe the important physical features of the Italian peninsula. What features does the Italian peninsula share with the Balkan peninsula?
3. Explain the importance of sea power in the rivalry between Rome and Carthage (map, p. 94).

Special activities

1. Write a series of headlines that trace the steps in Rome's long, slow rise to power.
2. From a book about ancient Rome, read to the class passages describing the simple, disciplined way of life of the early Romans.
3. Arrange a debate on the subject: Rome was justified in completely destroying Carthage.

12 / ROME: FROM REPUBLIC TO IMPERIAL MONARCHY



At the height of its power, the Roman Empire stretched from Spain in the west to Persia in the east, from Britain in the north to the Sahara in the south (map, pp. 102–103). The Mediterranean was to the Romans *mare nostrum* (our sea), completely surrounded by their possessions. Rome's many millions of subjects included varied peoples—fair-haired Britons and dark-skinned Africans, long-civilized Asians and recently civilized Europeans. Because of its size and the centuries it lasted, the empire created by the Romans stands supreme in all history.

THE PROBLEMS OF POWER

Misrule of the Provinces. This vast empire brought the Romans tremendous responsibilities. The most immediate problem was to govern the territories outside Italy. However, instead of treating the newly conquered peoples like the Italian allies, the Romans divided the empire into provinces, each under a Roman governor. The subjects were allowed to keep their own language, religion, and laws, providing they paid tribute to Rome and recognized the supreme authority of the Roman governor.

Unfortunately for the conquered peoples, and for Rome too, the Senate appointed pro-

vincial governors for only a one-year term. This was much too short a time for them to learn their duties. Besides, since there was no system of supervision, the governors generally used their position to enrich themselves. A Roman historian wrote that a governor made three fortunes from his province—one to repay the sums he had spent in securing his appointment, the second to bribe the judge when he was tried for his misdeeds, and the third on which to live in luxury for the rest of his life.

Another evil was the system of tax collecting in the provinces. The Roman government usually did not collect the taxes itself. Instead, it sold the privilege to private businessmen for a fixed sum. The tax collectors made huge profits by collecting much more than the government required. They also acted as moneylenders, charging a very high interest rate on their loans. Especially in the rich and populous eastern provinces, the conquerors drained off the wealth of the conquered peoples.

Widespread Slavery. Other serious problems arose from the ever increasing number of slaves. For centuries, wars supplied a steady stream of captives for the busy slave markets. The Romans actually started some wars just to meet the demand for cheap

labor! The slaves came from every section of the Roman world. Those who had good education, fine manners, or attractive appearance held positions as household slaves, entertainers, clerks, teachers, or even as managers of their masters' business affairs. The great majority, however, labored on the large estates, in the mines, or as oarsmen on the galleys, until death relieved them of their miseries.

It is small wonder that the slaves often revolted. On three different occasions in the last century of the Republic, slave rebellions broke out. One in Sicily raged for years before it was put down. "So many slaves, so many enemies," became a Roman proverb. Through fear, the Romans treated their slaves cruelly, whipping, branding, chaining, or even crucifying them for minor offenses. Slavery injured not only the victims but also the masters, who became coarse and brutal, indifferent to human suffering and death.

Extremes of Wealth and Poverty. Rome's conquest of an empire also had the bad effect of widening the differences among the Roman people themselves. The upper classes, who profited most from the long wars and the exploitation of the provinces, became very wealthy. They were able to buy town houses, large country estates, and many slaves. By bribing the voters with expensive entertainment, they became more and more dominant in the government, especially in the Senate.

The common people, on the other hand, were often reduced to poverty and dependence. While the small farmer was away in the army, his farm was neglected. When he returned, he found himself unable to compete with the large estates of the wealthy, which were worked by slave labor. Soon he fell into debt, lost his farm, and joined the growing number of unemployed in the city

of Rome. The poverty and discontent of an ever larger number of its citizens was a bad omen for the Roman Republic.

THE FALL OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC

Growing Class Conflicts. Faced with beggary, the people resumed their old struggle with the upper classes. Under the leadership of a patriotic young noble, Tiberius Gracchus, who was elected tribune in 133 B.C., the popular assembly passed several radical land laws. The large estates were to be limited in size. Most of the public land used by the rich as their own property was to be divided among the poor.

The Senate, controlled by the upper classes, used every method to keep these laws from going into effect. Tiberius replied by forming a new "People's party." Contrary to custom, he ran for a second term as tribune. The Senatorial party resorted to force to end this "threat to the republic." In an election riot, Tiberius was beaten to death and his body was thrown into the Tiber. Twelve years later his younger brother, Gaius Gracchus, who had continued the struggle, met a similar fate. Following Gaius Gracchus' death, the land laws favoring the lower classes were ignored.

Civil Wars. A generation later, the People's party found a new leader in a victorious general, Marius, who was elected consul in 108 B.C. Marius raised an army of volunteers drawn from the ranks of the landless and unemployed, instead of drafting an army from all citizens as had been the custom. These men were rewarded with loot in wartime and the promise of a farm in peacetime. Thus they were loyal to Marius rather than to the government. With an army to rely on, Marius ignored the law limiting

service as consul to one term and was re-elected six times. Marius also re-enacted the reforms begun earlier to help the common people. His actions naturally aroused the anger of the Senatorial party.

In 88 B.C. the Senate chose an aristocratic general named Sulla to lead the Roman army in an invasion of Asia Minor. The People's party chose Marius. A civil war broke out, during which control of Rome changed hands several times. Whichever party came into power executed the opposition leaders as traitors. Finally Sulla won out and made himself dictator. Like Marius, Sulla had transformed the Roman army from a force of citizen soldiers to a professional army of paid veterans loyal only to their commander. The legions, which had conquered so many other peoples, were now being used by ambitious generals against the Romans themselves.

The Dictatorship of Julius Caesar. After Sulla's death, a general named Pompey controlled Rome. Pompey had made his reputation by conquering Syria and other eastern territories. Sharing power with him was Julius Caesar, a young aristocrat and a leader of the People's party.

While consul in 58 B.C., Caesar had himself appointed to a special military command. This gave him the opportunity to conquer the whole of Gaul (roughly the area of present-day France and Belgium). By sending back accounts of his many victories, Caesar won great popularity with the people. Pompey and the Senate finally took alarm and ordered him to return home. Fearing for his safety, Caesar returned with his army in 49 B.C. and captured Rome. Pompey and the Senate fled to Greece. In a series of battles ranging from Spain to Egypt, Caesar defeated the forces of Pompey. Then he had himself elected dictator for life.

In the next few years, Caesar made numerous reforms long overdue. He reorganized the government and stopped the party warfare in Rome. He settled the unemployed on public land or put them to work on construction projects. He also granted Roman citizenship to loyal cities in the provinces outside of Italy. Caesar's liberal reforms antagonized the upper classes. The members of the Senate were especially resentful because Caesar had taken away much of their power. They considered him a tyrant and feared that he was planning to crown himself king. Finally, on the Ides of March, 44 B.C., a group of aristocrats assassinated him on the steps of the Roman Senate.

The murder of Julius Caesar set off a civil war between his supporters and the Senatorial party. Caesar's supporters were led by his young adopted son, Octavian, and by one of his generals, Mark Antony. In two years, Octavian and Antony crushed the Senatorial forces. The question now became which of the two ambitious leaders would succeed Caesar. By agreement, Mark Antony took charge of the eastern provinces, where he came under the influence of Cleopatra, Queen of Egypt. Octavian took control of Italy and the western provinces. When it was reported in Rome that Antony, with Cleopatra's support, was plotting to seize the entire empire, war broke out between the two rivals. In 31 B.C. Octavian Caesar decisively defeated Mark Antony. Antony committed suicide, as did Cleopatra. Octavian was now the undisputed master of the Roman world. As he centered all power in his hands, it became clear that the days of the Republic were over in all but name. Many persons of the time justified Octavian's seizure of control. The only remedy for the strife-torn country seemed to be the rule of a single man.



Julius Caesar (right) made himself dictator of Rome. He was assassinated by his opponents on the Ides of March, 44 B.C. His adopted son, Octavian (above), became Rome's first emperor.



OCTAVIAN CAESAR AND THE ROMAN EMPIRE

Emperor Octavian. To organize an honest and efficient government for his vast empire was the immediate problem confronting the thirty-one-year-old Octavian. Cold and reserved, with a keen mind and a strong will, he proved himself equal to the task. He shrewdly kept the framework of the Republic, but made certain that he controlled it. For example, he filled the Senate with his supporters. They then appointed him for life to the highest positions in the government—consul, tribune, and commander-in-chief of the armed forces. By retaining the old republican forms, Octavian was able to hide the fact that he was really a military dictator.

In Rome, Octavian was called *Princeps*, meaning "First Citizen." His military authority was expressed in the title *Imperator*, from which comes our word "emperor." In the provinces, he openly assumed the title *Augustus* ("Majestic One"), previously used only for the gods, and had altars set up in

his honor. Emperor worship, the ruler hoped, would strengthen his position because many of his subjects, regarding him as a god, would obey him without question.

Augustus Brings Order and Peace to the Empire. Octavian Caesar, now better known by his title *Augustus*, used his great power to make far-reaching reforms in the government of the provinces. He appointed the governors himself and allowed them to hold office as long as they performed their duties honestly and efficiently. Each governor took a regular census of the population and wealth of his province in order that taxes might be levied fairly. Private tax collectors were replaced by regular government officials. Under the watchful eyes of Augustus, honest and efficient government was established throughout the Empire.

To prevent unrest among the many unemployed Romans, Augustus supplied them with free grain and staged elaborate entertainments at government expense. More important, he resettled large numbers of the unemployed on vacant lands or put them to work on an ambitious program of public

building. It was the boast of Augustus that he found Rome a city of brick and left it a city of marble. Above all, the Emperor tried to end the wars which were draining Rome's strength. Though he had trouble occasionally with barbarians along the German frontiers, he was successful in preserving peace within the Empire for years at a time. When, old and ill, he left the capital for his last visit to the provinces, crowds gathered everywhere to hail the man who had brought forth order from the chaos of the late Roman Republic.

Bad and Good Emperors. Before his death, Augustus adopted as his successor his stepson Tiberius, who proved a capable leader. However, two of the next three emperors were incompetent or worse. One of them, Caligula, appointed a horse as consul. The other, the vicious Nero, murdered numerous people, including his wife and his mother. But so well had the government been organized that it was able to carry on even under these bad monarchs.

During the century or so after Nero's death (A.D. 68 to 180), the Roman Empire was fortunate in having a number of able and conscientious rulers. Like Augustus, they were patrons of learning and the arts. They erected magnificent public buildings not only in Rome but also in the leading provincial cities. Above all, they worked hard to supervise their vast realms and to promote the welfare of their subjects.

The last of these great rulers, the philosopher-emperor Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161-180), is one of the noblest figures in history. Though he longed for the quiet life of a scholar, he considered it his duty to devote himself to the service of his people. During most of his long reign, he traveled from province to province to check on his officials or to repel attacks by barbarian tribes.

It was during the time of these good emperors that the Roman Empire reached its greatest territorial extent (map below). Its military strength was increased by the en-



listment in the legions of young men from the provinces and by the erection of strong walls along the frontiers. Undisturbed by war, industry and commerce flourished. On

the whole, the two centuries after Augustus' rise to power was a period of peace, prosperity, and progress for the entire Mediterranean world.



12 / Lesson Review

Checking the facts

1. Explain: People's party; Senatorial party; emperor worship.
2. Identify: the Gracchus brothers; Marius; Sulla; Julius Caesar; Octavian (Augustus); Mark Antony; Nero; Marcus Aurelius.
3. Describe how each of these problems affected the Roman Republic: governing distant provinces; the system of collecting taxes; slavery; conflicts between the upper and lower classes.
4. Tell how these men attempted to solve Rome's problems: the Gracchus brothers; Marius; Julius Caesar. Why did each fail?
5. What important reforms did Octavian Caesar introduce in Rome? in the provinces?
6. Why is Marcus Aurelius considered one of Rome's greatest emperors?

Applying history

1. Why did the Romans fear their slaves? In view of the problems to which it gave rise, why did they not abolish slavery?
2. How did Rome's armies prove both a valuable asset and a danger to the later Republic? Are military forces a threat in modern nations? Give examples to support your answer.
3. In your opinion, which had the better case, the People's party or the Senatorial party? Could the civil wars have been prevented or brought to a peaceful conclusion? Justify your answers.
4. Why did the dictatorship of Julius Caesar arouse strong Senatorial opposition? Why was Octavian more successful than his uncle in retaining power?
5. Why did Octavian's subjects regard him as

a great man? What criticisms might be directed against his policies?

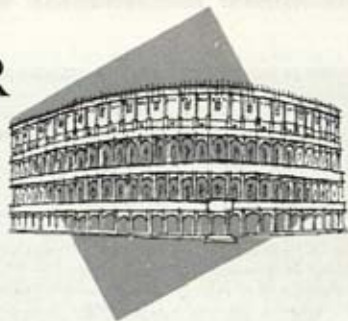
History and geography

1. Locate (map, pp. 102-103): Rhine River; Danube River; Carpathian Mountains; Caucasus Mountains; Gaul; Belgica; Britain; Scandinavia; Dacia; Neapolis; Genoa; Londinium; Hibernia; Caledonia; Rome; Greece; Spain; Egypt.
2. Compare the size of the Roman Empire with that of the Egyptian and Persian empires (maps, pp. 27, 43, and 102-103). How do you explain the success of the Romans in holding together such a vast empire?
3. Why did the Romans call the Mediterranean "our sea"? What other important early seafaring peoples are shown on the map on pp. 102-103?
4. List the boundaries of the Roman Empire which were formed by natural geographic features. Why did the Romans build walls in the places shown on pp. 102-103?

Special activities

1. On the basis of outside reading, report to the class on the life of a famous Roman, such as one of the Gracchus brothers, Julius Caesar, or Augustus. Emphasize his character and his importance in Roman history.
2. Read the whole or selected parts of William Shakespeare's play *Julius Caesar*. Discuss with the class Mark Antony's famous speech praising the dictator.
3. Read articles on Marcus Aurelius and President Thomas Jefferson in an encyclopedia. Stage a conversation between the two men in which each describes his ideals of government.

"THE GRANDEUR THAT WAS ROME"



The city of Rome was a worthy capital for a mighty empire. Emperor after emperor had adorned it with splendid temples, triumphal arches, and public buildings. The main public center, the Forum, contained many large government buildings and porticoes, where citizens gathered to learn the latest news and discuss politics or business affairs. Nearby was the Capitoline Hill, covered with impressive temples to the gods. A third area, the Palatine Hill, was occupied by the luxurious residences of the emperors. The main sections of the city were connected by wide, well-paved thoroughfares which swarmed with pedestrians and a heavy traffic of litters, carts, and wagons. Equally crowded were the narrow side streets, lined with shops displaying goods from many different lands. With a million or so inhabitants, imperial Rome was truly a great metropolis, the center of the Mediterranean world.

ROMAN SOCIETY AND CULTURE

Sanitation and Health. In such a crowded city, public-health facilities were vital. The government built long aqueducts to supply the city with plenty of pure water. Huge sewers drained the low-lying areas and disposed of the city's wastes. Rome had a medical school for the training of doctors and was probably the first city in history also to have a public hospital and public medical services for the poor.

The Romans, especially the members of the upper classes, were noted for their personal cleanliness. They went almost every day to one of the immense public baths, where they could bathe in hot water and then be rubbed with olive oil by a slave. At the public baths were large swimming pools, steam rooms, reading rooms, and cool gardens where people could sit and talk. The public baths were the city's main social centers.

Amusements. Also popular were the "circuses" or public games. One Roman stadium, the Colosseum, could hold fifty thousand spectators. They would scream with delight as gladiators hacked each other to bits or fought with fierce animals. On one occasion, the arena was flooded and the audience witnessed a real naval battle, complete with the groans of the wounded and dying. An even larger stadium, the Hippodrome, was the scene of daredevil chariot races, where death was ever imminent as the drivers smashed into one another around the turns. In their search for thrills, the Romans were quite a bloodthirsty people.

There were also many theaters, where comedies and tragedies were performed. The streets were full of wandering performers and groups of idlers who spent their time gambling and arguing. It took a variety of entertainments to help the Romans while away their long hours of leisure. Such leisure was not the privilege of the upper classes alone.



The Colosseum in Rome, completed in A.D. 80, could hold fifty thousand spectators. It was used for gladiatorial combat and the martyrdom of Christians, among other "amusements."

Unemployed workingmen had far more of it than they would have wished. Many of the public amusements were free, to keep the lower classes from becoming troublesome.

Homes. The well-to-do Romans enjoyed a luxurious home life. Their town houses were spacious mansions decorated with marble columns, fine statues, ornate furniture, and expensive tapestries. The walls were adorned

with attractive paintings and the floors were of tile set in beautiful mosaic designs. These mansions also had hot and cold running water, sanitary conveniences, and even hot-air furnaces. The Romans, like the ancient Egyptians and Hellenistic Greeks, knew how to combine beauty with comfort.

Many upper-class Romans also had large villas or country estates, whose wide grounds

were beautified with formal gardens, statuary, marble benches, and goldfish ponds. The favorite home entertainments of the Romans were feasts, where they gorged themselves on choice foods and liquors while talented slaves entertained them. In their pleasures, the Romans did not hold to the simplicity that was the Greek ideal.

Greek Cultural Influences. In the field of culture, the Romans admired Greek achievements so much that they used them as models. They identified their gods with those of the Greeks and used the schools to spread Greek ideas. A Roman schoolboy learned first his letters and then Homer. If his father was wealthy, he was sent away to complete his education at one of the famous schools in Greece. It was with good reason that the Roman poet Horace wrote: "Greece, taken captive, took captive her rough conqueror, and brought the arts to rustic Latium [Rome]."

The Romans preserved many of the cultural achievements of the Greeks. They also modified and added to them, and then spread them throughout the Empire. In this way, Rome acted as the bridge over which Greek civilization was carried to the peoples of western Europe.

Roman Literature and Art. However, the Romans were not mere imitators. Though they borrowed much, they also made notable achievements of their own. In the last years of the Republic, the most distinguished man of letters was the statesman Cicero. Cicero had studied law and philosophy in Rome and Athens. Entering politics, he became a leader of the Senatorial party. His efforts to save the republic won him the bitter enmity of Mark Antony and eventually cost him his life. In the course of his career, Cicero made many famous speeches. His writings, like Julius Caesar's account of his wars in Gaul, are still studied in our Latin classes today.

During his long reign, Octavian Caesar encouraged literature by supporting capable writers. One of these was Virgil, the greatest of all Roman poets. Virgil used Homer as a model for his stirring epic poem, the *Aeneid*, which describes the legendary founding of Rome. The poem begins with the flight of the warrior Aeneas from the burning city of Troy and concludes with the founding of Rome by Romulus and Remus. Horace and Ovid were two other famous poets of the period. Horace composed light, cheerful poems or odes about the pleasures of a simple life. Ovid retold the ancient myths about the gods and wrote poems dealing with love. Excellent authors of prose were also found. Probably best known is the eminent historian Livy, who wrote a long and interesting, though somewhat inaccurate, account of Rome from the founding of the city. Many lesser but able writers helped to make the reign of Augustus a "Golden Age" of Roman literature.

In the first and second centuries A.D., Rome produced other illustrious writers. The bitter historian Tacitus and Juvenal, a writer of stinging satires, have given us unforgettable pictures of Rome at the height of its power. The great Roman Emperor Marcus Aurelius wrote a small but important volume, *Meditations*, stating his philosophy of life. As might be expected from such an enlightened ruler, he stressed the importance of virtue and faithful performance of duty. Altogether, the Roman writers created a rich literary treasure for later generations.

In at least one field, architecture, the Romans outstripped their Greek teachers. They learned how to mix cement and used it to make strong walls, which they then covered with thin slabs of shining marble. Using the principle of the arch, they designed and constructed huge domes of concrete as roofs for their large buildings. They also used series

of arches to support heavy structures such as bridges and aqueducts. In size and variety of design, the Roman buildings far surpassed those of the Greeks.

Artists were kept busy decorating the many splendid public buildings and the homes of the wealthy citizens. Craftsmen also found a rich market for their varied products as Greco-Roman culture spread throughout the Empire. Roman culture was great because it combined the achievements of the conquerors with those of their civilized subjects.

THE BENEFITS OF ROMAN RULE

The "Roman Peace," 31 B.C.—A.D. 180. Beginning with Augustus, the Roman emperors embarked on few new projects of conquest. For the most part, they sought to extend their boundaries only until they reached natural geographic barriers like rivers or mountains, which could be easily defended. Where no such barriers existed, they built immense fortified walls, guarded by strong garrisons. Within these secure frontiers, they used the legions mainly to enforce law and order. So well did they succeed that it was said that a man could carry a bag of gold from one end of the Empire to the other without fear of theft. Free of wars, piracy, and banditry, the peoples of the Empire enjoyed during the first and second centuries A.D. the benefits of the Pax Romana or "Roman Peace."

During the long period of peace, industry and trade flourished. Hundreds of ships plied the Mediterranean, which connected the many lands along its shores. Large fleets sailed to the Far East to bring back the spices of Ceylon, the jewels of India, and the silks of China. On land, the Romans built remarkably good roads, which ran smooth and straight to all parts of the Empire. A

single set of laws and a uniform system of money also helped businessmen. Since the different peoples of the Empire could exchange their goods freely, each specialized in the products it made best and all enjoyed a higher standard of living.

Culture Spread by Cities and Trade. Supported by industry and commerce, cities flourished throughout the Empire—in Italy, Gaul, Britain, Spain, and North Africa, as well as in the Hellenistic East. Most were smaller copies of Rome, with splendid public buildings, stadiums, theaters, and baths. Many also boasted a good water supply, sewage system, and paved streets. The emperors encouraged the growth of cities because they served as centers of government, trade, and culture for the surrounding countryside.

The growth of trade and city life encouraged the spread of Roman culture. The practice of establishing colonies of Roman war veterans in foreign lands hastened the process. Even in the far-off province of Britain (conquered in the first century A.D.), the people after a time adopted the ways of their rulers so completely that it was said they were "more Roman than the Romans themselves." Latin quickly became the universal language of the western half of the Empire, though Greek remained the language of the Hellenistic eastern half. Most educated Romans spoke both languages. The removal of language barriers hastened the spread of ideas and further encouraged travel and trade.

A Common Citizenship. As differences in customs and language disappeared, other distinctions also broke down. The Romans had never discriminated against any group because of their race or religion. In the period of the late Republic, they had granted full citizenship to all peoples of Italy. Julius Caesar had begun the practice of granting Roman citizenship to loyal cities in the con-

quered provinces, and later emperors continued this policy. In Rome itself, it became customary to confer citizenship on slaves who were freed by their masters. Gradually the privilege of Roman citizenship was extended to any people who proved co-operative. Finally, in A.D. 212, it was conferred on all free inhabitants of the Empire. Every-

where "Roman citizens" proudly wore the white togas (robes) which marked them all as equals. The Roman Empire became a great "melting pot" for peoples and cultures.

Roman Law. Another bond of empire was a common system of law. The Romans early realized how important it was for a government to be fair and impartial in dealing with

The Pont du Gard, still standing near Nîmes, France, is a spectacular example of Roman architecture. Like the Colosseum (p. 106), the great aqueduct is characterized by great size and extensive use of the arch.



its people. Each new judge therefore announced in advance the legal principles on which he intended to base his decisions. At first, these were based on the customs and traditions of Rome itself. Later, the judges included the enlightened ideas of the civilized conquered peoples. In the course of time, the wisest principles and decisions were adopted for use throughout the Empire. So just and practical were the principles of Roman law that they are followed to this day in many of the countries of Europe and Latin America.

The secret of the Roman Empire's success was to be found in the many benefits its inhabitants enjoyed. Peace, good roads, extensive trade, cultural unity, common languages and citizenship, and an advanced legal system were the ties which bound together Rome's far-reaching and diverse territories. As we shall see in the next unit, the Empire was strong enough to continue for centuries even though serious problems developed after the death of the great Emperor Marcus Aurelius.



Our Debt to the Ancient Greeks and Romans

Influence on Our Culture. Together, the civilizations of Greece and Rome flourished for almost a thousand years. Though about fifteen hundred years have elapsed since then, we are still surrounded by evidence of our

debt to these two ancient cultures. Many European peoples—the French, Italians, Spanish, Portuguese, and Rumanians—claim descent from the Romans. They speak *Romance* languages derived from Latin, the language of the Romans. Various other languages of western Europe, especially English, contain many words of Latin origin. In eastern Europe, the Greek influence is more apparent.

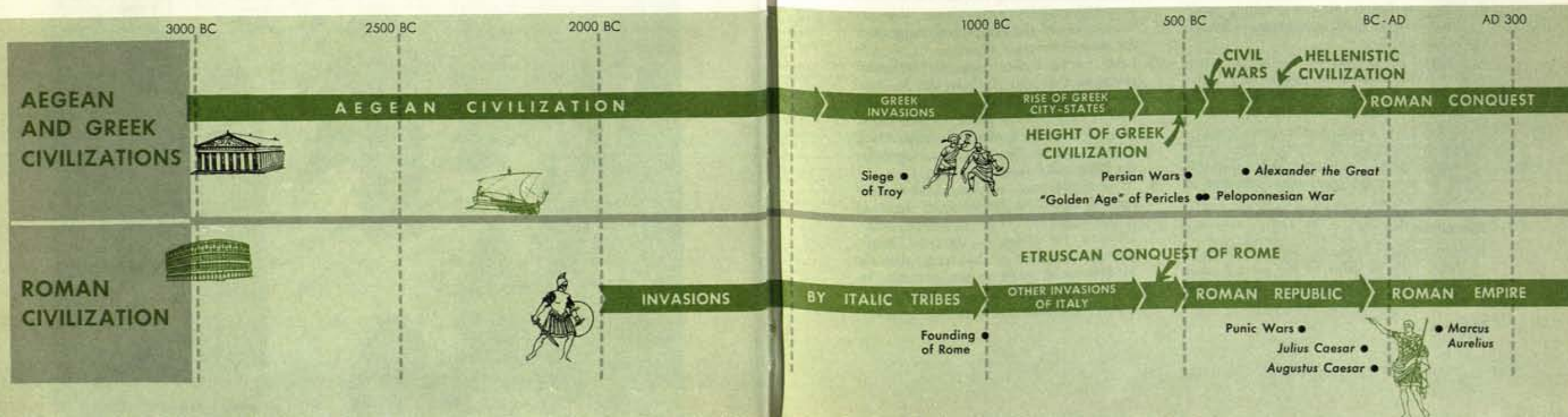
Along with their languages, we have inherited a large number of Greek and Roman ideas and concepts. Our literature is full of references to Greek and Roman history and myth. Our architects decorate buildings with Greek columns and the Roman arch and dome. In almost every other field of culture—in sculpture, painting, poetry, drama, philosophy, law, and science—we have built on their achievements. It is no exaggeration to say that the Greco-Roman culture is still very much alive today.

Political and Social Progress. The Greeks and Romans also created many of the political forms in use today. At first, their city-

states were examples of democracy on a small scale. Later, the Romans organized the machinery for governing large territories. They also established important principles of law and justice and showed that different peoples could live together in peace.

Despite slavery and other injustices, both the Greeks and the Romans made some progress toward social equality. The Greeks tended to judge citizens on their ability and achievements, rather than by their birth or wealth. The Romans eventually granted equal rights and citizenship to all free people, regardless of race, religion, or place of birth. Both civilizations paved the way for many of our modern social concepts.

In summarizing the Greek and Roman achievements, we might say that the two peoples ushered in a way of life and developed a set of values much like our own. At their best, they loved freedom and hated despotism. They despised superstition and placed their faith in human reason. They were truly, as one scholar calls them, "the first of the moderns."





13 / Lesson Review

Checking the facts

1. Explain: Forum; metropolis; "circus"; Colosseum; Hippodrome; Pax Romana; Romance languages.
2. Identify: Horace; Cicero; Virgil; Ovid; Livy; Tacitus; Juvenal.
3. Why is Rome regarded as one of the great cities of history?
4. Describe the Romans' achievements in engineering; public health; literature; architecture.
5. How did the peoples of the Roman Empire benefit from the "Roman Peace"; good roads; common languages; common citizenship; the advanced legal system?

Applying history

1. What was the original meaning of the saying "All roads lead to Rome"? Why are good roads even more important in modern civilization?
2. Why was Rome called a "melting pot"? What were the special advantages of Roman civilization?
3. Compare Roman and Greek ideas of citizenship. Which was more enlightened? Why?
4. Explain why you agree or disagree with the statement "The Roman Empire realized the dreams of Alexander the Great."
5. Approximately half the words in the English language are of Latin origin. What does this tell us about the continuing influence of ancient Rome?

Special activities

1. Read passages from the works of Horace, Virgil, Livy, or other of the great Roman writers which show how Romans lived and their attitude toward life.

2. Prepare a class exhibit on the architecture and sculpture of the Roman Empire. Make a comparison with ancient Greece, indicating both similarities and differences.
3. On the basis of your reading, write an imaginary account of a visit to ancient Rome.
4. List and locate on a map the countries in which Romance languages are spoken today.
5. Trace the development of at least three Latin words, such as *amicus* (friend), into French, Spanish, and Italian.

Summarizing Unit 3

1. Draw a chart in the form of a stream or tree to show all the influences which contributed to the development of the Greek and Roman civilizations.
2. Show the relationship between Greece and Rome by comparing events about 1000 B.C.; 450 B.C.; 300 B.C.; 150 B.C. Why do the histories of the two peoples merge after the second century B.C.?
3. Label on an outline map the important places in this unit. Include the Mediterranean, Aegean, and Black seas; Persia, Asia Minor, Egypt, North Africa, Greece, Crete, Italy, Sicily, the Iberian peninsula, Gaul, Britain; Athens, Sparta, Rome, Carthage; the Tiber and Po rivers.
4. In your notebook, prepare an outline of the main political developments discussed in this unit.
5. Compare the maps in Unit 3. Discuss the important changes that occurred in the Mediterranean world in the centuries between the age of Greek colonization and the rise of the Roman Empire.

Books to Read

Specialized Accounts

- BOTSFORD, G. W. and C. A. ROBINSON, JR. *Hellenic History*. Macmillan, 1956. An excellent summary, clearly written and beautifully illustrated.
- *COTTRELL, LEONARD. *The Bull of Minos*. Rinehart, 1958. A reconstruction of Cretan civilization.
- *FOSTER, GENEVIEVE. *Augustus Caesar's World*. Scribner's, 1947. The early Roman Empire.
- GEER, RUSSELL M. *Rome*. Prentice-Hall, 1950. A survey of life and culture in ancient Rome.
- HADAS, MOSES. *A History of Rome as told by Roman Historians*. Doubleday, 1956. Readings from the ancient writers, selected and translated by an eminent scholar.
- HAMILTON, EDITH. *The Greek Way*. Norton, 1949. An enthusiastic description of thought and art in ancient Greece.
- . *The Roman Way*. Norton, 1932. Companion volume to *The Greek Way*.
- JOHNSTON, HAROLD W. *Private Life of the Romans*. Scott, Foresman, 1932. A well-illustrated portrayal of life in ancient Rome.
- LIVINGSTONE, RICHARD W. *The Pageant of Greece*. Oxford, 1935. A collection of Greek writings, including selections from the most noted poets and historians.
- *MILLS, DOROTHY. *Book of the Ancient Greeks*. Putnam, 1925.
- *———. *Book of the Ancient Romans*. Putnam, 1927. Interesting narrative histories enriched with quotations.
- *QUENNEL, M. C. and C. H. B. *Everyday Things in Ancient Greece*. Putnam, 1954. Various aspects of Greek life, described in simple language with many illustrations.
- ROBINSON, CYRIL E. *Everyday Life in Ancient Greece*. Oxford, 1933. Brief discussions of ancient Athens and Sparta.
- *TAPPAN, EVA M. *The Story of the Greek People*. Houghton Mifflin, 1938.
- *———. *The Story of the Roman People*. Houghton Mifflin, 1938. Introductory treat-

ments, primarily concerned with the way people lived.

Biographies and Historical Fiction

- ANDERSON, PAUL L. *With the Eagles. Slave of Catiline. For Freedom and for Gaul. Swords in the North*. Biblo, 1957. Four exciting novels about the ancient Romans and the peoples they conquered.
- BUCHAN, JOHN. *Augustus*. Houghton Mifflin, 1937. An illuminating study of the career of the great Roman statesman.
- *DAVIS, WILLIAM S. *Victor of Salamis*. Macmillan, 1951.
- *———. *A Friend of Caesar*. Macmillan, 1951. Fictional accounts of adventure in ancient Greece and Rome.
- *DOLAN, MARY. *Hannibal of Carthage*. Macmillan, 1955. A fictional but historically sound biography of the Carthaginian hero of the Second Punic War.
- DUGGAN, ALFRED. *Julius Caesar*. Knopf, 1955. An interesting brief biography.
- . *Three's Company*. Coward, McCann, 1958. A realistic novel concerning the struggle for power during the last years of the Roman Republic.
- INGLES, JAMES W. *Test of Valor*. Westminster, 1953. The story of a young Greek athlete and his participation in the Olympic Games.
- *LAMB, HAROLD. *Alexander of Macedon*. Doubleday, 1946.
- *———. *Hannibal: One Man Against Rome*. Doubleday, 1958. Excellent accounts of the careers of these two great military heroes.
- OMAN, CHARLES W. C. *Seven Roman Statesmen of the Later Republic*. St. Martin's, 1934. Short biographies of famous Romans from the Gracchi through Julius Caesar.
- ROBINSON, CHARLES A., JR. *Alexander the Great*. Dutton, 1947. A sympathetic biography of the famous Macedonian conqueror.
- SNEDEKER, CAROLINE D. *The Spartan*. Doubleday, 1946. A dramatic novel of Spartan life and the Battle of Thermopylae.

UNIT 4

THE AGE OF GREAT INVASIONS

Sometimes we hear serious warnings about the possible destruction of our civilization. We generally remain unimpressed. It is difficult indeed for us to picture our cities as empty ruins; our farms returned to wilderness; our roads and bridges in complete disrepair; and our schools, libraries, and museums destroyed or deserted. Yet all these things happened in western Europe when the Roman Empire decayed and was destroyed by German barbarians.

The period following the decline of the Roman Empire has been called the Dark Age. Actually, conditions were never quite so bad as they seemed on the surface. A new religion from the East, Christianity, was adopted by the later Roman Empire. The German barbarians also became Christians and gradually learned the ways of their Roman subjects. The blend of German customs, Roman culture, and Christian ideals eventually laid the foundations for a new civilization in Europe.

Meanwhile, the eastern half of the Roman Empire, though hard pressed by enemies along its frontiers, survived and carried on the Greek and Roman traditions for a thousand years longer. Another new religion, Islam, arose in Arabia and inspired Arab tribesmen to conquer a great rival empire in Asia, northern Africa, and parts of southern Europe. Borrowing from more civilized peoples, the Arabs proceeded to create a rich new culture of their own. During these same centuries, both India and China were invaded by barbarians, but their civilizations suffered considerably less damage than did the civilization of ancient Rome. While western Europe was experiencing its long Dark Age, the two Oriental countries entered upon new periods of prosperity and cultural progress.

In this unit, the questions listed below are the most important:

1. What were the reasons for the fall of the Roman Empire?
2. How did Christianity save western Europe from barbarism?
3. Why did the Germans fail to preserve Roman civilization?
4. How did the Eastern Roman Empire succeed in preserving Greco-Roman culture?
5. How did the Arabs build a great empire and civilization?
6. What were the main characteristics of the Indian and Chinese civilizations during this period?



/ THE DECLINE AND FALL
OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

Like a living creature or plant, the Roman Empire grew up quickly, flourished for a time, then decayed and died. What went wrong? Was Rome's fate inevitable? Must our own civilization follow the same course? Seeking the answers to these questions, modern historians have spent much time carefully studying Roman history. They have noted that the Romans faced certain basic problems which they were never able to solve. Apparently, it was these basic problems which weakened Roman civilization and eventually led to Rome's downfall.

REASONS FOR ROME'S DECLINE

Changing Character of the Roman People. Many problems were carried over from the days of the late Republic. As we have seen, Rome's legions had succeeded in conquering the Mediterranean world, but the government of the Republic was unable to manage the burden of ruling this vast empire. Misrule of the provinces outside Italy was common as corrupt governors and tax officials drained off their wealth. Rome's tremendous expansion also had evil effects on the Roman people themselves. The profits of conquest went to the upper classes while many of the common people were reduced to pauperism. Growing class conflicts led to dic-

tatorships, to chronic civil war, and, finally, to the fall of the Republic. Octavian Caesar, the first emperor, succeeded in restoring order in Rome and in the provinces. However, neither he nor his successors found any lasting solutions for the problems of the lower classes.

During the early Empire, slave labor made it possible for the wealthy to own larger and larger plantations. In Nero's day, the whole province of North Africa was owned by six men! Unable to compete with the large estates, more and more of the peasants lost their farms and flocked to Rome. One entire section of the city was a slum area, whose filthy, narrow streets were lined with rows of tall, dingy, wooden tenements. Many of the inhabitants considered it undignified for Roman citizens to work like slaves and preferred to live on charity. "Bread and circuses" were provided by the government to keep them quiet.

Gone were the sturdy, self-reliant peasants who had formed the invincible Roman legions. In their place were aimless idlers, their bodies softened by leisure and their characters corrupted by charity and sloth. The rich, spoiled by too much wealth and self-indulgence, also became soft and lazy, interested mainly in the pursuit of personal pleasure. The decay of its once proud and

virtuous people weakened the very foundations of Rome's power.

Economic Depression. During the first two centuries of the Empire, these weaknesses were checked to some extent. Octavian and some of the other good emperors founded colonies for landless peasants. New farms and mines were opened. Their output helped supply Rome with food and raw materials and kept prices low. With honest imperial officials, the people in the provinces also prospered and population increased rapidly.

In time, however, soil and mineral resources became depleted, especially in Italy. Moreover, Rome's prosperity declined as it secured less and less wealth from the Empire. Business became slack and employers had to cut wages and lay off workers. The government, to meet its expenses, levied very heavy taxes which put additional burdens on business and left the people still poorer. Revolts of the lower classes and slaves broke out in many provinces. Civil wars among rivals for the throne also hurt industry and trade. In the third century, a long and severe economic depression replaced the prosperity which had been one of the strongest supports of the Roman Empire.

With conditions so uncertain, the population began to decrease. People generally married late and destroyed unwanted infants. Several great plagues, probably bred in the slum areas of the large cities, swept through the Empire. One epidemic is believed to have killed off about half of its total population! In the cities, business stagnated. In the rural districts, there was a serious lack of manpower. Whole areas of farmland had to be abandoned and were soon covered with weeds and thickets. An expanding empire was strong and prosperous; a contracting one was poor and weak.

Military Weakness. Especially serious was the decline in the military strength of the Empire. The government found it a strain merely to defend the outlying provinces in Europe and western Asia from invaders. Emperor after emperor had to spend a large part of his reign away from the capital, traveling from one menaced frontier to another. Large armies had to be raised, supported, and reinforced. To fill the ranks, more and more soldiers were recruited from the provinces. After the plagues, even barbarian tribes were enlisted to defend the Empire from the attacks of other barbarians! Though generally loyal, these armies lacked the discipline and training of the earlier Roman legions. In time of need, they were to prove a source of weakness rather than of strength.

In an effort to solve the defense problem, the early emperors had built long lines of fortifications along the exposed frontiers. This plan, however, had a fatal weakness. Behind the walls, the defending garrisons relaxed their discipline and settled down to a life of ease. By the third century of the Empire, the quick-moving, hard-hitting Roman legions had ceased to exist. A wall of stone had replaced a wall of brave fighting men as the Empire's defense. If strong enemies broke through at any point, there was almost nothing behind the fortifications to stop them. The Roman Empire had become a hollow shell. Its reputation as a mighty power still awed the barbarians, but this reputation was now its strongest protection.

The "Barracks Emperors." The Empire was also weakened by civil wars. By a strange quirk of fate, the noblest of all the Roman emperors, Marcus Aurelius, was succeeded by one of the very worst. His son Commodus (A.D. 180-192) was a cruel, extravagant, and incompetent ruler. He actually fought as a gladiator in the arena and demanded that his

subjects worship him as the god of strength. His own generals finally rebelled and murdered him.

Having removed the Emperor, the generals proposed to select and install the next one. The Senate was powerless; it was compelled to accept the choice of the armies. Plots, intrigues, civil wars, and bribery determined who should be emperor as rival generals now brought forth their own candidates for the throne. In fifty years (A.D. 235–285), there were twenty-three emperors, of whom twenty-two met violent death. These “barracks emperors” (so called because they were chosen in the army barracks) were incapable of ruling properly. Their main concern was to hold the allegiance of the soldiers whom they had bribed. The result was chaos in the Empire. Whole armies, seeking spoils, pillaged the countryside. In the third century A.D., the Roman Empire seemed doomed.

Diocletian's Division of the Empire. Complete collapse was averted for a time by a strong emperor named Diocletian (A.D. 285–305). Diocletian crushed several revolts and defeated the barbarians. To strengthen his authority, he tightened his control over the provincial governments and surrounded his person with Oriental pomp and ceremony. He also tried to stop the economic decline by fixing the prices for all goods and by forbidding workers to leave their jobs. Diocletian did succeed in re-establishing a stable government, but his rigid control of jobs and prices brought ruin to the traders, craftsmen, and other businessmen who made up the middle class.

Diocletian's most fateful decision was the division of the Empire into two parts, to make it easier to defend and govern. He himself ruled the eastern portion, and he chose a co-emperor to rule the West. Each emperor chose an assistant, who was also to be



The emperor Constantine had this triumphal arch erected on the south side of the Roman forum to commemorate his success over his rivals for the throne. It also celebrated his recognition of Christianity (see p. 125).



The ferocity of the Huns and the swiftness of their attacks were important factors in their military success. Accustomed to living on mare's milk and horseflesh, they could travel long distances without cumbersome supply trains.

his heir. Diocletian believed that his plan would strengthen the government and prevent disputes over succession to the throne.

After ruling twenty years, Diocletian retired and compelled his co-emperor in the West to follow suit. However, Diocletian's plan to secure an orderly succession to the throne did not work out. Rival claimants plunged the Empire again into civil war. The victor, Constantine (306-337), eventually succeeded in reuniting the Empire. While keeping firm control of the West, he built a new capital in the East, on the site of the Greek city of Byzantium. The new capital was known as Constantinople ("Constantine's city"). Constantine's reign brought a second period of stability. But his successors again divided the Empire and fought frequently among themselves. Finally, in A.D. 395, the two parts of the Empire were permanently separated. The western half proved the weaker and soon collapsed. By the end of the fifth century it had passed out of existence.

THE BARBARIAN INVASIONS OF THE EMPIRE

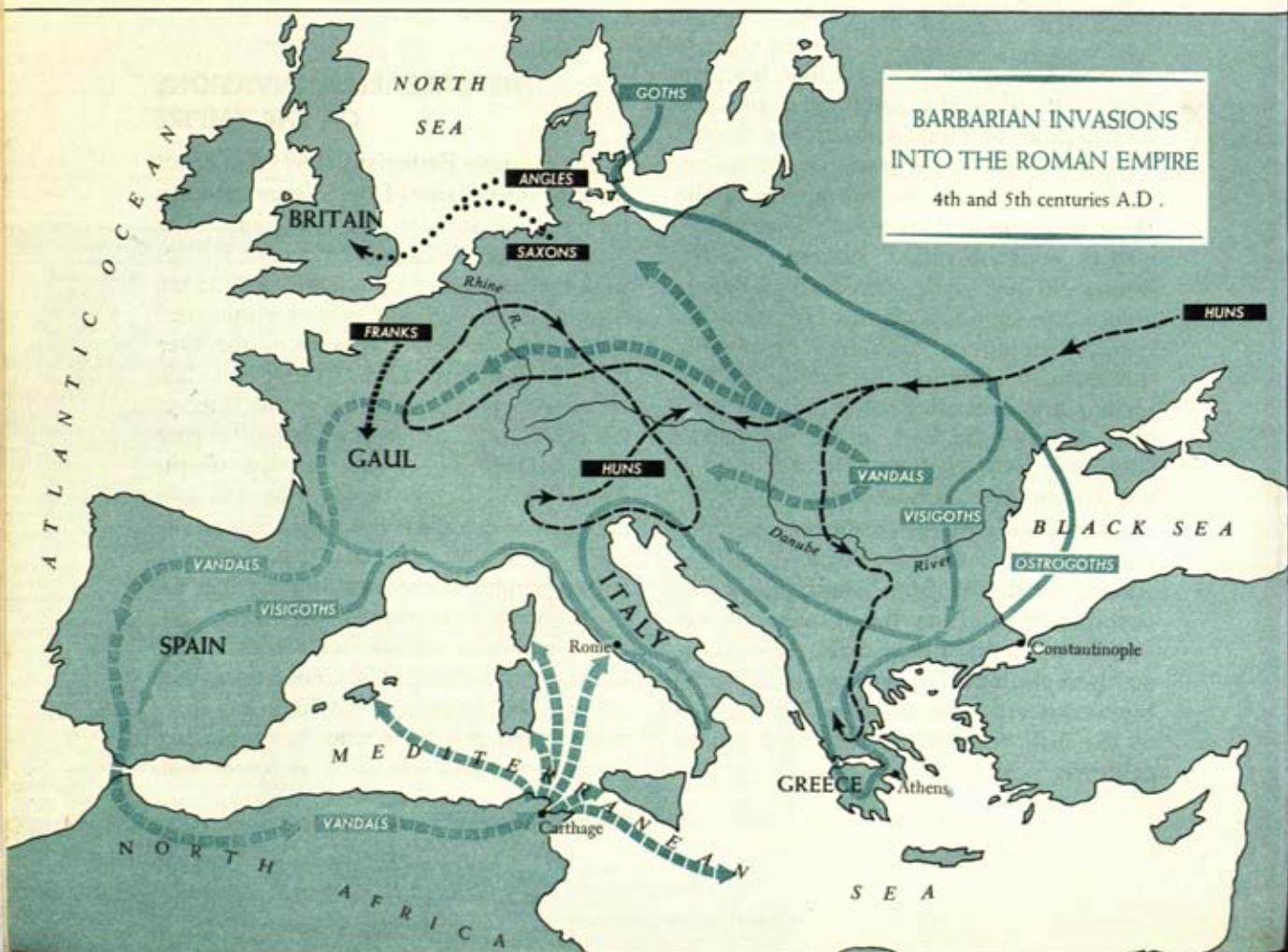
The German Barbarians. The main direct cause of the collapse of the Western Roman Empire was invasion by barbarians. The boundaries of the Roman Empire in Europe were the Rhine and Danube rivers. The territories to the north and east were inhabited mainly by wandering tribesmen, the Germans or Teutons. These were a tall, fair-haired people, strong in body and fierce in temperament. They spoke an Indo-European language distantly related to that of the Romans and Greeks. Each tribe was governed by a chieftain aided by a council of warriors. As was often the case with barbarian peoples, the women and children did the farming and other menial work. The most important activities of the men were hunting and fighting. The Germans admired strength and courage as the highest virtues, made a war god their chief deity, and believed that those who died in battle went

straight to Valhalla, the hall of the gods. Though they lacked good arms and discipline, the Germans overcame this handicap by their ferocity and physical strength.

An unusual trait of the Germans was their wanderlust. Every few years, they would pack their belongings into ox-drawn carts and seek a new home. It was not only the love of war and adventure which drove them on. Since they used primitive methods of farming, they had to move whenever the soil was exhausted or the population increased too much. There is also some evidence that the climate of northern Europe was beginning to grow colder. To the south were rich

prizes—the sunny farmlands and wealthy cities of the Roman Empire.

Germans in the Roman Empire. The migrating Germans first clashed with the Romans in the days of the Republic. When they entered Gaul in 55 B.C., Julius Caesar drove them back beyond the Rhine. During the reign of Augustus, the Romans in turn tried to conquer Germany. But their invasion came to a disastrous end. The legions were ambushed in the dense forests and annihilated. After that, the emperors maintained the Rhine and Danube rivers as a barrier between the Romans and the barbarians.



Gradually, the Germans living along the Roman boundary became more civilized. Roman merchants traded with them, and many of them found employment as soldiers in the Roman legions. Then whole tribes were allowed to settle inside the Empire, often as defenders of the frontiers against their kinsmen. For three hundred years, the Germans slowly filtered into the Roman Empire.

Two factors hastened this process in the late fourth century—the growing weakness of the Roman Empire and the raids of Mongol nomads from central Asia, the Huns. Short and bowlegged, with beardless faces made hideous by the deep scars it was customary to inflict in childhood, the warlike Huns struck fear into the hearts of their enemies. On their tough little horses, they traveled remarkable distances to take their victims by surprise. The Huns spread death and destruction wherever they went. Within a short time, they had conquered some of the German tribes in southeastern Europe and threatened to enslave the rest.

The Fall of the Roman Empire in the West. Seeking safety from the onrushing Huns, a large German tribe, the Visigoths, gained permission to cross the Danube and settle within the Roman Empire. Here, however, they were badly mistreated by corrupt Roman officials. They rebelled and defeated a large Roman army in the Battle of Adrianople, A.D. 378. This defeat, one of the greatest disasters ever suffered by the Romans, showed clearly how weak the legions had become. Thereafter, the Visigoths and other German tribes roamed through the Empire virtually at will. The Visigoths invaded Italy, sacked Rome in A.D. 410, and finally settled in southern Gaul and Spain. During the course of the fifth century, northern Gaul fell to the Franks, Britain to the

Angles and Saxons, North Africa to the Vandals, and Italy to the Ostrogoths (map, p. 120).

For a time, the Huns settled down in central Europe. Then, under a cruel but capable leader, named Attila, they resumed their westward advance, striking across central Europe into Gaul. Here, at last, they were defeated by a combined Roman and Visigothic army in A.D. 451. The Huns then turned southward into Italy and ravaged the rich Po River valley. Rome itself narrowly escaped capture. A short time later, Attila died. The Huns fell to fighting among themselves. Their power was broken and they became absorbed by the peoples of central Europe.

By this time, German troops had become the military mainstay of the Western Empire. Their commanders were called “king-makers” because they chose and deposed the Roman rulers at will. In A.D. 476, the German general Odoacer ended the mockery by deposing the emperor and seizing power himself.

To some historians, this event marked the fall of the Roman Empire. Actually, however, for another thousand years Roman emperors continued to rule in the East. Even in the western half of the Empire, the deposing of the emperor meant less than might be supposed. German invaders had already established kingdoms in most of Rome's former provinces. Odoacer's action was significant only insofar as it represented the completion of the change from Roman to barbarian rule. Of course, the coming of the Germans gave rise to many problems for the Roman populace. Fortunately, friction between the conquerors and the conquered people was considerably lessened because the new rulers of western Europe came under the civilizing influence of the Christian church.



14 / Lesson Review

Checking the facts

1. Explain: Dark Age; "bread and circuses"; "barracks emperors"; *wanderlust*; Huns; Visigoths; Battle of Adrianople.
2. Identify: Diocletian; Constantine; Attila; Odoacer.
3. Tell how each of these developments contributed to the decline of the Roman Empire: changes in the Roman character; economic depression; decreasing population; changes in the army; conflicts for the throne.
4. How did Diocletian seek to strengthen the late Roman Empire?
5. What important changes were introduced by Constantine?
6. Describe the German barbarians' way of life at the time they invaded the Roman Empire.
7. What effects did the German invasion have on the Roman Empire in the West?
8. What is the significance in Roman history of the date 476?

Applying history

1. What were the major problems confronting the late Roman Empire? Why has one-man rule generally resulted in periods of weakness and disorder?
2. How did the division of the Roman Empire reflect the language and other cultural differences of the inhabitants?
3. Who were the Vandals? What does the English word *vandalism* mean? How and why did the word acquire this meaning?
4. Why were most of the ancient empires overthrown by barbarian invasions?

5. How did the German barbarians become Romanized? Why was it possible for the inhabitants of many former Roman provinces to absorb the invaders? How do their modern languages show that this process of absorption took place in Italy, France, and Spain?

History and geography

1. Locate (map, p. 120): Constantinople; Rhine River; Danube River; Rome; Italy; North Africa; Gaul; Spain; Britain.
2. Trace the routes of the important Germanic tribes who invaded the Roman Empire. Tell where each of these tribes finally settled (map, p. 120).
3. Which of the Germanic tribes lived closest to the Roman Empire before the period of invasions (map, p. 120)? How were these tribes influenced by Roman civilization?
4. Consult the map on pp. 170–171. Explain the geographic factors that made it relatively easy for the barbarian tribes to invade Europe from the east.

Special activities

1. After consulting an encyclopedia or other reference work, write a brief biography of Attila, Alaric, or Odoacer.
2. Debate: Rome fell not primarily because of the barbarian invasions but because of its own inner weaknesses.
3. Arrange an exhibit showing the important differences between the weapons and military tactics of a Roman legion (during the time of Julius Caesar) and those of a barbarian army.

15 / THE CIVILIZING ROLE OF CHRISTIANITY



Times of trouble have often been marked by great spiritual advances. Especially in periods of doubt and despair, man has sought the consolation and hope offered by religion. This was strikingly shown during the period of the Roman Empire's decline. Even in the good days of the Empire, people had grown skeptical of traditional religion. As conditions grew worse, their confidence in the old pagan gods steadily diminished. The Romans sought comfort in Persian, Egyptian, and other Eastern religious cults and philosophies. Eventually, they embraced a new religion, Christianity, whose high ideals and spiritual values gave new meaning to their existence.

CHRISTIANITY IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

Jesus of Nazareth. The new religion arose in the little land of Palestine, the home of the Jewish people (see p. 40). The Romans, who were ruling Palestine at the time, had allowed the Jews to retain their own king and high priest. But real power was exercised by a Roman governor and the Roman legions. As the Jews suffered under the Roman rule, their thoughts turned more and more to the Messiah or Savior. According to the ancient Hebrew prophets, the Messiah would

one day appear, to deliver them from their troubles.

In the reign of Augustus Caesar, Jesus was born in Palestine. For more than twenty-five years, he lived quietly in the little village of Nazareth. Then he went out among the people, telling them in simple words and stories about the coming Kingdom of God, in which suffering and injustice would no longer exist. He taught that all men are brothers and that the meek and humble will inherit the earth. By his teachings and actions, Jesus soon won many followers.

After preaching for some time, Jesus went to Jerusalem. There he was hailed as the Messiah and the Son of God. Jesus acknowledged that he was the Messiah but declared that the Kingdom of God was spiritual, not of this world. Many people who had hoped that he would lead a revolt against Roman rule now turned from him. Others considered some of his ideas contrary to Jewish religious beliefs. He was brought before the Roman governor and accused of trying to become king of the Jews. The governor ordered him executed by crucifixion, a usual punishment for treason against Rome.

The Christian Religion. The teachings of Jesus were kept alive by his disciples, the Twelve Apostles. For almost a generation, they sought converts only among the Jews.

Then one of the new Jewish converts, Paul of Tarsus, set out to teach the Gentiles (non-Jews) in the Roman Empire. He was especially successful among the poor and the slaves, whose misery on earth made them look forward eagerly to the Kingdom of God in the next world. The followers of the

new faith called themselves Christians (from the Greek word *Christos*; both *Christos* and *Messiah* mean "anointed").

The Christian doctrines were set forth in a collection of sacred writings called the Bible (literally "The Book"). The Bible consists of many different writings, divided into

Leonardo da Vinci's celebrated "Last Supper" (below), originally painted on the wall of a church in Milan, Italy, is a portrayal of Jesus and his disciples. It displays the deep psychological understanding of the artist (see p. 222). The ruins of the Basilica of Constantine in Rome (right) show once again the Romans' use of the arch (see also pp. 106 and 109). The early Christians adopted this basilica style in building their churches.



two main portions. The Old Testament, written before the coming of Jesus, contains the history of the Hebrews, their laws and traditions, and the messages of their prophets. The New Testament contains the four Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John and the epistles of Paul and the other Apostles. It tells of the life and teachings of Jesus and of the organizers of the new Christian religion.

To Christians the Old and New Testaments are both sacred. However, the New Testament is naturally regarded as of greater importance. According to the New Testament, Jesus is God made man, whose coming was foretold by the Hebrew prophets. He was crucified to make atonement for man's sins. After Jesus' burial, he miraculously rose from the dead and ascended into heaven. In the end of days, he will come again "with glory to judge the living and the dead." Meanwhile, to continue his work on earth, Jesus founded the Christian Church.

The Triumph of Christianity. The members of the new Christian Church soon aroused the hostility of the Roman government. They refused to worship the emperor and criticized all pagan religions. Many people, mystified by their secret meetings and lack of idols, suspected the Christians of treason and immorality. Rumor even accused them of sacrificing young children to their god. The climax came in A.D. 65 when a large part of Rome was destroyed by a raging fire. The evil Emperor Nero, who was suspected of having set the fire, sought to turn the people's anger from himself by making scapegoats of the Christians. Blaming them for the fire, he had thousands thrown to the wild beasts in the arena. But Christianity thrived on oppression. The courage with which the early Christians faced death attracted large numbers of con-

verts. "The blood of the martyrs became the seed of the Church."

The new religion spread with amazing speed through the far-flung but easily traveled territories of the Roman Empire. At first, its teachings appealed mainly to the millions who were poor, lowly, and oppressed. They found comfort in the message that all men are equal and that the humble are more beloved of God than the rich and powerful. But members of the upper classes also gradually turned to Christianity. In general, people felt the need for a new faith to take the place of the cold, formal ceremonies of the old Roman religion. They were impressed by the courage of the Christians in withstanding persecution or were won over by their attacks on slavery and other evils. Above all, people were attracted by Jesus' promise of life after death for those who lead a righteous life on earth and by the promise that past sins would be forgiven for those who truly repented and acknowledged their belief. As conditions in the Empire grew worse, more people became converts. Thus Christianity, which supplied the hope and faith that people needed in a time of trouble, grew as the Roman Empire declined.

Two centuries after the death of Jesus, Christianity had become one of the leading religions of the Roman Empire. Interested in Christianity and recognizing the importance of the Christian communities, Constantine sought to win their friendship and support in his fight for the imperial crown (see p. 119). In A.D. 313, he granted Christianity full recognition as a legal religion and encouraged its spread. Before his death, he himself was publicly baptized a Christian. His successors, with a single exception, were also Christians. Before the end of the fourth century, Christianity was proclaimed the official religion of the Roman Empire. The

worship of the old pagan gods was forbidden. The new faith had triumphed completely over the many rival religions of the Mediterranean world.

ORGANIZATION AND EXPANSION OF THE EARLY CHRISTIAN CHURCH

Organizing the Church. The rapid growth of the Church threatened for a time to weaken Christianity. Different congregations developed their own beliefs and ceremonies and began to quarrel with one another. One controversy became particularly troublesome. A Christian priest named Arius challenged the belief that Jesus the Son was of the same substance as God the Father and equal to Him. As the Arian teaching spread, there was danger that Christianity would break up into rival sects.

Constantine therefore called the leaders of the faith to a meeting, the Council of Nicaea, in A.D. 325. Local church councils had assembled in the past to deal with local problems. However, this council was the first general meeting in the history of the Church. The leaders condemned the Arian teaching and settled various other disputes. They warned that Christians who defied the Council's decisions were guilty of heresy (violation of Church doctrine) and would be denied salvation. The Arian heresy soon died out in the Roman Empire. But it survived for several hundred years longer among some of the German tribes.

Even before the Council met, the Christian communities had begun to develop a type of organization still widely used today. Each congregation or parish was placed under a religious officer called the priest. In large cities where there were numerous congregations, they were grouped into a district or diocese under a high official called the

bishop. Besides having his own congregation, the bishop supervised all the priests of his diocese. Each of the bishops was regarded as a successor of Christ's original Apostles. However, the bishops in Rome, Alexandria, Constantinople, and a few other large cities had greater prestige than the rest.

Division of the Church. One question remained: To whom were the bishops responsible? In the West, they naturally looked for guidance to the imperial capital, Rome. The bishops of Rome, as early as the second century A.D., maintained that the church in Rome had been started by Peter, whom Jesus had chosen as the chief of the Apostles. In the fourth century, the bishop of Rome was recognized as the leader of the Christian churches in the West. He took the title of pope (father). The pope was recognized as the head of the Roman Catholic Church (literally, "the universal church," with Rome as its center).

In the Greek-speaking East, on the other hand, the bishops generally looked not to Rome but to Constantinople. Eventually, they formed the Greek Orthodox Church (literally, "the church with the correct beliefs"). Its most important official was the bishop or patriarch of Constantinople, whose claim to leadership was supported by the Roman emperor in the East. Disputes soon developed between the pope and the patriarch. As time passed, the gap between East and West widened until, in 1054, the two churches were officially separated. Thus the Christian Church, like the Roman Empire, was split into two main parts.

Church Leadership in the West. When the government of the Roman Empire in the West collapsed, the Roman Catholic Church became even more important than before. It comforted the people and encouraged them to carry on. It taught them

that the sufferings of this world paved the way to a glorious hereafter in the "City of God" (heaven). It converted the German barbarians and instructed them in civilized ways.

In the parishes, the priests became the leaders. They advised members of their flock, helped settle disputes arising among them, and showed them how to apply Christian ideals to their daily lives. In the towns, the bishops often took over the duties and



Gregory the Great (left), son of a noble Roman family, left a high official post to become a monk. So well known were his piety and ability that he rose rapidly in the Church and was soon elected pope. Benedict (above), shown here in a painting by the thirteenth-century Italian master Giotto, established more than a dozen monasteries. His set of rules—which required monks to divide their time between prayer, manual labor, and good works—was widely adopted.

powers of the former Roman officials. They presided over the courts of justice, protected widows and orphans, and helped the poor. The popes became rulers of the city of Rome and kept alive the idea of a Europe united under a single government. Thus the fall of Rome enabled the Church to assume leadership of the entire West.

The Achievements of Pope Gregory the Great. The foremost pope of the Dark Age was Gregory I (590–604), also known as Gregory the Great. Pope Gregory established a strong government in Rome, built schools and hospitals, and helped the poor. When a new group of German barbarians invaded Italy, he organized defense forces and successfully held the city against their attacks.

Gregory insisted that he, as pope, was head of the entire Church. He kept in close touch with bishops in other lands and frequently advised them on religious questions. He sent out missionaries to convert the Angles and the Saxons and other pagan peoples. Despite all his other activities, he found time to write hundreds of hymns, sermons, and religious treatises. Many of these remained popular for centuries. By his achievements, Pope Gregory greatly strengthened the position of the papacy (the office and authority of the pope) and of the Roman Catholic Church.

Role of the Monasteries. The Church's influence was also expanded by the monasteries. From the early years of Christianity, it was customary for very religious people to withdraw from the world in order to lead a more Christian life. Such people eventually became known as monks (from the Greek word meaning "alone"). A small group of monks might settle in an abandoned spot, erect a few crude huts, and clear the land for farming. Since they were under the protection of the Church, they were fairly safe from

attack. By generation after generation of hard work, they succeeded in reclaiming wastelands and in building prosperous communities. The monasteries, as these communities of monks came to be known, flourished because they were centers of calm, peaceful, and industrious living in an era of violence and disorder.

Many monks, inspired by their faith, went forth to bring Christianity to the heathen barbarians. Some of these missionaries suffered a martyr's death. Others won astounding successes by their courage, patience, and Christian virtues. Their first triumphs, in the fourth century A.D., were among the Visigoths and other German barbarians along the Danube. A century later, St. Patrick, a British monk, carried Christianity to Ireland. Still later, Irish monks went into Germany to establish monasteries and convert those who were not yet Christians.

In Germany, the work of the missionaries was aided by the conquests of strong rulers who sought to tame and civilize the barbarian tribes there. From Germany, other monks proceeded to convert the peoples of northern and central Europe. Through six centuries of missionary work, all of western Europe was finally brought within the fold of the Church.

An Important Achievement. After the fall of Rome, the Roman Catholic Church prevented barbarism from engulfing western Europe. It protected and served the people, kept learning alive, and won over the German tribes to Christianity. Above all, it stressed ideals of peace, justice, and morality during a time of widespread brutality and lawlessness. Under the Church's leadership, the peoples of western Europe slowly began the long and difficult task of building a new civilization.

15 / Lesson Review



Checking the facts

1. Explain: Messiah; Twelve Apostles; Bible; New Testament; scapegoat; Council of Nicaea; heresy; parish; diocese; pope; Roman Catholic Church; Greek Orthodox Church; patriarch; monastery; missionary.
 2. Identify: Jesus of Nazareth; Peter; Paul of Tarsus; Gregory the Great.
 3. What were the important teachings of the new Christian religion?
 4. Why did Christianity spread quickly throughout the Roman Empire?
 5. Why were early Christians persecuted by the Roman emperors?
 6. Describe the organization of the early Christian Church.
 7. Why did the Church split into two parts?
 8. How did the Roman Catholic Church help the peoples of western Europe after the downfall of the Roman Empire?
 9. What were the major accomplishments of Pope Gregory the Great?
 10. What important role was played by the early monasteries?
3. Why did Roman persecution fail to destroy Christianity? Can ideas generally be crushed by force? Explain.
 4. Compare Christianity with Judaism, Hinduism, and Confucianism. What do they have in common? What ideas are new?
 5. Trace the early rise of the papacy. Why did the bishop of Rome become the most important leader of the Christian Church in the West?

History and geography

1. Locate the areas in which Jesus and the apostles did their important teaching (map, pp. 102-103).
2. What geographic factors help explain the rapid spread of Christianity (map, pp. 102-103)?
3. Locate the important regions in western Europe where early Christian missionaries were active (map, pp. 102-103).

Special activities

1. Read passages from the New Testament or the writings of the early Church fathers that illustrate the basic teachings of Christianity.
2. Report to the class on the life and work of one of the early Christian leaders—for example, Peter, Paul, Augustine, Ambrose, or Jerome.
3. Prepare an exhibit on early Christianity showing the Roman catacombs and other early Christian places of worship.

Applying history

1. Why can it be said that our civilization has a Judaeo-Christian heritage?
2. Why did the Bible play an important role in the spread of Christianity? Why are the Gospels the most important source for information about the life and teachings of Jesus?

16 / GERMANIC KINGDOMS

IN WESTERN EUROPE



When the German tribes broke into the Roman Empire, it had long since passed its peak. However, the invaders marveled at its still-great cities, splendid buildings, smooth-paved highways, and well-cultivated fields. Though at first they looted and pillaged, they tried to save the civilization which they admired. When a German chieftain drove out a Roman governor, he usually hastened to take the oath of allegiance to the Eastern Roman emperor at Constantinople. He also sought to win the friendship and support of his Roman subjects. Unfortunately, the new rulers were barbarians who usually could not read or write. Unfamiliar even with taxation, they were unable to maintain the kind of government needed to rule a civilized country. Moreover, constant warfare among the German tribes caused considerable disorder and destruction of life and property.

As government authority all but disappeared, the roads, bridges, and aqueducts fell into disrepair. Robber bands grew so bold that merchants found it dangerous to travel or ship goods. In time, the shrinking of trade caused the old Roman cities to decay into mere villages or even deserted ruins. Large parts of the countryside were abandoned and eventually turned into wasteland. Since there were few schools left in

the depopulated cities, reading and writing became virtually lost skills. Knowledge declined, even of such practical matters as farming and handicrafts.

ATTEMPTS TO PRESERVE THE ROMAN EMPIRE

The Early Barbarian Kingdoms. By the end of the fifth century, the main German migrations had already come to an end. As the invaders settled down, a number of kingdoms appeared in the former Roman territories. (See map, p. 132). Spain and southern Gaul were held by the Visigoths. The rest of Gaul was divided among several other German peoples. The most important of these were the Franks, after whom France is named. Italy was ruled by the Ostrogoths, and North Africa by the Vandals. Britain was overrun by the Angles and Saxons. After the Anglo-Saxon conquest, that country came to be called "Angle-land" or England.

Conditions varied considerably from one place to another. In Italy, after a decade of conflict, the Ostrogoths established a stable government. They succeeded in saving a considerable part of Roman culture. In Gaul, Spain, and North Africa, there was more disorder before the various German

tribes gained control. In Britain, the most complete destruction occurred. Here there was a century of fierce fighting between the Anglo-Saxon invaders and the Romanized Britons, who sought to defend their island. By the time the conquest was completed, almost all traces of Roman civilization had disappeared.

The Early Frankish Kingdom. In the long run, it was the kingdom of the Franks which became most important in western Europe. The rise of the Franks began when an ambitious young warrior, Clovis, became their king in 481. By a combination of intelligence, cunning, and ruthlessness, Clovis steadily expanded his holdings. At his death thirty years later, the Frankish kingdom included most of present-day France and western Germany.

An important factor in Clovis' success was his conversion to Roman Catholic Christianity. At the time of the invasions, many of the German tribes, including the Franks, were pagan. Others had adopted the Arian form of Christianity, which had been denounced as a heresy (see p. 126). The Frankish king's decision to embrace Catholic Christianity had important political effects. Of all the early German kings, only Clovis enjoyed the full support of the Catholic population and the active help of the Catholic clergy. His conversion, and the conversion of his followers soon after, helped to bring together the Frankish conquerors and their Roman subjects.

According to German custom, the kingdom of Clovis was divided at his death among his heirs. As a result, they spent most of their time fighting among themselves to enlarge their holdings. Worse still, Clovis' later descendants, whom we know as the "do-nothing" kings, neglected their duties and devoted themselves to pleasure. The real

governing was done by officials called mayors of the palace.

The Empire of Charlemagne. One of these mayors, Charles Martel (Charles "the Hammer," 714-741), was a very able statesman. He defeated his rivals and reunited the Frankish realms. Under his leadership, the Frankish warriors conquered the neighboring German tribes to the east. They also drove back a dangerous invader from the south, the Moslems (see p. 146). In all but name, Charles Martel was already king. His descendants are known as the Carolingians (from *Carolus*, the Latin name for Charles).

Charles Martel's son, Pepin the Short (741-768), actually did become king of the Franks. However, before he assumed the crown, he obtained the approval of the pope. In return for the pope's favor, he saved Rome from the attack of a barbaric German tribe, the Lombards. To strengthen the pope against future attackers, Pepin also donated to him certain territories in central Italy, which became known as the "Donation of Pepin" or the Papal States.

Pepin was succeeded by his son, Charles the Great, or Charlemagne, as he is more often called. Charlemagne was tall, strong, and brave. He often led his troops into battle himself. Yet he was also gentle, kind, and wise—a lover of learning and a friend to his people. This unusual combination of virtues helped him to win their loyalty and affection and to become one of the outstanding rulers of history.

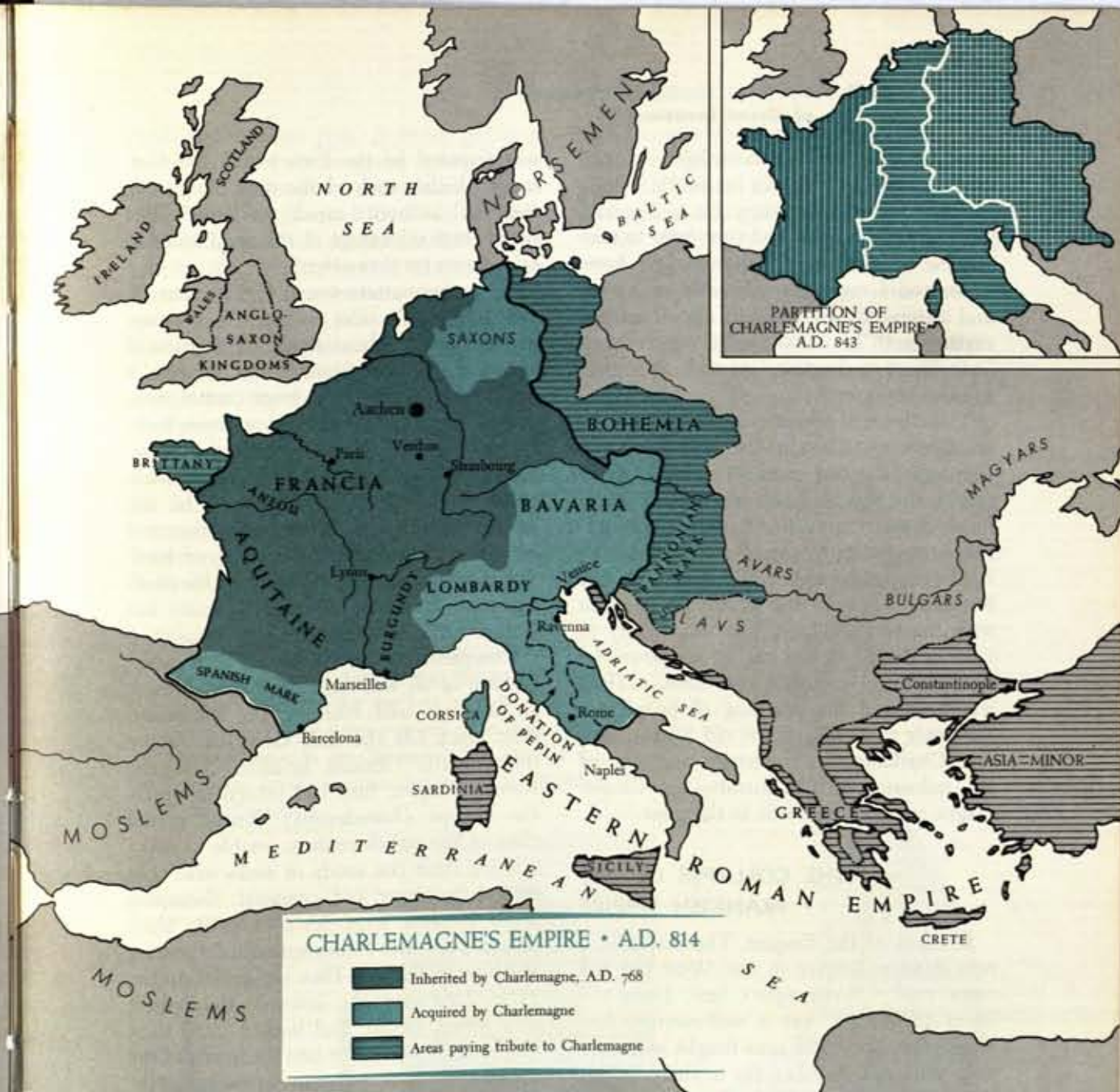
Though he preferred peace, Charlemagne had to wage many wars during his long reign. Certain pagan German tribes, the Saxons, had frequently attacked the Frankish border. Charlemagne led numerous campaigns against them. After almost thirty years of conflict, he subdued them completely and converted them to Christianity. To end

other troublesome raids from the east, he invaded central Europe and defeated its warlike inhabitants, the Avars. He also crushed the Lombards, who were again threatening central Italy and the pope. At its height, Charlemagne's empire included almost all of western and central Europe (modern France, most of Germany and Italy, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, and northern Spain; map, p. 133).

Charlemagne organized his empire carefully into districts and placed a trusted follower in charge of each. Along the frontiers of the empire he established a row of strong states called *marches*, which were ruled by able fighting men. All of Charlemagne's

officials had to report regularly to him. From time to time, he sent out special agents to check on them. In this way, he kept close control of all his realms.

Charlemagne—"Emperor of the Romans." In other ways, too, Charlemagne used his power to help his people. He established many charities for the poor. To encourage trade, he built roads and bridges, coined new money, and founded a new system of weights and measures. He forbade any interference with merchants or travelers. Charlemagne was a devout Christian. He insisted that his nobles attend church regularly and behave themselves during the services. Most important, he protected the pope,



bishops, monasteries, and missionaries. They in turn strengthened Charlemagne's authority over his subjects and aided him by converting and civilizing the barbaric tribes.

Throughout his realms, Charlemagne established schools for the clergy. He in-

sisted that they should learn to read and write Latin correctly. Moreover, he invited the best scholars of Europe to his court at Aachen, in western Germany. The Palace School, which was established for the young princes and nobles, soon became famous as

a center of culture. Charlemagne himself never learned to write. In his youth, writing had not seemed necessary for a Frankish warrior, and he never had time later to master the art. However, Charlemagne knew Latin and Greek, was interested in history and astronomy, and liked to discuss learned matters with his scholars. He was truly an "apostle of civilization," as well as a great military conqueror.

The climax of Charlemagne's career came on Christmas Day in the year 800. The Frankish King had come to Rome in order to help the pope suppress some rebels. As he finished his prayers in St. Peter's Church, the pope suddenly placed a crown on his head and proclaimed him "Emperor of the Romans." Joyously the people hailed him with the words, "Long life and victory to Charles Augustus, the mighty Emperor, the Peace-bringer, crowned by God." Their words showed the yearning of people for the peace and unity of the old Roman Empire. Charlemagne's coronation also showed the influence of Christianity, for Charlemagne owed his new title to the pope.

THE COLLAPSE OF THE FRANKISH EMPIRE

Division of the Empire. The dream of a new Roman Empire in the West did not come true. Charlemagne's heir, Louis the Pious (814-840), was a well-meaning but weak ruler. His three sons fought with him and with one another for a share of his realms. After Louis' death, they reached an agreement to divide the Empire into three separate kingdoms (map, p. 133). In time, the western kingdom became France. The eastern one became Germany. The third kingdom consisted of Italy, plus a central strip of territory which for many centuries

was disputed by the French and the Germans. Within each of the three kingdoms, the royal authority rapidly collapsed. The nobles took advantage of the royal feuds to seize power for themselves.

To make matters worse, Europe was invaded from all sides by new foes (map, p. 136). The Moslems attacked the coasts of Italy and southern France. The Magyars, a group of nomadic tribes from central Asia, ravaged eastern Germany and northern Italy. Fierce barbarians from the north, the Norsemen or Vikings, spread destruction throughout Europe. The chronicles kept by the monks of the time tell a sad story of wars and invasions, of plagues and famines, of hardship and suffering. During the "terrible ninth and tenth centuries," European society was threatened with almost complete disaster.

Conquests of the Norsemen. The worst damage of all was done by the Norsemen. In language and customs, the Norsemen were much like the early Germans. At the time of the German invasions into the Roman Empire, they had settled in northern Europe (Scandinavia). Then, at the close of the eighth century, unable to make a living from the sandy or rocky soil, they turned to piracy and conquest. Swooping down in their large fleets of swift, black dragon-ships, the Norsemen raided the long coastline of Europe. They also sailed up the rivers deep into the interior. Everywhere they killed, looted, and burned until their very name struck terror into the hearts of the people. Then they began to make settlements and to carve out large states for themselves.

One group, the Danes, conquered large parts of England and Ireland. Some of them also took over a sizable territory in northern France, Normandy. Still others went southward and seized control of Moslem-held

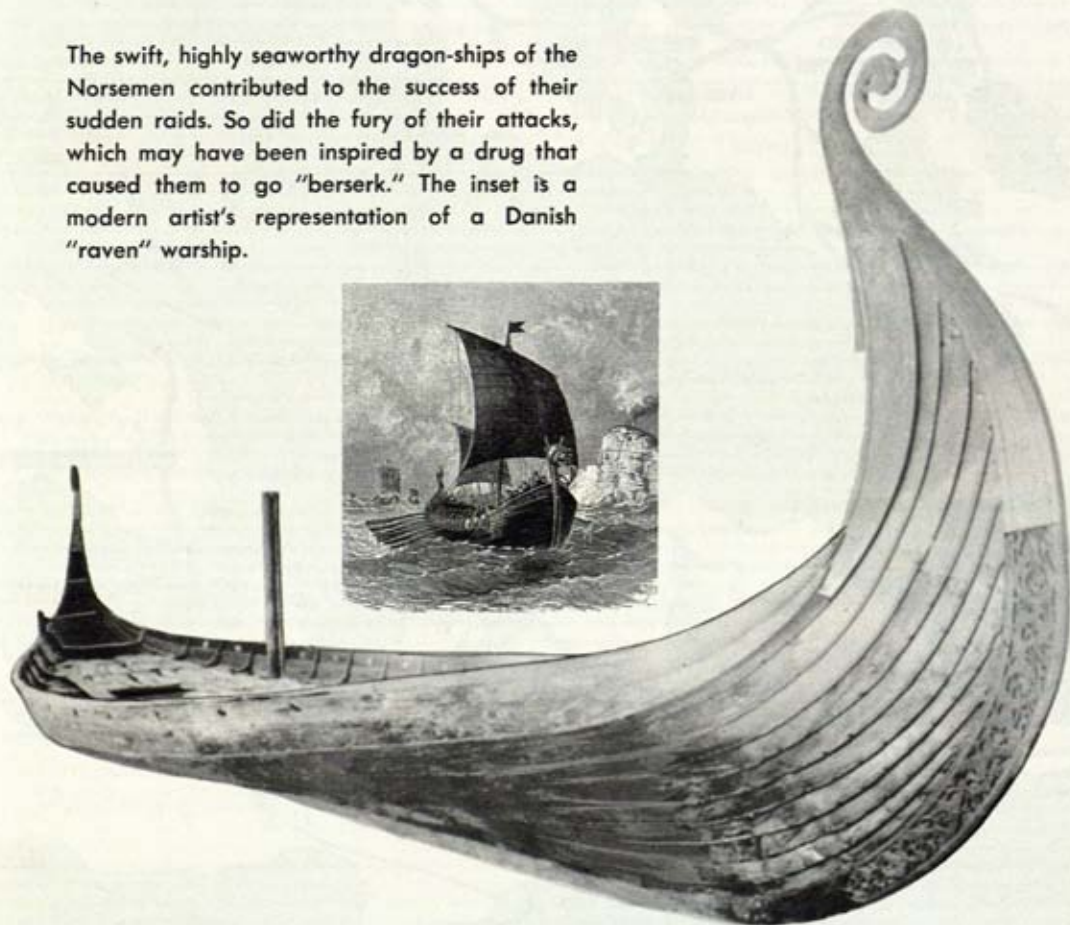
Sicily and southern Italy. A second group of Norsemen, the Norwegians, pointed the prows of their ships into the stormy North Atlantic. They crossed over to Iceland, Greenland, and even America. A third Norse people, the Swedes, headed eastward into Russia, where they became rulers of the native Slavic peoples. Sailing down the slow-flowing Russian rivers, they reached the Black Sea. They even tried to take Constantinople. For several centuries, few parts of Europe were safe from the attacking Norsemen.

Beginnings of a New Order. Nevertheless, the latter part of the tenth century marks a turning point in Europe's history. The Norsemen became Christians, learned more civilized ways, and gradually settled down.

Conditions also began to improve after the last weak rulers of the Carolingian Dynasty died out. In both Germany and France, the leading nobles proceeded to elect new kings.

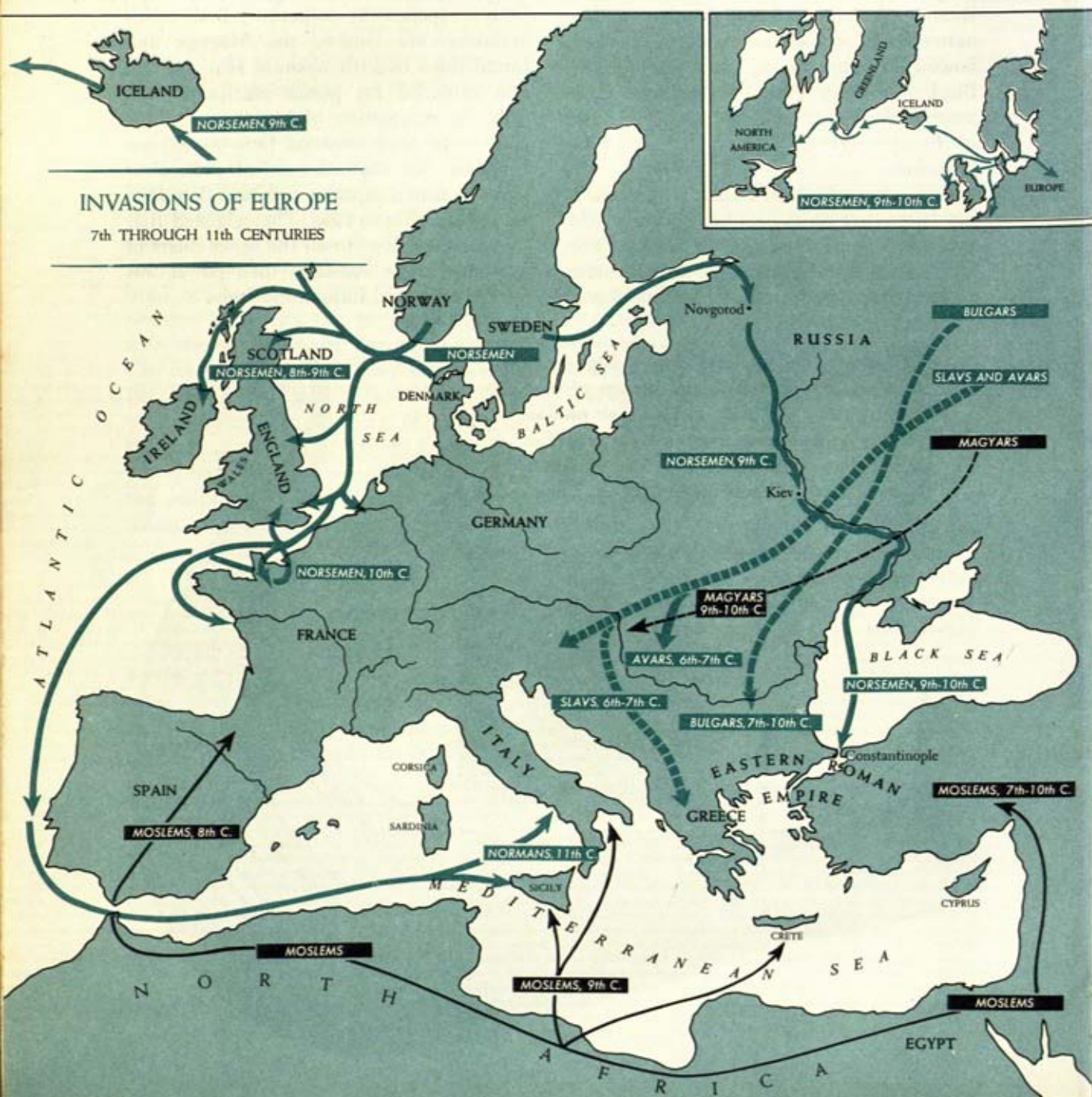
One of the German kings, Otto the Great (936-973) proved a strong and able ruler. Otto compelled the nobles to submit to his authority. He crushed the Magyars and forced them to settle down in Hungary. He also extended his power southward into Italy. In recognition of his great achievements, the pope crowned Otto as Roman Emperor. His successors called themselves Holy Roman Emperors to show that they owed their title to God. They claimed that they were superior to all the other rulers of western Europe. Actually, their power was limited to central Europe and Italy.

The swift, highly seaworthy dragon-ships of the Norsemen contributed to the success of their sudden raids. So did the fury of their attacks, which may have been inspired by a drug that caused them to go "berserk." The inset is a modern artist's representation of a Danish "raven" warship.



The new ruler of France, Hugh Capet (987-996) had considerably less power over his nobles. Nevertheless, he established a dynasty which was destined to rule France for centuries. In other countries of western

Europe, order also began slowly to reappear by the year 1000. In the course of the next century, Europe was to witness a remarkable recovery and to lay the foundations for a rich new civilization.



16 / Lesson Review



Checking the facts

1. Explain: Franks; Ostrogoths; Vandals; Angles and Saxons; Carolingian Dynasty; Lombards; Papal States; Palace School; Magyars; Norsemen; Holy Roman Empire.
2. Identify: Clovis; Charles Martel; Pepin; Charlemagne; Otto the Great; Hugh Capet.
3. Why were the German kings unable to preserve Roman civilization?
4. Describe the part each of these rulers played in building the new Frankish Empire in western Europe: Clovis; Charles Martel; Pepin; Charlemagne.
5. How did Charlemagne encourage commerce, religion, and learning?
6. Why did Charlemagne's empire collapse soon after his death?
7. Why were the ninth and tenth centuries a troubled period for the inhabitants of western Europe?

Applying history

1. Why were conflicts over the succession to the throne frequent among early Germans? How was this problem eventually solved?
2. Why is France called the "eldest daughter of the Catholic Church"? Do you think the Franks would have been as important in history if Clovis had not become a Christian convert? Explain.
3. How does the decline of civilization in western Europe indicate the need for stable and efficient government? Why were Charlemagne and his heirs unable to create such a government?
4. In what way did Charlemagne's coronation show that a new civilization was arising in western Europe?
5. How did Charlemagne's support of the Church and of learning encourage the re-

vival of civilization in western Europe? How did it also strengthen his rule?

6. List in parallel columns the achievements and shortcomings of Charlemagne's rule. In your opinion, did he succeed in improving the condition of the ordinary people? Explain.

History and geography

1. Locate (maps, pp. 132, 133, and 136): North Sea; England; Wales; Ireland; Scotland; Bavaria; Bohemia; Lombardy; Iceland; Greenland; Eastern Roman Empire; Kiev; Donation of Pepin: Aachen; Germany; France; Italy.
2. What geographic factors made the Kingdom of the Ostrogoths the most important of the early Germanic kingdoms? Why did it come into conflict with the Eastern Roman Empire (map, p. 132)?
3. Trace the boundaries of Charlemagne's empire (map, p. 133). List the modern nations included within its borders.
4. Trace the invasions of the Moslems, the Norsemen, and the Magyars into Europe (map, p. 136).
5. Why was Europe so easily invaded from the north, the south, and the east? (Compare the maps on pp. 136 and 170-171.)

Special activities

1. Read a biography of Charlemagne and stage a play based on the outstanding events of his life.
2. Read to the class descriptions of life during Europe's Dark Age. Discuss the ways in which living conditions had changed since Roman times.
3. On the basis of outside reading, write an account of a Viking raid.

17 / THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE

IN THE EAST



When the Roman Emperor Constantine selected the old Greek city of Byzantium as his capital in the East (see p. 119), he was determined to make it a "New Rome." His success was even greater than might have been expected. Within a few years, Constantinople overshadowed Rome, the original capital of the Empire. At the height of its power, Constantinople had more than a million inhabitants, and its trade has been estimated at \$500,000,000 a year! Its gold coins circulated throughout the civilized world. One awe-struck visitor described its well-dressed citizens as having the "appearance of so many princes." It was with good reason that Constantinople became known as the "Queen of Cities."

SURVIVAL OF THE EASTERN ROMAN EMPIRE

Importance of Constantinople's Location.

The main reason for the city's success was its excellent location (map, p. 141). Constantinople overlooked the straits connecting the Aegean and the Black seas, a natural crossroad of trade and civilization. To it came people and goods from all parts of the Mediterranean world. The rich farmlands of Asia Minor and Egypt provided an abundance of food. The mines of the Balkan Peninsula furnished a steady supply of precious metals.

From the plains and forests to the north came slaves, horses, and raw materials such as furs and hides. Manufactured goods of every sort were brought from the ancient civilized countries of the East. Constantinople itself soon became famous for its many manufactures, especially textiles, leather goods, armor, and jewelry.

The city was located very favorably from the military, as well as the commercial, standpoint. It was built on a peninsula whose narrow neck was easily fortified. By sea, it was approached through narrow straits, the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, which could readily be closed to a hostile fleet. Constantinople withstood all attacks until 1453. As long as it remained unconquered, the Eastern Roman Empire continued to survive. The rich trade of the city enabled the emperor to hire good troops and to provide them with sturdy horses and heavy armor. Moreover, the emperors could afford to build many new warships for the navy. The powerful Eastern Roman fleet remained mistress of the Mediterranean for centuries, protecting the merchant ships on which the prosperity of Constantinople depended.

The System of Government. The Eastern Roman Empire retained the system of government established by Diocletian and Constantine. The eastern emperor was an absolute ruler. He lived in a splendid palace,

surrounded by a host of high officials. His subjects prostrated themselves before him and referred to themselves as his slaves. Unlike the West, where the pope was head of the Church and conferred titles on kings, in Constantinople the emperor dominated the Church. He appointed the patriarch of Constantinople and other high members of the clergy, who taught the people to regard him as God's representative on earth. It became the custom for artists to portray the emperor as a saint, with a halo around his head.

The orders of the emperor were carried out by a large body of well-trained officials and clerks. From their headquarters in Constantinople, they checked carefully on the work of the provincial governors. The gov-

ernment was so well organized that it was able to function even under an incompetent ruler.

Because of its wealth, military strength, and efficient government, the Empire in the East lasted for almost a thousand years after the fall of Rome itself. Officially, it was always called the Roman Empire, but it was more Greek and Near Eastern in spirit than Roman. The Empire's subjects were mostly Greeks and Near Eastern peoples, and Greek served as the official language after the sixth century. Its religion was the Greek branch of Christianity. Because the civilization of the Eastern Roman Empire differed from that of Rome, historians refer to it as the Byzantine Empire (after Byzantium, the Greek name for Constantinople).

Constantinople, renamed Istanbul by the Turks, has been of strategic importance throughout its history and is today one of the chief commercial cities of the East. This photograph of the city as it is today looks across the busy Galata Bridge, which links the European section of the city with the much older quarter known as Stamboul. In the background are the domes and minarets of the Church of St. Sophia.



Threats to the Byzantine Empire. During its long life, the Byzantine Empire was often beset by civil strife. Ambitious generals and government officials organized plots against the emperor and sought to seize the throne. The inhabitants of Constantinople quarreled bitterly over political and religious issues and frequently engaged in bloody riots. The peasants in the provinces suffered from heavy taxes. The Church added to the discontent by persecuting rival Christian sects, especially those in Syria and Egypt.

Threats by foreign enemies were an even greater menace. Three of these enemies—the Persians, Slavs, and Arabs—proved especially troublesome. The Persians fought the Byzantines for control of Mesopotamia and Asia Minor. The barbaric Slavs, another people speaking an Indo-European language, invaded the Balkan Peninsula from eastern Europe. However, most dangerous of all were the Arabs, who built a vast new empire to the south (described on p. 146). Endangered by foreign enemies and weakened by civil wars, the Byzantine Empire often seemed on the verge of collapse. Nevertheless, century after century the people rallied around strong rulers and managed to repel the invaders.

The Reign of Justinian. Most famous of all the Byzantine rulers was the Emperor Justinian (527–565). He reorganized the armies and defeated the Persians and Slavs. He constructed many public works and rebuilt a large part of Constantinople after a great fire. Justinian was also sincerely interested in religion. He built many churches and sent out missionaries to foreign lands.

Above all, Justinian was anxious to win back from the German barbarians the lost Roman provinces in the west. In a series of brilliant campaigns, his generals reconquered North Africa, Italy, and southern Spain.

But fighting broke out again in Italy. Altogether, it took almost twenty years to destroy the resistance of the Ostrogoths. Civilization in Italy probably suffered more damage from these wars than from the earlier barbarian invasions. Long fighting also exhausted the Byzantines and emptied their treasury. Despite his achievements, Justinian may have left the empire weaker than he found it.

The Later Byzantine Empire. After Justinian's death, Italy was invaded by another German tribe, the Lombards, who had less respect for Roman civilization than the Ostrogoths had. North Africa and Spain were soon lost to Arab invaders. The Slavs resumed their advance into the Balkans. The Persians overran Asia Minor and threatened Constantinople before they were thrown back. Justinian's successors had to fight endless wars to save the Byzantine Empire.

Another strong monarch, Leo III (717–741), repelled an Arab attack on Constantinople itself and went on to recover most of Asia Minor. He also strengthened the government and improved the economic condition of the people. However, Leo, sensitive to the charges of idol worship leveled by the Moslems against the Christians, stirred up a great deal of trouble by forbidding the use of sacred pictures and statues. His subjects, offended by this departure from tradition, rioted in protest. The pope at Rome also denounced this action, but his interference was denounced in turn by the Emperor. The sacred images were later restored, but this quarrel between the pope at Rome and the Byzantine Emperor widened the breach between East and West. A few centuries later, in 1054, the Christian Church was permanently split into two separate branches.

Though considerably reduced in size, the Byzantine Empire enjoyed a new period of prosperity in the ninth and tenth centuries.



However, as we shall see in a later unit, its wealth continued to attract attacks from other peoples. As the empire grew smaller in size, the burden of defense became more and more of a strain. Eventually, in 1453, new invaders, the Ottoman Turks, succeeded in taking Constantinople. The Eastern Roman Empire finally came to an end.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF BYZANTINE CIVILIZATION

Architecture and Art. During its thousand years' existence, the Byzantine civilization produced some notable artistic achievements. Most impressive was the Church of St. Sophia, built by Justinian. Its tremendous dome was long considered one of the wonders of the world. The interior of the church was adorned with rows of colorful religious pictures. These were mostly mosaics, composed of thousands of bits of colored glass set in a background of gold foil. The altar

and furnishings were covered with gold and jewels, the floors were made of patterned marble, and the columns were decorated with ornate carvings. The Byzantines were also famed for their elegant jewelry and richly decorated armor. Their manuscripts were adorned with fine miniature paintings and were bound in soft leather set with jewels. Splendor and brilliance were the keynotes of Byzantine architecture and art.

Literature and Law. Byzantine literature, like its art, was marked by careful effort more than by originality. Writers labored to turn out encyclopedias of ancient knowledge and commentaries on the ancient Greek philosophers Plato and Aristotle (see p. 81). They wrote numerous books on Christianity, which were generally concerned with the fine points of religious doctrine. They also produced many histories. Some of these provide us with fascinating details of Byzantine life and the intrigues at the imperial court.



The most important Byzantine achievement came in the field of law. Justinian appointed a committee of legal experts to go over the huge mass of Roman laws and judicial decisions which had accumulated through the centuries. By careful selection, they combined the best of these into a single great code for both civil and criminal law. They also issued a digest of the basic concepts of Roman law and a collection of important imperial decrees. The Code of Justinian is still used in teaching law, and its principles are followed in many countries of Europe and Latin America even today.

Importance of the Byzantine Empire. The Byzantines influenced civilization in several other ways. Byzantine missionaries, led by two brothers, Cyril and Methodius,

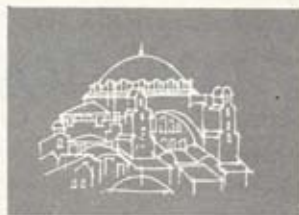


The great Church of St. Sophia, built by Justinian, was converted into a mosque when the Turks took Constantinople. They added minarets and covered the dazzling interior decorations with plaster. Today the building is a museum; some of the brilliant mosaics have been restored.

converted the Slavs of eastern Europe to Christianity. They adapted the Greek alphabet to the Slavic tongues and taught the people to read and write. To this day, the Russians and most of the Balkan Slavs use the modified Greek or Cyrillic alphabet. Byzantine influence has also been very important in their religion, government, and art.

Western Europe was also greatly indebted to the Byzantines. The desire for Byzantine products stimulated the revival of commerce. Through the Byzantines, Europe also rediscovered much of the culture of ancient Greece and Rome. And for centuries, while the peoples of the West were slowly constructing their new civilization, Constantinople served as a bulwark against attack by the Moslems from the East.

17 / Lesson Review



Checking the facts

1. Explain: Byzantine Empire; Slavs; St. Sophia; mosaic; illuminated manuscript; Code of Justinian; Cyrillic alphabet.
2. Identify: Justinian; Leo III.
3. Why did Constantinople become a great commercial center? How did its trade contribute to the military strength of the Byzantine Empire?
4. Why was the Byzantine Empire often in danger of being overthrown?
5. Describe the most important features of Byzantine civilization.
6. In what ways did the Byzantine Empire help the development of civilization in western Europe?

Applying history

1. Why did the Roman Empire last much longer in the East than in the West? What part did economic factors play in the survival of the Eastern Roman Empire?
2. How did the position of the Church in the Byzantine Empire differ from that in western Europe? Why did the Church become stronger in the West?
3. Compare the achievements of Justinian and Charlemagne. Why was the reign of each followed by a period of disorder?
4. Compare the Byzantine and Hellenistic civilizations. Why were there many resemblances? Why were there important differences?

History and geography

1. Locate (map, p. 141): Constantinople; Black Sea; Asia Minor; Egypt; Balkan Peninsula; Italy; Spain.
2. Why were the straits between the Aegean Sea and the Black Sea so important to the Byzantines (map, p. 141)? Are they still as important today?
3. What were the geographic advantages of Constantinople's location (map, p. 141). Why was it well situated to be the capital of the eastern portion of the Roman Empire?
4. Compare the size of the Byzantine Empire under Justinian (map, p. 141) and in the year 1100 (map, p. 211). Why was Moslem sea power an important factor in the Byzantine Empire's loss of many of its possessions?

Special activities

1. Pretend that you are a western European visiting Constantinople about A.D. 1100. Write a letter home to describe your impressions of the city, its inhabitants, and the imperial court. Outside reading will furnish you information for this activity.
2. Read to the class an eyewitness account of one of the successful defenses of Constantinople. Explain why the Byzantine Empire could survive for almost a thousand years.
3. Consult a history of art, then report to the class on the general similarities and differences among Byzantine, Hellenistic, and Hellenic art.

18 / THE FAR-FLUNG EMPIRE OF THE MOSLEMS



Five times a day, 300,000,000 human beings turn their faces toward the holy city of Mecca and prostrate themselves in prayer. Loud and clear from the mosque (temple) above them comes the call of the crier, "*La ilaha illa-illahu Muhammed rasul allahi*" ("There is no god but Allah and Mohammed is His Prophet"). In these few and simple words is expressed the basic creed of one of the world's great religions, Islam.

MOHAMMED AND THE RISE OF ISLAM

Backward Arabia. Unlike the other great religions, Islam originated among a backward people in an isolated country. The birthplace of the new religion, the Arabian peninsula, lay to the south of the great civilized empires and was separated from them by wide deserts. The peninsula's inhabitants, the Arabs, were a Semitic people (see p. 35), speaking a language related to those of the early Hebrews, Babylonians, and Assyrians. Most of them were nomads, who drove their flocks from place to place in search of pasture. Constant feuds and petty wars among the different tribes helped to develop their skill as warriors.

At the western fringe of the desert was Mecca, chief city of Arabia (map, p. 145). Pilgrims came there from all Arabia to wor-

ship their idols. The most important of these was a large black stone, believed to have fallen from heaven. As a religious center, Mecca was safe from tribal wars and bandit raids by the desert Arabs. Merchants had therefore made it the hub of the caravan routes which crossed the Arabian Desert.

The Teachings of Mohammed. Mohammed (570?-632), the founder of Islam, was born in Mecca. At an early age, he was left an orphan and had to seek work. Becoming a camel driver, he traveled to neighboring lands, where he came into contact with both Jews and Christians. After some years, Mohammed married his employer, a rich and elderly widow. Now a man of means, he had leisure time, which he devoted to religious contemplation. Frequently he fell into trances in which he heard a divine voice, supposedly that of the Angel Gabriel. These revelations, written down by his followers, form the Koran, the "Bible" of Islam.

According to Mohammed, Allah (God) is the creator of the universe and the judge of all mankind. Obedience to His will is the first duty of every true believer, called a Mohammedan or Moslem ("one who submits to God"). The Moslem is required to pray five times daily. He is also required to go to the mosque every Friday for prayer and discussion of the Koran. For one month of the year, he fasts from sunrise to sunset, so

that he may feel the plight of the poor. And at least once in his lifetime he should make a pilgrimage to Mecca.

Righteous living is also important, for the Prophet proclaimed that "One hour of justice is worth more than seventy hours of prayer." A Moslem should therefore practice honesty, humility, and charity. He should respect his parents; be kind to slaves and animals; and avoid lying, gambling, and indulgence in rich foods and strong drink. In addition, the Koran contains rules for personal cleanliness and regulations for such legal matters as marriage and inheritance.

For true believers, who faithfully follow the Prophet's teachings, the rewards are great. Allah has created for them a Garden of Paradise, with cool fountains, fresh fruits, and fair maidens. But for sinners and infidels (unbelievers), there is a horrible hell, a desert of broiling sun and burning thirst. In many of its basic ideas, Islam bears a strong

resemblance to Christianity and Judaism. It accepts the prophets of the Old Testament, and considers Jesus a major prophet, but reserves for Mohammed the honor of being the last and greatest prophet of all.

Mohammed's teachings almost cost him his life. His attacks on idol worship seemed to threaten the prosperity of Mecca. Some of the leading citizens made plans to assassinate him. However, Mohammed escaped in the night to the nearby town of Medina. This flight, the Hegira, proved the turning point in his career. The year in which it occurred, 622, is the starting point of the Moslem calendar.

In Medina, Mohammed made many converts. He encouraged them to attack the rich trading caravans of Mecca. A few years later, in 630, he returned to Mecca at the head of an army and conquered it. He destroyed all idols except the black stone, and converted its inhabitants. To gain the loyalty



of the Meccans, he promised that their city would be the center of the new faith.

The Arab-Moslem Empire. Meantime, Mohammed had succeeded in uniting the warlike tribes of the Arabian peninsula. Promising them the fruits of conquest in this life and the pleasures of Paradise in the next, he inspired them to war on the enemies of Allah—that is, those who refused to accept Allah and His Prophet. “The sword is the key to Heaven,” Mohammed announced. “Whosoever falls in battle, all his sins are forgiven.” When he died in 632, the stage was set for one of the widest sweeps of conquest in all history.

For some time after Mohammed’s death, the Prophet’s followers chose his successors, the caliphs. The caliphs, who like Mohammed were both political and religious leaders, moved rapidly forward in many directions. Within four years of Mohammed’s death the Arabs had conquered the Byzantine provinces of Syria and Palestine. Twice in later years, 673 and 717, they laid siege to Constantinople itself. Fortunately for the Christians of eastern Europe, the city defended itself successfully and stopped them from advancing farther. To the east, the Arabs easily overran the Persian Empire, which had been exhausted by its long wars with the Byzantines.

Meanwhile another Arab army conquered Egypt. Many Egyptian Christians actually welcomed the conquerors in order to escape the persecutions of the Greek Orthodox Church (see p. 140). From Egypt, the Arabs advanced westward across North Africa. At the beginning of the eighth century, they crossed over into Spain, and then into France. There the Franks, under Charles Martel (see p. 131), stopped them in a bloody battle at Tours, in 732. The Arabs retreated across the Pyrenees into Spain,

where they remained until the last of them were driven out in 1492.

In the early ninth century, the Arabs succeeded in defeating the Byzantine fleets and gained control of the Mediterranean Sea. They also conquered Sicily and held southern Italy for a time. In later years, the Moslem religion spread far beyond the borders of the Arab Empire. By sea and land, traders and missionaries brought Islam to parts of eastern Africa, to Malaya, to the islands comprising Indonesia, and to parts of western China.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF MOSLEM CIVILIZATION

The Brotherhood of Islam. In both its size and the variety of its peoples, the Arab Empire rivaled even that of the Romans. (See maps, pp. 102–103, 145.) Although originally simple nomads, the Arabs proved enlightened rulers and had little difficulty in governing the peoples they had conquered. Life under Arab rulers was often better than under the Byzantines or Persians. Jews and heretical Christians were not persecuted as much as they had been earlier. Although there was a special tax on unbelievers, taxes in general were lower than before and were apportioned more fairly. Many people, by joining the new faith were able to escape the special tax. But Islam’s greatest attraction was its simplicity and the legal equality it offered. “Know that every Moslem is a brother to every other Moslem,” says the Koran. Eventually, most of the people of the Arab Empire embraced Islam. Thus Arab tolerance proved beneficial to conqueror and conquered alike.

The Arabs did not succeed in maintaining political unity for long. Their empire gradually broke up into a number of separate

states, each under a rival caliph. But even then, religion provided a bond of unity which overshadowed political boundaries. Another strong tie was language. Since it was forbidden to translate the Koran, all educated people had to study Arabic. The universal language made travel and trade easier. Commerce prospered among the many Moslem lands. The Moslems took over the vast store of learning they found in the countries they conquered, and in many fields they made important additions. In a few generations Persian, Greek, and other cultures had fused into a rich new civilization.

Centers of Commerce and Culture. In the ninth century, the leading city of the Arab world was Bagdad in Mesopotamia (map, p. 145), the capital of the eastern caliphs and the main trading center for goods from the Far East. Here merchants brought silks, tea, and delicate porcelain dishes from China; spices from Java and Malaya; and fine cotton cloths and jewels from India. Within Bagdad itself, skilled craftsmen made rich carpets, tapestries, textiles, and leather goods. With its colorful bazaars (markets), mosques, and palaces, Bagdad was a city of wondrous riches, glorified for centuries in story and song.

Moslem civilization also flourished in Spain. By constructing aqueducts to bring water down from the mountains, the Arabs made a garden of the parched central plateau. There they grew a wide variety of crops, including sugar cane, rice, and citrus fruits. Supported by the profits from agriculture, the capital, Córdoba, prospered. It rapidly grew into a center of Moslem industry, commerce, and learning, second only to Bagdad. Other great cities—in Syria, Egypt, North Africa, and Sicily, as well as in Spain and Mesopotamia—also gave evidence of Moslem prosperity and culture.



Mecca draws multitudes of pilgrims from all parts of the Moslem world. The sacred black stone rests in the small cube-like building in the center, the Kaaba.

Schools, libraries, and universities, supported by the caliphs, were established in all major cities. Moslem scholars showed real appreciation for the achievements of past great civilizations. Among the writings of the ancient Greeks, those of Plato and Aristotle were especially admired. The greatest philosopher of Arab Spain, Averroës (1126–1198), wrote profound commentaries on Aristotle, some of which were later translated into Latin by European scholars. It was through the Moslems, as well as the Byzantines, that western Europe rediscovered the knowledge of the ancient world.

Moslem scholars also gathered information and ideas from most of the civilized lands about them. From India, the Moslems acquired a knowledge of astronomy and mathematics. Especially useful was the simple system of numbers which we call “Arabic” numerals. From China, they learned about paper and block printing. This led

centuries later to the invention of the printing press in Europe. Travelers provided accurate information for Arab geographers, who knew that the earth was round and calculated its approximate size.

Wherever possible, the Moslems put their knowledge to practical use. They published a detailed description of good farming methods. Their doctors experimented with many drugs and made notable advances in the treatment of disease. Their alchemists laid the foundations for modern chemistry and physics. An encyclopedia of their achievements was provided by their "universal genius," Avicenna (980-1037). He wrote almost one hundred treatises on most of the different fields of knowledge!

Such scholarly writings, together with commentaries on the Koran, form a large part of the Arab literature. But the Moslems excelled in poetry as well. They wrote stirring epics of war, tender love poems, and popular ballads. They also wrote many histories and short stories, notably the colorful tales of the *Thousand and One Nights*. This famous book gives us a vivid picture of Arab civilization.

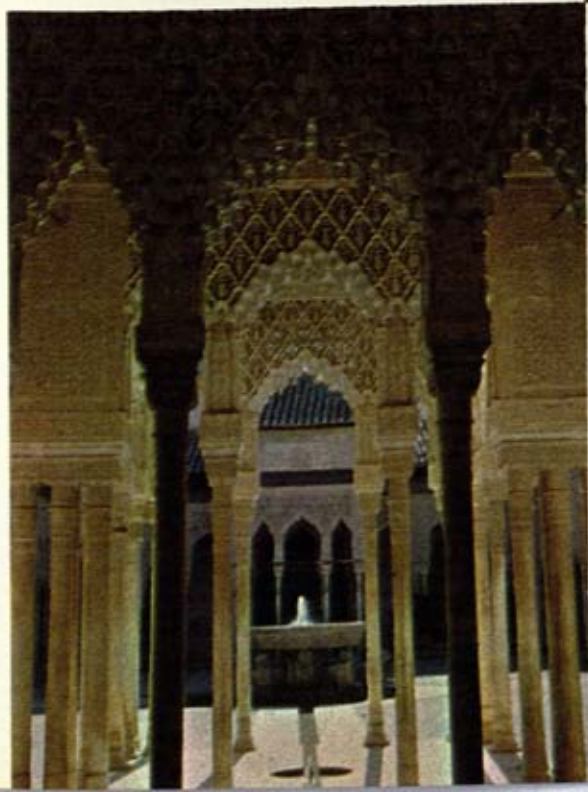
Art and Architecture. In art, the Moslems suffered from one restriction: the Koran forbids the representation of any human or animal figure. Moslem artists therefore concentrated on intricate flower designs and geometrical patterns, called arabesques. They wove these into rugs and tapestries, carved them into walls, and painted them on vases and tiles. By using bright colors, they obtained strikingly beautiful effects. Many of these patterns have been handed down through the centuries and can still be seen in the products of Eastern countries today.

The architecture of the Moslems reveals their remarkable artistic talent and engineering skill. In building mosques, Moslem

architects developed the minaret—a tall, slender tower with balconies from which criers summoned the faithful to prayer. They also used small bulb-shaped domes, graceful arches, and elaborate latticework. These architectural features gave even large public buildings an appearance of lightness and grace. Interior walls were usually decorated in the Persian style—with glazed tiles, colored stucco, carvings, and tapestries. Fountain-cooled gardens, much like those of ancient Egypt, added still another note of luxury and comfort. In architecture, as in many other fields, the Moslems built on the achievements of other peoples to produce a beautiful new style of their own.

The Moslem Challenge to Christianity. Both in civilization and in military power, the Moslems remained leaders for many centuries. But the Arabs, who had created this world empire, gradually lost control of it. In later sections, we shall see how the Seljuk Turks embraced Islam and took over the Arab Empire in western Asia, and how their successors, the Ottoman Turks, drove deep into central Europe before they were finally stopped.

In all, the Moslems were a threat to Christian Europe for about a thousand years. Indirectly, they also helped its development. Through contacts with Moslems, the West obtained the works of Aristotle and books on chemistry, medicine, and mathematics which were long used as textbooks in European schools. The many Arabic words in our language—alcohol, alchemy, algebra, check, magazine, muslin, tariff, traffic, and zero, to mention only a few—testify to the importance of this debt. On the other hand, some of the Moslems' contributions were not their own creations or discoveries but were passed on from the advanced countries of India and China, to which the real credit should be given.



The art of the Moslems is notable for grace and color. Since their sacred book forbids representation of animal or human figures, Islamic artists developed great skill in intricate leaf designs such as those in a copy of the Koran (above, left). Also pictured here are examples of Moslem architecture, both in Spain: above (right) is the interior of a mosque in Córdoba, built when the country was part of the Moslem Empire. At the left is the entrance to the "Court of the Lions" in the Alhambra palace at Granada.



18 / Lesson Review

Checking the facts

1. Explain: mosque; Allah; Islam; Koran; Moslem; infidel; Hegira; caliph; arabesque; minaret; Seljuk Turks; Ottoman Turks.
2. Identify: Mohammed; Averroës; Avicenna.
3. Trace the career of Mohammed. Explain how he established the new religion of Islam.
4. What are the principal Moslem beliefs?
5. Why were the Arabs able to conquer so large an empire? How did their religion spread throughout their empire? to other lands?
6. Describe the Moslems' achievements in commerce and industry; agriculture; learning and literature; architecture and other arts.
7. Why were the Moslems a menace to the growth of European civilization? How did they help in its development?

Applying history

1. Compare Mohammed's career with that of some other great religious leader we have studied. Why is it said that a prophet is often without honor in his own country?
2. Compare the teachings of Islam with those of Judaism and Christianity. Indicate the many resemblances. Why are there important differences?
3. Why did Arabic become the universal lan-

guage of the Moslem Empire? Why was this an important development?

4. Discuss at least three ways in which the empire of the Moslems resembled that of the Romans. What were the most important differences?

History and geography

1. Locate (map, p. 145): Mecca; Medina; Bagdad; Tunis; Córdoba; Arabia; Syria; Palestine; Egypt; Spain; Sicily; Italy; India.
2. Compare the Arab Empire with the Persian and Roman Empires (maps, pp. 43, 102-103, and 145). Why might the Arabs be considered "heirs" of the two earlier empires? Why was it unlikely that the Arab Empire would remain united under a single ruler for a long period of time?
3. Why did the Arabs not extend their empire farther south into Africa (map, p. 499)?

Special activities

1. Arrange a class exhibit on "The Religion and Culture of the Moslems."
2. Find and read to the class passages from the Koran which set forth the basic teachings of Islam. Discuss the effects of these teachings on the Arabs and other early Moslem peoples.
3. After you read a biography of Mohammed, write the script of a radio play on the chief events of his life.

19 / THE FLOWERING OF INDIAN CIVILIZATION



After Alexander the Great's march of conquest, India came into contact with the Mediterranean world. For a time, a thriving commerce was carried on between these two great centers of civilization. Then this contact was interrupted as a result of barbarian invasions which destroyed the existing trade routes. In India, as in western Europe, the barbarian invasions gave rise to disorder and confusion. However, India proved better able than the West to withstand the shock of these disturbances. Its civilization suffered far less damage and recovered more rapidly. Thus while western Europe was experiencing its long Dark Age and was able only slowly to restore civilization, India was enjoying new periods of remarkable cultural achievement.

INDIA'S GOLDEN AGE, ABOUT A.D. 300 TO 1000

India and Its Invaders. India has long been known as a land of fabulous riches. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the country was invaded many times during its long history. However, there are several reasons why India's civilization never suffered so severe a setback as did that of the Western Roman Empire.

First of all, only the northern part of the country was directly exposed to foreign invaders. The central and southern regions, protected by a high mountain range, remained almost undisturbed. Whatever changes occurred came about very slowly as new ideas filtered in from the north. Second, the common people had developed a highly stable way of life, based on close family ties and the village community (see p. 50). As a result, they were able to survive even during prolonged periods of turmoil and disorder. Lastly, but probably most important of all, India had such a large population that it could easily absorb its conquerors. Most of them soon adopted the advanced culture of their subjects, intermarried with them, and disappeared as separate peoples. India, stimulated by the new ideas brought in by the invaders, then went on to achieve even greater progress.

The Gupta Dynasty, A.D. 320-647. One such cycle of invasions and renewed progress began shortly after the reign of the great Emperor Asoka in the third century B.C. (see p. 53). Under his successors, the imperial control grew weaker and fighting broke out among rival kingdoms. Disunity opened the way for foreign conquest. During the following centuries, various different

peoples came pouring through the mountain passes into northwestern India. The invaders succeeded in establishing powerful kingdoms which flourished for a time, then were defeated or fell apart. However, the newcomers enriched Indian culture by bringing in Hellenistic and Persian ideas.

Political unity and order were again restored in the early fourth century A.D. One of the native Hindu rulers, Chandragupta, conquered most of northern India (map, p. 155). As a sign of his power, he took the title "King of Kings." He established the famous Gupta Dynasty, which held the imperial throne for more than three hundred years.

This peaceful period was interrupted in the late fifth century by new invasions. For some reason, possibly a prolonged dry spell, the fierce nomadic Huns of central Asia began a series of great migrations. One group invaded Europe and helped destroy the Roman Empire in the West (see p. 121). Others attacked China and conquered a portion of that country. A third group overran a large part of northern India, killing and pillaging without mercy. Though the invaders soon settled down and adopted Indian ways, they had dealt a serious blow to the Gupta Dynasty. The later emperors were so weak that fighting once again broke out among the local rulers.

In the early seventh century, a large part of India was reunited by a ruler of Gupta descent named Harsha (606-647). Harsha was one of the most attractive monarchs in history. Kind, gentle, and charitable, he won the devotion of his subjects. He spent much of his time in supervising affairs of state and in hearing appeals for justice. However, Harsha left no heirs to carry on his enlightened policies. Immediately after his death, India plunged again into disunity as rival rulers fought for power. Even so,

this fighting affected mainly the relatively small warrior caste, and India continued to progress for centuries.

Scholarship and Literature in the Golden Age. So great were India's achievements during the Gupta Dynasty and the centuries which immediately followed that this period is considered the Golden Age of Indian culture. The Gupta emperors set the example by making their courts centers of scholarship, literature, and art. One sixth-century emperor is reported to have gathered together a group of outstanding writers and scholars known as the Nine Gems. The greatest of these, Kalidasa, is often compared with Shakespeare because of his genius as both poet and dramatist.

Notable works were also produced in virtually every field of knowledge. These show the advanced state of learning in Gupta India. Astronomers knew that the earth rotates around its axis and calculated the course of the planets. Mathematicians developed the zero and the decimal system, which were passed on from India to Europe by the Arabs. Indian doctors discovered thousands of different drugs and performed a variety of surgical operations. There was even some understanding of the principle of gravity. "All things fall to the earth by a law of nature," wrote an Indian scholar, "for it is the nature of the earth to attract things."

An interesting practice of Indian writers during this period was their frequent use of poetry instead of prose. Even books on law and mathematics were written in verse. Moreover, all authors wrote in Sanskrit, the language of the early Hindus. Sanskrit had been revived by the Gupta emperors for use by the court and upper classes. Like Latin in the West, and Arabic in the Moslem countries, it long continued to serve as the



Although modern technology had made some mark on India by the mid-twentieth century, village life continued much as it has throughout history. The bullock cart, traditional village buildings, and stepped temples are much more typical of Indian life than is the American-made bulldozer.

universal language of scholarship in India.

The common people also developed a rich literature of their own, consisting mainly of animal fables, fairy tales, and imaginative stories of adventure. Many of these tales were later taken over by the Arabs, reached Europe, and became part of our own cultural heritage. Such popular stories as "Jack and the Beanstalk," "The Seven-League Boots," and "The Adventures of Sinbad the Sailor" all had their origin in India.

The Influence of Religion. Religion played a leading role in India's cultural progress. Both Buddhists and Hindus built very large monasteries. One of these is reported to have been nine stories high and to have contained a thousand rooms! Young men came to the monasteries from all parts

of India and even from neighboring countries. Here they spent years studying the great religious classics and other scholarly writings. Thus, in India as in the West, the monasteries were important not only as religious institutions but also as centers for the development and spread of culture.

Although Buddhism continued to be important in India, it was increasingly overshadowed by the rival Hindu religion. Most of the Gupta emperors were devout Hindus. They practiced religious toleration, but their own religious preference undoubtedly led many of their subjects to favor Hinduism. Moreover, during this period the spiritual ideas of Hinduism and its rules of worship were spread among the common people by wandering holy men or "walking saints." By

the year 1000, the triumph of Hinduism in India was almost complete. To this day, it is the faith of the vast majority of the Indian people.

Religious Architecture and Art. Most of India's great structures during the Golden Age were religious buildings. The Buddhists built thousands of mound-shaped shrines or stupas to house their religious relics. The stone walls of these stupas were highly polished and were covered with rich carvings. However, the Buddhist shrines were dwarfed by the Hindu temples. During the Gupta period, these temples were relatively simple rectangular buildings with flat roofs. Later it became customary to add a tall stepped tower shaped somewhat like a pyramid. One of the largest temples had a courtyard of 100,000 square feet, and its tower was almost 200 feet high. Despite their great size, the Hindu temples, like the Buddhist shrines, were almost completely covered with elaborate carvings.

Cave monasteries and temples constituted still a third type of religious architecture in India. These were quite large and elaborate structures. The largest cave temple in existence is three stories high and more than one hundred feet in length. Like the other religious buildings, the cave temples were adorned with a rich variety of decorations.

The construction of these great religious edifices provided steady employment through the centuries for thousands of sculptors and masons. As a result, Indian sculpture reached a high degree of perfection. The statues of Buddha were always done in certain formal poses, but every detail revealed the loving care which the artists and craftsmen lavished on them. The sculptors' imagination had freer play with the numerous Hindu deities. They carved strange gods with many

arms and many eyes or with animal heads or animal bodies. Each deity was designed to portray a force of nature or some other religious idea familiar to the worshipers.

Painters also helped to decorate the temples. Our knowledge of this old Indian art is based mainly on the wall paintings which have survived in the cave temples. These are usually done in bright colors, with a sharp contrast between the figures and the background. Like the carvings, they contain crowded scenes portraying divine, human, or animal themes. From them we get a vivid picture of life in India during the Golden Age.

The Spread of Indian Culture. India's advanced culture was carried to neighboring lands by traders, missionaries, and colonists. The rich island of Ceylon adopted Buddhism in the days of the Emperor Asoka. Later, Indians settled along the coasts of Burma and Malaya and introduced both Buddhism and Hinduism there. All three countries adopted many features of India's culture, as well as its religions. The rulers often took Indian names. They built great temples and used the Sanskrit language. However, each country created its own distinct variation of Indian styles, as may be seen in their architecture and art even today.

Indians also settled in the East Indies. Bringing the Hindu and Buddhist religions with them, they built temples decorated with paintings and sculpture of their various gods. The world's largest Buddhist shrine has been found on Java. In later centuries, when the Moslems occupied the East Indies, they tried to destroy all rival religions. But Java and the other islands long continued to show many traces of Indian influence.

During the Golden Age, India established contact with Turkestan, Tibet, and other

parts of central Asia. Remains excavated by archeologists show that the people of these regions obtained their religion, learning, and art from India. Apparently, it was missionaries from central Asia who carried Buddhism to China and Chinese monks in turn who spread it to Japan and Korea.

MOSLEM INVADERS AND THE MOGUL EMPIRE

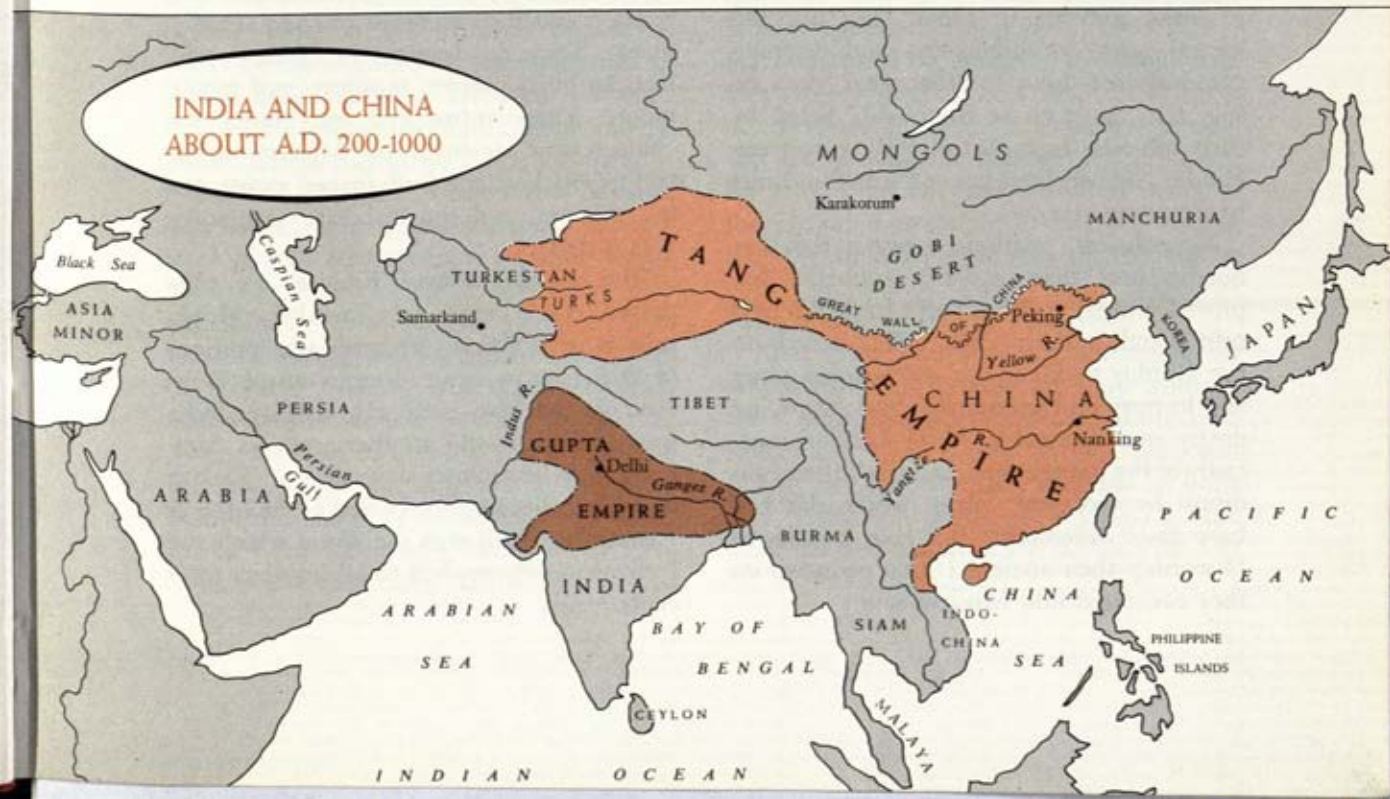
Early Moslem Contacts with India. India's Golden Age was brought to an end by still another series of invasions. The first of these invaders were the Arabs, who had begun their great career of conquest after the death of Mohammed (see p. 146). Early in the eighth century, the caliph of Bagdad led an army through the mountain passes and conquered a small region in northwest India. However, the Arabs soon established friendly relations with their

Hindu neighbors. The two peoples carried on an exchange of goods and ideas which proved beneficial to both.

Arab merchants also established settlements on India's west coast at about the same time. Using these settlements as their headquarters, they conducted a brisk trade throughout the Indian Ocean. They roamed as far west as Egypt and as far east as the Philippine Islands, finding profitable markets for India's fine muslins and silks, spices, ivory, pearls, and precious stones. For centuries, Arab merchants were the sole suppliers of these products to the people of Europe.

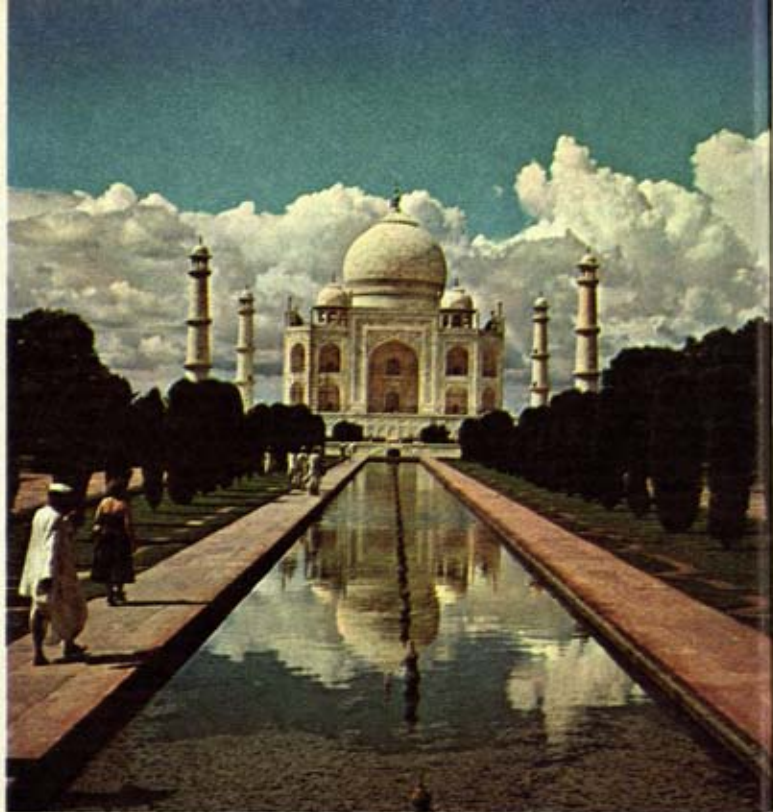
Turkish Raids and Conquests. Very different were the next invasions, launched in the late twelfth century by the Moslem Turks. The Turks were not an uncivilized people, but they acted like barbarians toward the Hindus. The main reason was their fanatical hatred of the Indian religious be-

INDIA AND CHINA
ABOUT A.D. 200-1000





Moslem-style domes and minarets heighten the grace and serenity of the Taj Mahal at Agra (right), one of the world's most beautiful buildings. Tranquility is also seen in a Hindu statue of a sacred cow (above).



liefs and practices. They destroyed Hindu images, smashed temples, and put thousands of priests and monks to the sword. In order to make converts to Islam, they imposed special taxes on unbelievers and discriminated against them in other ways. As a result, they came to be thoroughly hated by their subjects. In fact, bad feeling between Hindus and Moslems has continued in India to the present day.

Nevertheless, relations between the conquerors and their subjects gradually improved somewhat. The Turks formed a new ruling and military class. They relied on the Hindus to fill minor government posts and to carry on the country's agriculture, industry, and commerce. Many Hindus, especially of the lower castes, improved their condition by accepting Islam, which did not have caste differences. But they continued to worship their ancient Hindu gods, whom they converted into Moslem saints!

India shared in the advanced civilization of the Moslem world. The Turkish rulers supported many poets and historians, who wrote praise-filled accounts of their achievements. They also brought in Persian architects to build palaces, mosques, and monuments. These introduced into India the characteristic features of Moslem architecture, such as the bulb-shaped dome, the tall minaret, and the elaborate arabesques (see p. 148).

Rise of the Mogul Empire. As time passed, the Turks grew weaker. Hindu princes were able to liberate large portions of their country from foreign control. However, in the early sixteenth century, India was invaded by still another group of Moslems. The newcomers were also of Turkish origin but they became known as the Moguls (Mongols). This was the name which the Indians loosely applied to all invaders from central Asia.

Although Baber, the Mogul leader, entered India with only a small army, his force included a well-trained corps of artillery. In two decisive battles, Baber won control of northern India and was then crowned emperor at Delhi in 1525. His successors continued his conquests and succeeded in bringing virtually all of India under their sway.

The early Mogul emperors were enlightened rulers. They strove to win over their Hindu subjects by removing all special taxes and other forms of discrimination and by maintaining law and order. Once again, as in the time of the Guptas, India was one of the most powerful and prosperous countries in the world.

A particularly noteworthy Mogul emperor was Baber's grandson, Akbar (1556-1605). Akbar extended Mogul rule over almost all of India. However, his main concern was his people's welfare. Most of his time was spent in receiving officials, hearing appeals for justice, and dealing with other affairs of state. Akbar favored complete religious toleration. He set aside one day a week for discussions with representatives of India's different faiths. He even welcomed Christian missionaries from Europe and invited them to stay at his court.

Cultural Progress Under the Moguls. The Moguls were among the greatest builders in history. Akbar erected beautiful monuments, some of which he is said to have designed himself. However, his grandson, Shah Jahan, surpassed him by constructing scores of splendid palaces and other elaborate edifices. Most famous is the Taj Mahal, which he built as a tomb for his favorite wife. Many people consider it the most beautiful building in the world.

The Mogul emperors were generous patrons of the other arts. Artists painted fine

lifelike portraits of the rulers and the nobility. Weavers loomed rich carpets, brocades, silks, and muslins which were renowned throughout the world. Jewelers and goldsmiths found profitable employment in decorating the palaces of the upper classes.

Literature also flourished at the Mogul court. Two of the emperors showed their literary interests by writing their own memoirs. They encouraged poets to translate the Hindu classics into Persian. One of India's most important historical works was written during the reign of Akbar. It describes the early Moguls, their system of government, and the daily life of their subjects. It also contains an account of the great Emperor himself, including many of his wise sayings.

Decline of the Mogul Empire. Unfortunately for India, the glory of the early Mogul period did not long endure. The extravagant building program of Shah Jahan proved a heavy burden on his people. To make matters worse, during his reign a series of terrible famines occurred. Shah Jahan's successor, Aurangzeb (1685-1707), did even more to weaken the Mogul Empire. A great warrior, he extended the limits of his empire in the south. However, Aurangzeb was a religious fanatic. He dismissed his Hindu officials and destroyed many of the Hindu temples. It is hardly surprising that the Indian people rose in frequent revolts against him. The constant strife left India impoverished and exhausted.

After Aurangzeb's death, a struggle for power broke out among his sons. Still another period of bloodshed and disorder resulted. But by this time various European powers had gained a firm foothold in India (see p. 306). In India, as in China a little later, internal weakness was to open the way for Western conquest.



19 / Lesson Review

Checking the facts

1. Explain: Gupta Dynasty; Sanskrit; "walking saints"; Mogul Empire; Taj Mahal.
2. Identify: Harsha; Kalidasa; Baber; Akbar; Aurangzeb.
3. Why did India's civilization suffer less damage from invaders than that of western Europe?
4. Describe India's important religious and cultural achievements during the Gupta Dynasty.
5. Tell how India was affected by the invasions of the Arabs, the Turks, and the Moguls.
6. Describe the important achievements of the Mogul period.
7. Why did the Mogul Empire decline?

Applying history

1. Why did civilization flourish in India under the Gupta rulers? Why was Harsha an especially outstanding monarch?
2. In what ways was Sanskrit an important factor in the spread of Indian culture? Give examples of "universal languages" in other civilizations we have studied.
3. Why did many other Asian countries borrow from India's civilization? Why does India still exert great influence in Asia today?
4. Why did many Untouchables and low-caste Hindus become converts to Islam? Why did the large majority cling to their faith?

5. Why was there strife between Moslems and Hindus during the Age of Great Invasions? How has this traditional enmity affected India in recent times?

History and geography

1. Locate (map, p. 155): Japan; China; Tibet; Korea; Manchuria; Malaya; Burma; Ceylon; Turkestan; Philippines; Indian Ocean.
2. Locate the ancient invasion route into India (map, p. 50). What terrain difficulties did invaders have to overcome when they used this route?
3. What natural barriers blocked the expansion of the Gupta Empire (maps, pp. 155 and 46-47)? How does India's geography help explain why it has seldom been unified under a single government?
4. On an outline map of Asia, draw arrows to show how Indian civilization spread to many neighboring lands.

Special activities

1. Write a series of headlines on the major political developments in India during the Age of Great Invasions.
2. Read passages from books about India that describe India's great achievements in architecture and other fields of art during the Age of Great Invasions.
3. After gathering more information about either Harsha or Akbar, prepare a speech nominating him for a place in mankind's "Hall of Fame."

20 / ADVANCED CIVILIZATION IN CHINA



"China is a great sea which makes salty all the waters that flow into it." In these vivid words, the Chinese boasted of their ability to absorb and civilize the different peoples who came pouring into their vast country. Though China was invaded many times by warlike nomadic tribes from the north and west, its civilization remained almost unshaken. The invading peoples were all so deeply impressed by China's superiority that they soon adopted its advanced culture and became like Chinese themselves.

Its ability to absorb invaders was only one of the various ways in which China resembled India. Both countries enjoyed long periods of unity and prosperity when they ranked among the greatest nations of the world. Both also exerted a strong cultural influence on the peoples of neighboring lands. Finally, both experienced times of trouble whenever the ruling dynasty grew weak and conflicts began to arise over the imperial throne.

CHINA'S SECOND GOLDEN AGE

A Dark Age, about A.D. 200 to 600. One such period of disorder began in China during the later Han Dynasty (see pp. 60-61). Under a series of weak emperors, the great Han empire fell apart. The governors of the various provinces succeeded in making them-

selves virtually independent rulers and fought constantly among themselves in an effort to expand their holdings. The neighboring nomads naturally took advantage of the country's disunity. It was during this period that the fierce Huns invaded the southern portion of China. Even more important was the Tartar conquest of the north. The way was opened for them when a Tartar chief compelled the emperor to give him a daughter in marriage. One of the offspring of this marriage, who had been sent to the imperial court to acquire Chinese culture, took careful note of China's rich treasures and military weakness. After returning home, he gathered a strong army and easily conquered the entire region north of the Yangtze River. The Tartars held sway over North China for about two hundred years.

This troubled age witnessed the rapid spread of Buddhism among the Chinese people. As in India, Buddha was now worshiped as a god instead of being regarded merely as a religious teacher. He was assisted by a large number of lesser gods and saints, who watched over and protected pious folk. Believers who performed the proper ceremonies and offered up many prayers would not only be helped in this world but would also enter paradise after death. The new Buddhist faith offered the Chinese great consolation for the miseries of their existence.

A Long Period of Unity and Progress, about 600 to 1250. China's unity was finally restored in the early seventh century. One of the petty local rulers, the Duke of Tang, succeeded in establishing himself on the imperial throne. His able son, Tai Tsung (627-650), regained the territories lost to the Tartars and other invaders. Later, he conquered some lands to the west of China and made direct contact with Persia and India. (See map, p. 155.)

Tai Tsung has gone down in history as one of China's greatest emperors. He reorganized the system of government, dividing the Empire into ten great provinces and placing each under a governor responsible directly to him. To secure competent officials, he revived the old system of civil service examinations (see p. 61). He also created numerous state schools to encourage learning. Most important was the Imperial College, where outstanding students were trained for high government posts. The best scholars of all served as the Emperor's advisers or as heads of the various government departments.

Tai Tsung was an admirer of Confucius and his teachings. He supervised a new edition of the classics and sought to govern China in accordance with their principles. "I look upon the Empire as a father does on his household," he once said, "and on all my subjects as my children." At the same time, the great Tang Emperor was tolerant of other faiths. He invited both Christian and Moslem missionaries to visit his country. However, neither faith succeeded in winning many converts.

The Tang Dynasty held the throne for almost three hundred years, until 907. However, as happened so frequently in Chinese history, the later Tang emperors were weak rulers. China again suffered for a time from bad government, disorder, and civil war.

Fortunately, the country was soon reunited by another strong general, who established the Sung Dynasty (960-1279). Though troubled periodically by attacks of the warlike Tartars and Mongols, the Chinese people enjoyed another long period of progress. The six centuries of the Tang and Sung dynasties have generally been considered China's second Golden Age.

Economic Advances. An outstanding feature of this second Golden Age was the prosperity of the country. The peasants raised large crops by carefully tilling all available land and by using progressive farming methods. For example, they built terraces on hillsides to prevent erosion. They also practiced rotation of crops and used manures to preserve the fertility of the soil. Tea, first mentioned in Chinese literature in the second century, now was cultivated commercially.

The plentiful food supply supported a number of flourishing cities, which served as centers for China's prosperous industries. One of the emperors built a great silk factory, where thousands of skilled workers were employed. It turned out large quantities of the world's finest and most beautiful fabrics. Another important Chinese product was porcelain, from which exquisite dishes and vases were made. (Porcelain is made of a special white clay which is ground very fine, mixed with water and shaped, and then baked at very high temperature for several days. The final product is so thin that light passes through it. When struck lightly, it gives a clear ringing sound.) China's porcelain products became so famous that people today still refer to them as china or chinaware.

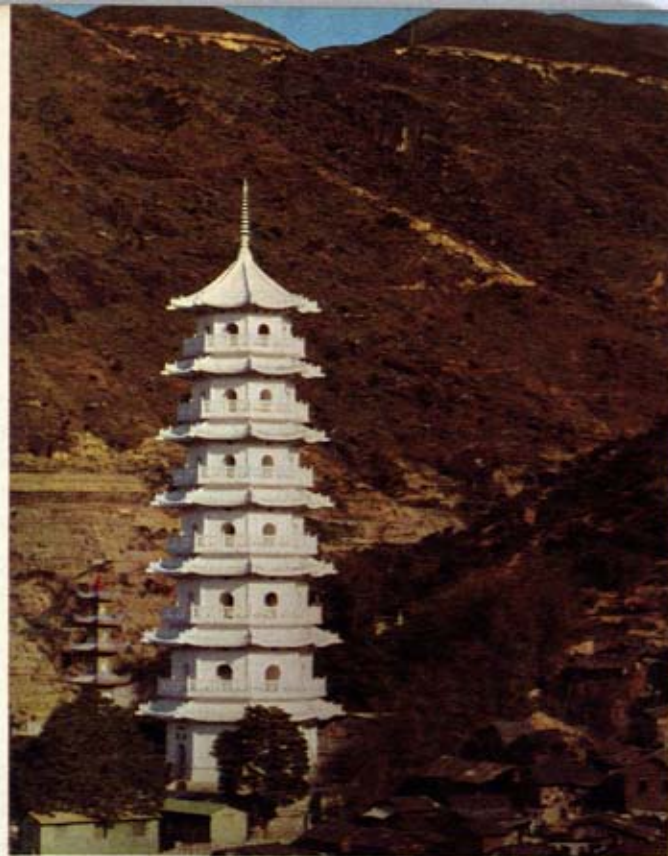
The Golden Age was also a period of great commercial expansion. Caravan routes from central Asia, protected by the strong Tang rulers, were comparatively safe for traders. Chinese ships were the largest in the world

at this time. Merchant fleets, heavily armed to defend themselves from pirate attacks, sailed southward every year. They carried tea, silk, porcelains, and other valuable goods as far as India or even the Persian Gulf. As we have seen, Arab merchants also carried on a rich trade with the Far East. They were welcomed by China and allowed to establish settlements along the southern coast.

Cultural Achievements. During the Golden Age there were important advances in the arts and learning. The Buddhists built a large number of shrines and pagodas, employing the talents of many sculptors and painters. Buddhist scriptures were translated from Sanskrit into the Chinese language, and Buddhist beliefs inspired Chinese poets. Inexpensive schools existed in every town and village, where pupils learned to recite the classics by heart and to write the Chinese characters with fine brush strokes. The graduates became government officials, teachers, writers, or religious leaders.

Historical writing was highly regarded because the rulers wished to leave behind a record of their achievements. Poetry was also very popular. Centuries later, the writings of more than two thousand poets of this period were still in existence. Unlike the Indians, who favored long epics, the Chinese generally preferred short poems. They sought to express a single thought or impression in words carefully chosen for their sound as well as their meaning. Many of these Chinese poems express a deep love for nature.

Another sphere in which the Chinese of this period excelled was painting. The artists were noted for their fine and careful brushwork. Chinese craftsmen also displayed painstaking care in their work. They produced exquisite statuettes, beautifully decorated metal and porcelain products, and highly polished lacquer ware. Their jewelry, often made of



Pagodas inspired by Buddhism have been built in the Far East since China's Golden Age. The two pictured here are relatively modern.

jade or ivory, was noted for its delicacy and grace. Some of their fine art objects have never been surpassed by any people.

Chinese Inventions. During the second Golden Age, the Chinese made several important inventions. One was the magnetic compass, which enabled sea captains and other travelers to determine their direction. It is interesting to note that the early Chinese compasses were made to point to the south, rather than to the north as is the case with our own. Almost nothing is known as to exactly when or how the Chinese made this invention, and some scholars even doubt whether it really originated in China.

A little more is known about the invention of gunpowder. Its manufacture dates back as

early as the ninth century. For a time, it seems to have been employed only for making firecrackers. However, it also soon came to be used in firearms. Records of the mid-twelfth century indicate that it helped the Chinese win an important battle over the Tartars.

Most important of all the Chinese inventions was printing. Paper had been known in China since the second century A.D. Then, in the late Tang period, some unknown person conceived the idea of carving out rows of characters on a large wooden block. Wetting the block carefully with ink, he used it to

stamp an entire page of paper at one time. The Chinese soon learned to turn out inexpensive books by this method of block printing. Later, they developed movable type but found it of little use because of the thousands of different characters in their system of writing.

The Spread of Chinese Civilization. It was to be expected that neighboring peoples would greatly admire the civilization of the Chinese and would seek to learn from them. We have already seen how some of the nomadic tribes of central Asia came into contact with China. The kings of Korea, like

some of the Tartar rulers, sent their sons to be educated at the Chinese court. Travelers and merchants also helped to spread Chinese ways among the Korean people. Through contacts with Korea and later with China itself, the inhabitants of the Japanese islands learned of Chinese civilization. Both the Koreans and the Japanese adopted China's system of writing, its literature, and its art. They also took over the Buddhist religion and the elaborate Chinese code of courtesy. It is an interesting fact that many Japanese today still wear the clothes which were typical of China during the Tang Dynasty.

Chinese civilization also penetrated south-east Asia. Indo-China, in particular, shows an interesting mixture of both Chinese and Indian influences. In time, the Chinese civilization was spread much farther afield. Moslem traders carried China's ideas and inventions, as well as its goods, to the eastern Mediterranean. From there, they passed on to Europe and so eventually became part of our own cultural heritage.

FOREIGN CONQUESTS OF CHINA

Jenghis Khan and the Great Mongol Empire. China's second Golden Age came to an end as a result of conquest by the Mongols. From time immemorial, these inhabitants of the broad steppelands of central Asia had led a very hard existence. They virtually lived in the saddle, driving their herds from place to place in search of pasture. Their homes were rude felt-lined tents, which provided little protection from the burning summer sun or the bitter arctic winds in the winter-time. Milk, cheese, and meat were almost their only foods. They knew little of culture and enjoyed few of the comforts and conveniences associated with civilization.

Yet their harsh way of life made the Mongol nomads formidable warriors. They were accustomed to hardship and danger and had little regard for human life. They could ride hundreds of miles in a few days to strike an enemy without warning. Whenever a strong leader succeeded in uniting the many different tribes, they attacked and usually defeated the civilized peoples around them.

The Mongols' greatest sweep of conquest was launched in the late twelfth century under the ruthless leadership of Jenghis Khan (1162-1227). Jenghis fought a series of successful wars against the Tartar tribes to the north. He was able to proclaim him-



self the Grand Khan, ruler of all the Mongols and Tartars. Still Jenghis Khan was not satisfied. Believing that fate had chosen him to conquer the world, he sent out his hordes in all directions. He ordered them to show no mercy. After taking a city, his lieutenants would carry out the booty and round up all the inhabitants who could be sold as slaves. Then they would kill the rest and set fire to the city. It has been estimated that Jenghis Khan, in the course of a few decades, killed more than fifteen million people!

After the Grand Khan's death, his sons divided the Empire and enlarged it through new conquests. One son became master of all of central Asia. A second ruled over Persia, Mesopotamia, and Syria. A third conquered Russia and launched devastating raids into Poland and Hungary. The fourth son took possession of northern China. By the mid-thirteenth century, the Mongols' holdings stretched from the Pacific Ocean across the entire continent of Asia into the heart of Europe. They held sway over one of the

Metropolitan Museum of Art



The Chinese mastered the art of ceramics (above) during the Tang dynasty. China's second Golden Age was also marked by excellence in painting (left).



Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

largest empires in all history (map, pp. 162-163).

Mongol Rule in China, 1279-1368. In China, the Mongol conquests were continued by one of Jenghis Khan's grandsons, Kublai Khan. The latter gained control of southern China after a long war. For the first time, the whole of that country now came under foreign rule. Fortunately for the Chinese people, Kublai Khan was an able and tolerant ruler. He re-established order, cared for the needy, built hospitals, and created a system for storing surplus grain to prevent famine. He promoted trade by building fine roads, improving harbors, and encouraging Moslem merchants to settle in China. Together with the other Mongol rulers, he restored the ancient overland route to western Asia (see p. 6). A few European merchants and missionaries now dared to make the long and perilous journey to the Far East.

Kublai Khan and his descendants ruled China for about a century. Though the Mongol rulers adopted Chinese ways, they were never very popular with their subjects. The latter continued to regard them as foreign barbarians. They also resented the fact that Mongols were appointed to most of the high government posts. To make matters worse, the country was stricken by a series of droughts, floods, and other natural disasters. To the Chinese people, these events seemed proof that their rulers did not enjoy the Mandate of Heaven (see p. 60). Numerous revolts broke out against Kublai Khan's successors. Eventually, one of the rebel leaders succeeded in driving the Mongols out of China and established a new native Chinese dynasty, the Ming.

The Conservative Ming Dynasty, 1368-1644. The early Ming emperors were powerful rulers. They succeeded in repelling new

Mongol attacks until the Mongol empire began to crumble through internal disunity. However, the direct overland route to the west was blocked as a result of these wars. The Mings therefore concentrated on building up China's trade by sea. In order to do so, they attempted first to establish their naval supremacy. One fifteenth-century emperor gathered a large war fleet. He sent it on a long voyage south to the East Indies and then west across the Indian Ocean to Africa. Wherever the fleet put into port, the admiral demanded tribute from the natives as recognition of China's overlordship. If his demands were refused, he used force to compel submission. Never before had Chinese power been extended so far overseas. But this attempt to build a Chinese naval empire was abandoned after a relatively short time.

Another important feature of the Ming period was the return to the old Chinese traditions. Though friendly to the Buddhists, the emperors revived and strengthened the ancient teachings of Confucius. "My wish," proclaimed the first Ming emperor, "is to bring back the government of the Sages." To that end, he also restored the civil service examinations, re-established the Imperial Academy, and built schools throughout the country. Scholars assisted in this revival by compiling new editions of old literary works and encyclopedias of Chinese knowledge in many fields. Their outstanding achievement was putting together the Ming Code, a collection of China's laws as developed through the centuries.

Coming of the Manchus and the Europeans. The later members of the Ming Dynasty were incompetent monarchs. Eventually, in the seventeenth century, China was conquered by a new group of tribesmen from

the north, the Manchus. The new rulers compelled their subjects to wear their hair in the Manchu style—with shaved forehead and a queue or pigtail—as a sign of loyalty. Otherwise, the early Manchus left Chinese ways virtually unchanged. They employed Chinese officials and encouraged culture. To improve economic conditions, they built roads, dams, and irrigation projects. They also extended their control over many outlying regions, including Korea, Mongolia, Tibet, Burma, and Indo-China. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Manchus ruled over the largest and most populous empire in the world.

Even before the coming of the Manchus, China's wealth had attracted still another group of foreigners, the Europeans. At first, the newcomers were cordially welcomed by the Chinese. However, they behaved so badly that they were soon expelled from the country. It was not until several centuries later, when Manchu power weakened, that the Westerners were finally able to force their way back into China.

The Age of Great Invasions

Civilization During the Age of Invasions

Civilization in the West. In western Europe, the fall of the Roman Empire ushered in a long time of trouble called the Dark Age. Frequent invasions and wars, weak governments, and unprotected highways of commerce reduced the trade and contacts between western Europe and other peoples to a trickle. Within Europe itself, there was little trade between one area and another. People lived in almost complete isolation

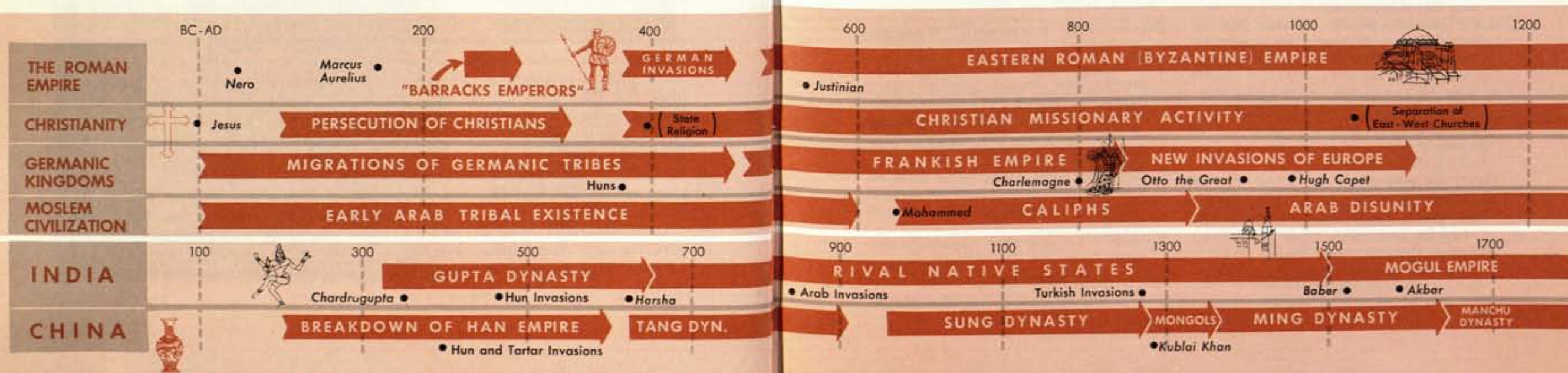
and tried to provide all of their necessities. Living standards dropped; learning, art, and knowledge declined. Fortunately, the Church took over many of the functions of the Roman government and preserved some features of Roman civilization. By setting high standards for the barbarians, it lessened the worst aspects of their conquest.

Under the later Frankish rulers, conditions slowly began to improve. For a time, it appeared that Charlemagne might even succeed in rebuilding the Western Roman Empire and its civilization. But most of these gains were destroyed by the Norsemen and other invaders. Not until the latter part of the tenth century did western Europe enter upon a period of steady recovery.

Civilization in the East. The Eastern Roman or Byzantine Empire, on the other hand, survived the barbarian attacks. It saved a large part of the ancient Roman and Greek culture. Meanwhile, to the south, the Prophet Mohammed succeeded in uniting the backward tribesmen of Arabia. He inspired them to conquer almost half of the known world.

The fusion of the many cultures brought together by the Moslem conquerors, combined with the important contributions they themselves made, resulted in one of the richest civilizations in history. The Moslems and Byzantines were both to prove important in helping the peoples of western Europe to create our own Western civilization.

Despite the frequent invasions they suffered, India and China also witnessed a great flowering of civilization during these centuries. In numerous fields—government, agriculture, industry, science, and art—both countries were undoubtedly the most advanced in the world. They contributed many important inventions to other peoples, notably the decimal system, the magnetic compass, gunpower, paper, and printing. It has often been said that India and, even more, China were isolated from the other great centers of civilization. The situation during the Age of Great Invasions was more truly the reverse. If isolation there was, it was the other centers of civilization which were isolated from China and India.





20 / Lesson Review

Checking the facts

1. Explain: Tang Dynasty; Imperial College; Sung Dynasty; porcelain; block printing; Mongol Empire; Ming Dynasty; Manchus.
2. Identify: Tai Tsung; Jenghis Khan; Kublai Khan.
3. In what ways does China's history resemble that of India during the Age of Great Invasions?
4. Briefly describe China's achievements during its second "Golden Age" in government; economic development; literature; art.
5. List the three great Chinese inventions of this period. Explain why each became important to all mankind.
6. Why were the Mongols able to conquer a vast empire? Why were they unable to hold it together for a long period?
7. What were the major achievements of the Mings? of the Manchus?

Applying history

1. List as many invasions of nomadic peoples from central Asia into the surrounding civilized areas as you can. How do geographic factors help explain these invasions?
2. Tell how Europeans improved block printing and other Chinese inventions. Why were they able to do so?
3. Compare the methods of rule used by Kublai Khan with those of his grandfather Jenghis Khan. How do you explain the difference?
4. Why did the Chinese revolt against their Mongol rulers? Why were the Mings more acceptable to the Chinese people?

History and geography

1. Locate (maps, pp. 155 and 162): China Sea; Japan; Korea; Manchuria; Turkestan; Mongolia; Indo-China; Persia; India; Syria; Poland; Hungary; Tibet; Burma.
2. Trace the boundary of the Tang Empire at its height (map, p. 155).

3. Why may central Asia and eastern Europe be considered a geographic unit (map, pp. 46-47)? Why were the Mongols able to conquer this vast region with relatively little difficulty?
4. Why were the Chinese never able to expand their empire south into India (map, pp. 46-47)?

Special activities

1. Prepare a class exhibit on Chinese civilization during the Age of Great Invasions.
2. Draw a poster or cartoon that will show why the Chinese were able to absorb their numerous invaders.
3. Report to the class on the characteristic features of Chinese art.

Summarizing Unit 4

1. Draw a series of outline maps to compare the empires of Charlemagne, Justinian, the Arabs, the Mongols, the Moguls, and the Manchus. (Be careful to use the same scale for each.) Which do you consider the most impressive from a geographic viewpoint? Explain.
2. Complete this chart for the empires described in Unit 4:

Empire Dates Achievements Weaknesses

3. Arrange a display of period dolls or drawings to show clothing worn in western Europe, the Byzantine Empire, the Moslem Empire, India, and China during the Age of Great Invasions. How do you explain the differences which existed?
4. Play a map game. Each player is given the name of a place mentioned in this unit and must locate it on the wall map within 30 seconds.
5. Describe the important religious developments during the Age of Great Invasions in each area discussed in the unit. Why was this period one of great religious progress?

6. In your notebook, prepare an outline of the most important political and cultural developments discussed in this unit.
7. After referring to the text and the maps in

this unit, show on a large outline map the leading empires which existed in Europe, North Africa, and Asia during the time of Charlemagne (about A.D. 800).

Books to Read

Specialized Accounts

- DAVIS, WILLIAM S. *A Short History of the Near East*. Macmillan, 1937. An excellent study of the Byzantine, Arab, and Turkish Empires.
- DIEHL, CHARLES. *Byzantium: Greatness and Decline*. Rutgers, 1958. A scholarly account of the Eastern Roman Empire.
- FITZGERALD, CHARLES P. *China: A Short Cultural History*. Praeger, 1954. Emphasizes cultural and other social developments.
- GAER, JOSEPH. *Wisdom of the Living Religions*. Dodd, 1956. The basic principles of the world's ten major living religions, with quotations from their sacred books.
- *GIBBS, H. A. R. *Mohammedanism: a Historical Survey*. Oxford, 1949. A highly recommended brief treatment.
- HITTI, PHILIP. *The Arabs: A Short History*. Princeton, 1946. Simplified version of a scholarly history written from the Arab point of view.
- KATZ, SOLOMON. *The Decline of Rome and the Rise of Medieval Europe*. Cornell, 1955. A brief account of the late Roman Empire, the development of Christianity, and the German invasions.
- NOSS, JOHN B. *Man's Religions*. Macmillan, 1956. Comprehensive and scholarly.
- PRAWDIN, MICHAEL. *The Mongol Empire: Its Rise and Legacy*. G. Allen, 1952. An interesting account of the achievements of Genghis Khan and his successors.
- QUENNEL, M. C. and C. H. B. *Everyday Life in Anglo-Saxon, Viking, and Norman Times*. Putnam, 1955. A vivid description of life in England during the period of invasions.
- SEN, GERTRUDE C. *The Pageant of India's History*. Longmans, Green, 1948.
- SPENCER, CORNELIA. *Made in India*. Knopf, 1946. India's cultural contributions to the world.

Biographies and Historical Fiction

- ANDREWS, FRANK E. *For Charlemagne!* Harper, 1949. Adventure in the service of the great Frankish ruler.
- BENGTSSON, FRANS G. *The Long Ships*. Knopf, 1954. Dramatic novel of a Viking chief's adventures during the tenth century.
- BODLEY, D. V. C. *The Messenger: The Life of Mohammed*. Doubleday, 1946. A useful account of the personality and career of the founder of Islam.
- COSTAIN, THOMAS B. *The Black Rose*. Doubleday, 1946. A novel about an Englishman's adventures in the Mongol Empire.
- *DAVIS, WILLIAM S. *The Beauty of the Purple*. Macmillan, 1947. A novel of life in Constantinople and the city's struggles with the Moslems.
- *EINHARD. *The Life of Charlemagne*. Various translations. An excellent brief biography, written by Charlemagne's secretary.
- GOODSPEED, EDGAR J. *The Life of Jesus*. Harper, 1950. Interesting, reverent account.
- *LAMB, HAROLD. *Charlemagne: The Legend and the Man*. Doubleday, 1954.
- *———. *Genghis Khan*. McBride, 1927. Interesting biographies of the great Frankish ruler and the ruthless Mongol conqueror.
- *OURSER, FULTON. *The Greatest Story Ever Told*. Doubleday, 1949. A popular account of the life and teachings of Jesus.
- POLO, MARCO. *The Travels of Marco Polo*. Various editions. The famous Venetian traveler's own account of his adventures in the Far East.
- SABATINI, RAFAEL. *Sword of Islam*. Houghton Mifflin, 1939. A very interesting novel dealing with the conflict between Moslems and Italians in the Mediterranean.
- WINSTON, RICHARD. *Charlemagne: From the Hammer to the Cross*. Bobbs-Merrill, 1954. A very readable account of the great Frankish ruler and the age in which he lived.

The continent of Europe is the great peninsula that extends westward from the larger land mass we call Asia (see map, pp. 46-47). It is one of the smallest of the continents—Asia is fully four and a half times as large.

Geographically, Europe is the most complicated of the continents. It has a very irregular outline and is crossed by many ranges of mountains. These terrain features have not been obstacles to the development of civilization, however. The continent has several large peninsulas and its deeply indented coastline affords good anchorages. Except for a few parts of central Russia, it is impossible to be more than 500 miles from the sea anywhere in Europe.

The many mountain ranges are nowhere so forbidding as those of Asia or South America (see p. 524). Valleys and low passes provide routes for travel and trade, and there are no such geographic extremes in Europe as deserts.

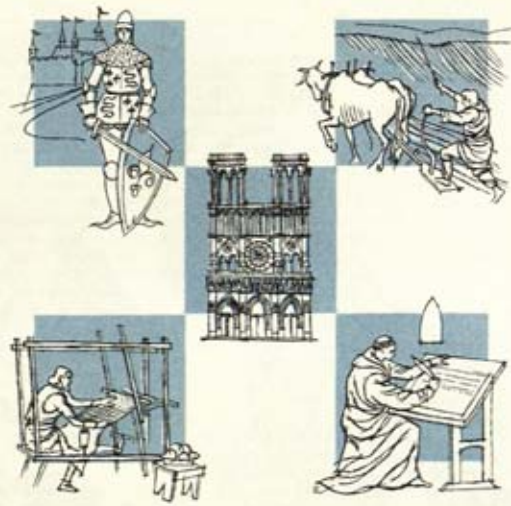
Two-thirds of Europe is level or rolling lowland, much of it in the broad belt that stretches across modern France and Germany into European Russia toward the steppes of Central Asia. In this belt, good soils have supported agriculture. The many rivers and their valleys have served as travel routes and centers of settlement. Europe is also rich in mineral resources, but until modern times agriculture was more important than industry.

Warm ocean currents and westerly winds give much of western Europe a mild, rainy climate with largely frost-free winters and long, cool, moderately rainy summers. Mediterranean Europe has short, mild, moderately rainy winters and hot, almost rainless summers.

European civilization began in the south, in the Mediterranean lands. From Greece and Rome it was passed on to western Europe, which eventually became the center of a great new culture.



Base map © 1950 by Jeppesen and Co., Denver, Colorado



UNIT 5

CIVILIZATION IN FEUDAL EUROPE

Western historians generally divide the history of the world into three great periods. The ancient period is a very long one, extending from the rise of the earliest civilizations to the decay of Rome. Modern history consists of the developments of the past five centuries or so, when our civilization took on its present form. Between these two great eras there is an interval of approximately a thousand years, about A.D. 400 to 1400, that has been labeled the Middle Ages or medieval period.

The first part of the Middle Ages was long regarded as a Dark Age. It was believed that all learning disappeared and men lived in ignorance and superstition. However, this was only partly true. Rome's downfall was indeed followed by centuries of conflict and confusion in western Europe. But, even during Europe's troubled "Dark Age," as we have seen, some learning was kept alive by the Church. Moreover, in the Byzantine and Arab empires—and even more in India and China—civilization continued to flourish.

Gradually, the peoples of the West created strong new institutions, through which they greatly improved conditions. They also benefited from the advances of the Byzantines and Moslems and indirectly from the achievements of the Indians and Chinese. The second part of the Middle Ages, the so-called Feudal Age, was an important period of renewed progress. It was during this period that the peoples of western Europe laid the foundations for our own modern Western civilization.

The guiding questions for this unit are:

1. What were the benefits and drawbacks of feudalism as a system of government in medieval Europe?
2. How did the manorial system enable people to supply basic needs?
3. How did the revival of trade and the rise of towns contribute to progress?
4. What powers did the Roman Catholic Church exercise in medieval Europe?
5. What were the outstanding achievements of medieval culture?

/ FEUDAL GOVERNMENT
IN EUROPE

Who has not dreamed of living in the days of old, when bold knights garbed in shining armor rode about rescuing damsels in distress from the towers of ivy-clad castles? The period of knighthood seems romantic indeed as we look back through the mists of history. Reality, alas, was quite different. For armor and thick castle walls were the signs of almost continual warfare, with all its misery, bloodshed, and destruction. The great majority of the people lived in poverty and ignorance. Today, even the members of the upper classes would seem brutal, coarse, and vulgar.

The true significance of this period is not to be found in the storybook adventures of the knights. It is to be found rather in the services which these fighting-men performed for European society. Amid the chaotic conditions of the Dark Age, they succeeded in restoring a measure of order through a crude but effective type of government known as feudalism.

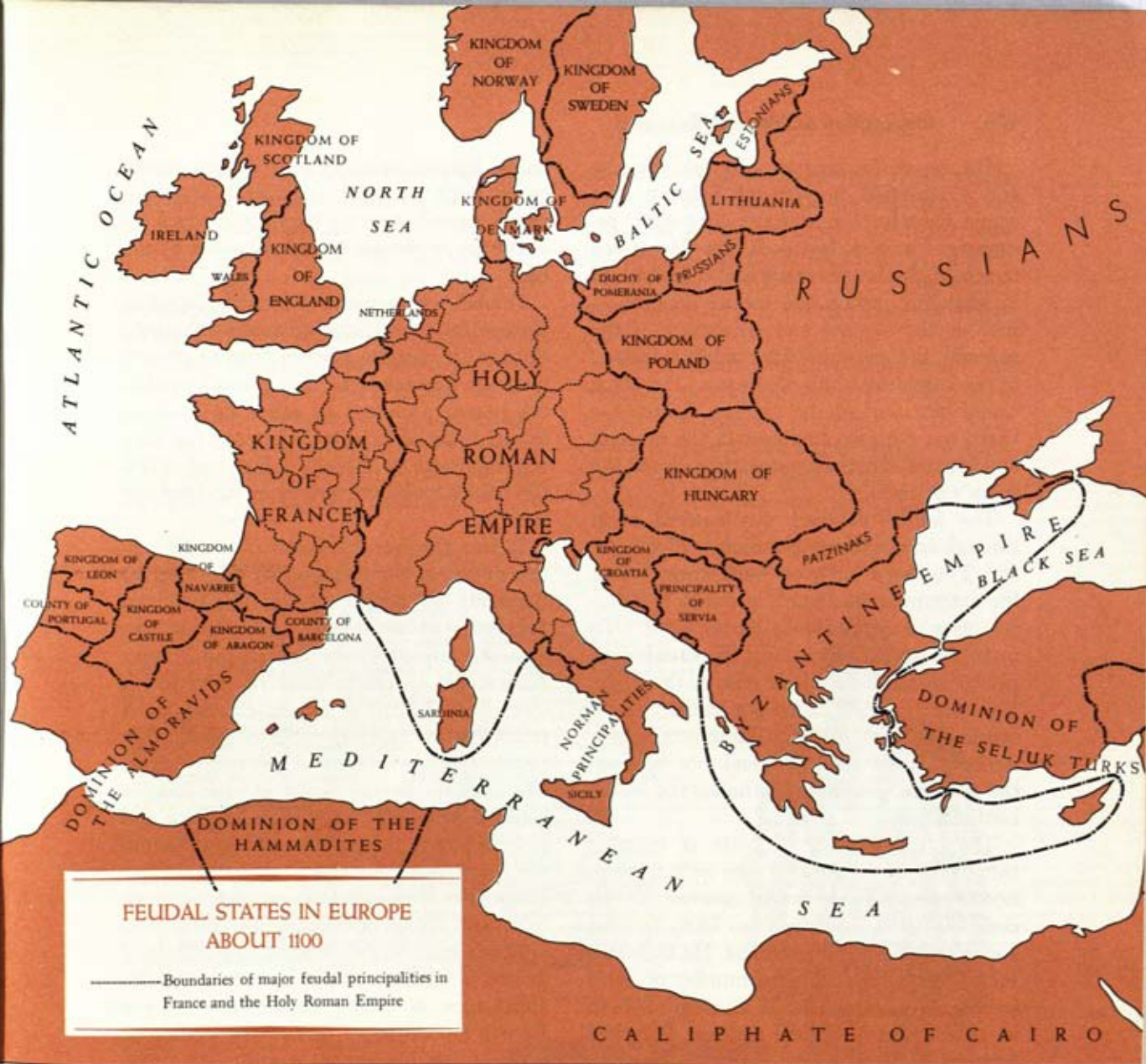
THE NATURE OF FEUDALISM

Origins of Feudalism. The beginnings of feudalism in Europe can be traced back to the late Roman Empire, when the government was often unable to protect the outlying districts from barbarian invaders and

robber bands. In many places, the small landowners turned for help to a rich and powerful neighbor. In return for his protection, they agreed to recognize him as their ruler and to fight under his direction.

After the Empire fell to the barbarians, the invaders themselves used the same kind of agreement for mutual aid. German kings found themselves in possession of entire provinces of the old Roman Empire. Since they had neither the experience nor the staff of trained officials to rule large kingdoms, they parceled out their domains among their loyal followers. These followers were responsible for keeping order in their districts, and they were required to come to the king's aid with arms, men, and supplies when needed. In time, the local governors of both German and Roman origin combined to form a new powerful ruling class or nobility.

Under a strong monarch like Charlemagne (768–814), the nobles were not allowed to become too powerful. However, the kings who came after Charlemagne were too weak to exercise effective control. They were forced to yield additional powers and privileges to the nobles in return for promises of aid. Thus, though in theory the nobles continued to recognize the monarch as their superior, to all intents and purposes they became almost completely independent. They



FEUDAL STATES IN EUROPE ABOUT 1100

— Boundaries of major feudal principalities in
France and the Holy Roman Empire

were even able to make their power hereditary. The resulting political system, wherein the nobles in the local districts took over from the king the main functions of government, is called feudalism.

The Feudal Contract. The basis of the feudal system of government was the feudal contract. The parties to the feudal contract

were the king, also known as the suzerain or overlord, and the important nobles or vassals. The suzerain promised the vassal protection and justice and conferred on him control over a sizable region, called a fief (*feudum* in Latin). The vassal not only governed the fief but in effect was its owner. All of its wealth and revenues belonged to him.

The vassal, for his part, promised that he and a specified number of fighting men would fight for the suzerain. The usual period was for forty days each year. He agreed to attend the latter's court and to assist him in rendering justice. On special occasions—such as the capture and ransoming of the suzerain, the marriage of his oldest daughter, or the knighting of his oldest son—the vassal would bear part of the expense. Lastly, the vassal was required to entertain the suzerain and his attendants whenever they visited the vassal's district.

The feudal contract was entered upon through an impressive ceremony called homage. The vassal knelt on both knees before the suzerain and solemnly swore to be faithful "as a man should be to his Lord." To make the oath more binding, the vassal often placed his hand on a holy relic or the Bible. The suzerain then kissed the vassal and invested him with his fief. These acts, which symbolized the close personal ties between the two men, greatly strengthened the feudal contract.

The vassal had the problem of securing the services of the fighting men he had promised to provide in the feudal contract. In the early Middle Ages, he was not likely to have enough money to hire soldiers. He therefore subdivided his fief among a number of lesser noblemen or subvassals. With each of these he entered into a feudal contract like that between himself and his suzerain. The subvassal, in turn, would often subdivide his fief among a number of knights for the same reason.

The knights were the lowest members of the feudal governing class. Their fief was generally only a small estate, the income from which might barely pay for their horses and armor. Later, however, the term "knight" came to be used for any member of the

feudal fighting aristocracy. In theory, feudal government was like a pyramid in which power passed, stage by stage, from the king at the top to the multitude of knights at the base.

Feudal Achievements. Feudalism lasted in Europe for centuries, until improved conditions made possible a better form of government. It is noteworthy that a similar political system appeared in other civilizations during times of trouble. Whenever the king was too weak to maintain law and order, the nobles took over control in the local districts.

During the "terrible ninth and tenth centuries," when Europe was being ravaged by the raids of the Norsemen, Magyars, and Moslems (see pp. 134–135), feudalism prevented complete chaos in western Europe. Each noble sought to preserve order in his own little territory. Moreover, the great feudal lords were usually able to call together sizable forces whenever an emergency arose. Mounted on horses, they and their knights could move swiftly from place to place and so were able to defend their homelands from the many invasions which plagued Europe. Eventually, they even became strong enough to launch counterattacks against their foes.

Feudalism also provided a crude system of justice to fill the vacuum caused by the disappearance of Roman courts and of the Roman law. When a person was accused of a crime, his innocence or guilt was determined in one of three ways. A dispute between two knights was usually settled through trial by combat. In a second method, oath-taking, the accused called in witnesses, who took a solemn oath that they believed he was telling the truth. Another commonly used method was trial by ordeal. The accused had to walk barefoot over pieces of red-hot iron, plunge his hand into a pot of boiling

oil, or undergo some other trial of the same sort. He was deemed innocent if his wounds did not become infected. In all three kinds of trial, it was believed that God would intervene to protect the innocent and punish the evildoer.

Weaknesses of the Feudal System. Even at its best, feudalism was still a backward type of government. Each feudal fief was like a separate little country. It had its own ruler, its own laws, and often its own system of coinage. Moreover, each feudal lord had the right to collect a toll from anyone who

passed through his territory. These conditions proved a very great hindrance to commerce, as we shall see later (p. 187). Since there was little trade between one district and another, people had to get along mainly with what they could produce for themselves.

Other serious problems arose from the weakness of feudal loyalties. The kings often could not enforce obedience from their powerful vassals. The great lords, in turn, often had trouble controlling their own subvassals. Furthermore, feudal ties became



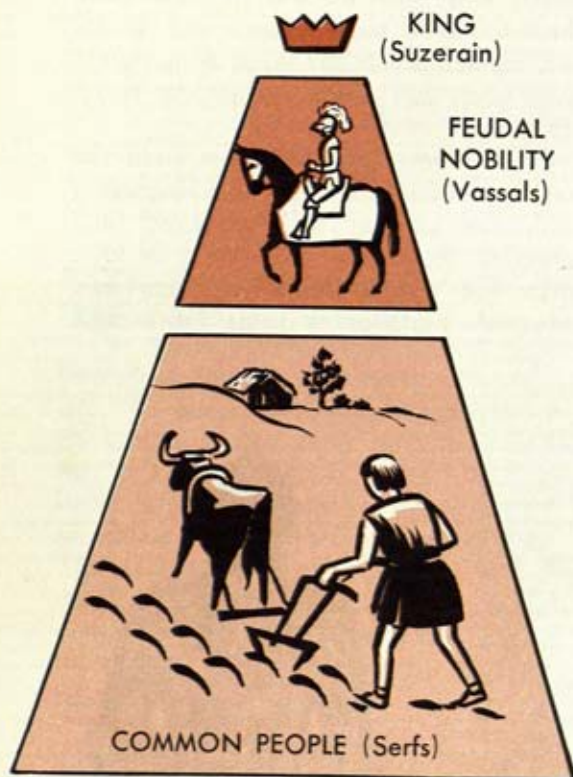
Kunsthistorische Museum, Vienna



Feudal armor and weapons were sometimes decorated with precious metals and jewels, but in tournaments and in real battles knights usually wore simple chain mail (above) or plate-armor for protection.



FEUDAL SOCIETY



very complicated as lands changed hands through marriage, gift, or conquest. A noble often held fiefs from rival feudal lords, to both of whom he owed support. It was even possible for a noble to hold land as the vassal of someone who was his own vassal. Such confused relationships made it easy to find excuses for evading feudal obligations.

The worst weakness of feudalism was that it permitted almost constant warfare. A boundary dispute, the hope of conquering additional territory, or even a desire for adventure was cause enough for a noble to declare war. Since all the vassals of an overlord were required to assist him, the fighting

might spread over a wide area. As long as Europe consisted of many thousands of tiny independent states, there could be no peace.

LIFE OF THE FEUDAL NOBILITY

The Medieval Castle. The life of the nobles and their followers in feudal times was shaped by the almost continual warfare in which they took part. The lord and his family, together with the other members of his household, lived in a large stone fortress or castle. This was usually situated on a hill or crag overlooking a village. When an enemy threatened, the peasants sought refuge inside the castle. Attackers had first to storm a high wall, which was often surrounded by a wide water-filled moat. Behind this outer wall might be found a second strong set of defenses. Last, and strongest of all, was the inner tower or keep, where the defenders could resist even a very long siege.

The castle was designed for war, not for comfortable living. The windows in the thick stone walls were mere slits. The interior was often cold, damp, drafty, and dark. The center of life in the castle was the great hall, a huge high-ceilinged room which served as a combination dining and living room. Its walls were blackened by smoke from the huge fireplace. The stone floor was covered with a thick layer of filthy and vermin-infested straw, which served at night as a bed for the men-at-arms and servants. The other rooms were rather small in size and were sparsely furnished. In this bare and simple environment, even a great lord had few physical comforts.

Life of the Feudal Knight. Fighting was the main occupation of the feudal nobility. However, it was not so dangerous as might be expected. Knights seldom engaged in pitched battles. When they did, their heavy

armor usually protected them from serious injury. Even if a knight was taken prisoner, he generally was treated with respect and held for ransom. The main victims of feudal warfare were the peasants. Since the peasants provided support for the noble's household, the enemy often destroyed their homes and crops and even killed those unfortunate enough to be caught.

Between wars, there were jousts and tournaments. These were gay occasions on which knights engaged in mock fighting before an audience of fair ladies. Often, however, what started as play ended in a real fight. For no knight wished to suffer defeat in public or wanted to pay the customary ransom to the knight who defeated him. The casualties of a tournament were sometimes greater than those of a real battle.

Another popular pastime was hunting. Medieval knights spent much of their time pursuing the fleet deer or the dangerous wild boar. The sport of falconry was also immensely popular. Large sums were spent and staked on the fierce falcons which were trained to pounce on other birds or small animals. The favorite indoor amusements were gambling, chess, or simple games like blind-man's buff. From time to time, the castle was enlivened by wandering performers and peddlers, who also brought welcome news of the outside world. On special occasions like a christening or a wedding, the castle resounded with the noise and merrymaking of a great feast.

Training of the Knight. The education of a knight was designed to prepare him for this type of life. A boy of noble birth served as a page at the castle of some relative or family friend, running errands and waiting on the lords and ladies. After a few years, he became the squire of a knight, whom he accompanied everywhere—serving him at

meals, caring for his equipment, and helping him in tournaments and battles.

About the age of twenty-one, the young man was finally made a knight himself. In the later Middle Ages, this was an elaborate ceremony. He took a bath to purify himself and spent the night praying in the castle chapel. In the morning, after attending a religious service, he donned his armor and entered the great hall. Before the gathered audience, he knelt down in front of the lord, who then solemnly dubbed him a knight. He was now recognized as a full-fledged member of the feudal fighting aristocracy.

Life of the Noble Ladies. A girl of noble birth received a very different training. She spent much of her time in sewing, spinning, and weaving. When she reached the age of thirteen or fourteen, her father arranged a marriage for her, probably to a neighboring noble. After her marriage, she assumed full responsibility for the management of her husband's household.

With the skill which comes of long practice, the typical medieval lady worked on huge tapestries for wall hangings and made fine clothing for her family and herself. She spent considerable time on improving her appearance, like women in almost every age. On the other hand, accustomed as medieval ladies were to the company of rough males from childhood, many of them could give a good account of themselves at hunting. Some even took an active part in the defense of the castle.

An Emerging New Order. Despite the rather narrow nature of their lives, the feudal nobles made a significant contribution to medieval society. They enabled Europe to survive a troubled period and gradually re-established a measure of order and security. Moreover, as time passed, efforts were made to check the endless feudal warfare. In the



In feudal Europe, huge tapestries were produced not only for adornment but also to help absorb the chill of the damp, cold stone walls. Woven in many cases by noble ladies, these tapestries often provide a colorful and detailed picture of life at the time.

Metropolitan Museum of Art

eleventh century, the Church forbade attacks on clergymen, merchants, and peasants. A little later, it banned fighting on certain days of the week and on religious holidays. Although these efforts met with little success, they were important signs of a growing desire for peace.

The Church also tried to deal with the problem of violence and disorder in another way—by developing the institution of chivalry. This was a set of rules to make warfare more humane and to provide a code of etiquette for the “gentleman.” It pledged the knight to be faithful to his lord, to defend the Church, to protect the weak, and to respect womanhood. Very few knights lived up to the ideals of chivalry. But their efforts

to do so led to considerable improvement in their behavior.

Still another sign of progress was the gradual decrease in the number of fiefs. Powerful lords defeated their weaker neighbors and swallowed up their domains. More important, ambitious kings enlarged the territories over which they ruled and forced their defiant vassals to recognize their rights as suzerains. In time, as we shall see in a later unit, the rulers of England, France, Spain, and other countries were able to make their authority supreme in fact as it was in theory. When these monarchs finally succeeded in re-establishing royal control in their countries, feudalism as a system of government disappeared from western Europe.

21 / Lesson Review



Checking the facts

1. Explain: medieval period; feudalism; suzerain; vassal; subvassal; fief; homage; knight; jousts; page; squire; chivalry.
2. Explain how each of these factors contributed to the rise of feudalism: the decline of Roman power; the new German rulers; the disorders of the Dark Age.
3. Who were the two parties to the feudal contract? What obligation did each have to the other?
4. How did feudalism help restore a measure of order in medieval Europe?
5. What were the major weaknesses of feudalism as a system of government?
6. How was the constant feudal warfare reflected in the homes of the upper classes? In their amusements and education?
7. In what ways did the Church try to eliminate feudal disorder?

Applying history

1. In several European languages, the word for knight means horseman. Explain why. Why was the knight much more important than the foot soldier in feudal Europe?
2. Why has feudalism been called a system of local self-help? In what civilizations that we have studied did a similar system arise? What conditions explain the rise of such a system of government?
3. How did the relationship between the suzerain and his vassals differ from that between the emperor and members of the upper classes in ancient Rome? Why was

this new relationship better suited to conditions in feudal Europe?

4. What does the word *feud* mean today? How did this meaning develop?
5. Compare the modern (British and American) system of justice with that of feudal Europe. What are the resemblances? In what ways are they basically different?
6. What were the main features of medieval chivalry?

History and geography

1. List and locate the major feudal states in Europe at the beginning of the twelfth century (map, p. 175).
2. Compare the maps on pp. 175 and 674. List the present-day countries of Europe which were included within the boundaries of the Holy Roman Empire.
3. What geographic factors contributed to the weakness and disunity of the Holy Roman Empire (map, pp. 170-171)?

Special activities

1. Prepare a class exhibit on feudal government in Europe.
2. Using outside reading as a basis, write an imaginary account of a medieval tournament.
3. Read to the class contemporary accounts of how the feudal nobility lived. Discuss the advantages and disadvantages of this way of life.
4. Consult a reference work and prepare class reports on each of the three methods of administering justice in feudal Europe.

22 / THE VILLAGE ECONOMY OF THE MIDDLE AGES



"The task of the clerk [clergyman] is to pray to God, of the knight to do justice, and the laborer finds their bread." In these simple words, a medieval poet described the three great classes of society in the early Middle Ages and the main function of each. As we have already seen, the knights or feudal lords constituted the governing class and owned much of the land in Europe. The clergy were the religious leaders but also performed other important duties. Bishops and other members of the upper clergy served as advisers of kings, held fiefs, and even sometimes led fighting-men in battle. On the other hand, the lower clergy—that is, the ordinary priests and monks—usually came from the ranks of the peasants and shared their humble way of life. Since most of the people of medieval times were peasants and provided for the support of the upper classes, they are deserving of careful study.

SERFDOM AND THE MANOR

Serfdom and Its Origins. Practically all medieval peasants were dependent on a lord, though the degree of dependence varied. Some were free tenants, who owed him a fixed rent and certain services in exchange for the use of his land. They were free in the sense that they could leave if they wished. There were still a few slaves, the property of

the lord, who could buy or sell them at will. However, the large majority were serfs, who occupied a halfway position between the free tenants and the slaves. The serfs were "tied to the soil." They could not leave the land without the lord's permission. On the other hand, custom and tradition, which were greatly respected in medieval Europe, usually barred the lord from selling them or taking away their land without good cause. In actual practice, conditions among these three groups varied very little. All medieval farm workers are usually called serfs, regardless of their exact legal status.

Serfdom, like feudalism, began in the days of the declining Roman Empire. Many masters were influenced by the teachings of Christianity to free their slaves. However, because of the labor shortage, they usually required the former slaves to remain as workers on their estates. The main difference was that they were now paid for their services. More important, the small farmers in the Empire suffered increasingly from poverty and burdensome taxes. Many of them lost ownership of their land and became tenants or dependents of the rich landowners. The number of small farmers declined rapidly in the troubled centuries following the barbarian invasions. With the rise of feudalism, they almost disappeared from western Europe. By the ninth and tenth centuries, when

Charlemagne's empire collapsed, the upper classes had gained title to practically all of the land, and most of the common people had become serfs.

The Medieval Manor. For protection, the medieval serfs lived in a village nestled close to a castle or monastery. The typical village had about twenty or thirty families. Since trade and travel had become very dangerous, the village had to supply almost all of its needs. Besides the huts of the serfs, it contained a church, a flour mill and bake oven, and often a blacksmith's shop.

The surrounding land, varying in size from a few hundred to several thousand acres, was divided into two great parts. One portion was set aside as the lord's domain; the rest was assigned to the village. The village land suitable for tillage was cut up into strips and parceled out among the serfs. There was also a meadow, where the serfs grew their hay; a large pasture, where they grazed their cattle; and woods, where they obtained their timber and fuel. This self-sufficient farm community, the basic economic unit of medieval life, was called a manor.

The total number of manors which a lord had on his fief was a measure of his importance. A king or great lord might own hundreds, a lesser lord a dozen or so, and a poor knight only one. The more manors a lord had, the more fighting-men he could support and the more powerful he was. That is why landownership was so important in feudal days and why the feudal nobility were constantly waging wars to conquer more land.

Methods of Farming. The methods of farming on the manor were scarcely more advanced than those of the ancient Egyptians. Farm tools were crude. Only a few crops were grown, the most common being rye, barley, wheat, oats, peas, and beans. Since

crop rotation was unknown and constant use would exhaust the soil, the farmland was divided into three large fields. Only two of these would be tilled each year. The third would be left fallow (idle) to regain its fertility.

For difficult tasks, such as plowing the fields, draining swamps, and clearing the woodland, the serfs worked in groups. Otherwise, each family farmed its own land. The average holding consisted of long, narrow strips in different parts of the manor. The land was divided in this way to make sure that each family had its share of rich and poor soil. However, it meant that a good deal of valuable soil was wasted on paths and boundaries. On the whole, the medieval system of agriculture was very backward. The serf was able to reap only about three to four times as much as he had sown. Because the crops were small, there was usually a shortage of fodder. Most of the farm animals had to

A TYPICAL ENGLISH MANOR



be killed in the autumn, and their meat was salted down to preserve it. The peasant was fortunate if the rest of his livestock managed to survive the winter.

Small though his production was, the serf could keep only part of it for himself. For the relationship between lord and serf, like that between suzerain and vassal, was based on mutual obligations. The lord gave the serf protection and the use of his land. In return, the serf had to give the lord a share of all that he produced. He worked on the lord's fields two, three, or more days a week and did all sorts of odd jobs besides. Moreover, he had to pay a fee each time he used the lord's flour mill or bake oven. On special occasions—when he inherited his strips of land, for example, or if his daughter wished to marry outside of the manor—he had to purchase the lord's approval with a gift. Altogether, these manorial dues generally took more than one-half of the serf's time and produce.

LIFE OF THE MEDIEVAL SERF

A Poverty-Stricken Existence. Because of the small crops and heavy manorial dues, poverty was the lot of most of the serfs. The average serf family lived in a tiny mud hut with a straw-thatched roof. Behind it were a small garden plot and a chicken yard where poultry, pigs, and half-naked children foraged and played together. The only furnishings within the hut were a crude table, some stools, and a straw-covered wooden bed. The serfs' food was a simple diet of dark bread, cheese, a few vegetables, and an occasional egg or bit of meat.

To earn even this poor living, the serf had to work long and hard. He arose before dawn, ate a meager breakfast, put his lunch into a pouch around his waist, and went out

to work in the fields. All day long he toiled—plowing, hoeing, or weeding—stopping only briefly to eat. The women cooked, baked, and made all the clothing for the family. Often they worked alongside the men in the fields or helped out in the lord's castle. Even young children were also assigned farm chores. Only if the whole family worked hard could they produce enough for the lord and themselves.

On Sundays and religious holidays the serfs found relief from this life of drudgery. After attending church, they joined with the other villagers in songs, dances, and games. The men engaged in wrestling matches, played a rough kind of football, or merely sat around and told stories. On special occasions, for example when the lord celebrated an important event, he invited the serfs to eat and drink at his expense. A good harvest was also reason for a festival; a serf wedding provided another opportunity for a feast.

The Serf's Grievances. Under the best of conditions, a serf's life was tolerable. But when crops were damaged by bad weather, insects, or disease, there was famine in the countryside. Because of poor diet and lack of sanitation, epidemics swept Europe periodically, destroying large portions of the population. During the frequent wars, as we have seen, knights attacked the peasants, trampled their crops, seized their livestock, and set fire to their huts. Wars, famine, and disease were deadly enemies of the common people during the Middle Ages.

Aside from these enemies, the serfs' welfare depended mainly on the lord and his officials. A kind lord not only gave them protection but shared his food stores when crops were poor. A cruel lord, on the other hand, would mistreat and abuse his serfs. A greedy lord could find all sorts of excuses to collect fines and heavy fees from them.

Custom alone protected the serfs from such abuses. However, its protection was limited because the lord decided all questions of justice and the serf could not appeal from his decision. If a serf ran away, he was usually recaptured and punished. Occasionally, when conditions became intolerable, the serfs revolted, venting their rage in an orgy of killing, looting, and burning. But they were almost sure to be defeated and to suffer terrible punishment in the end. So long as the lord was shielded by armor and castle walls, the serfs were virtually helpless.

Significance of the Manorial System. With minor changes the manorial system lasted in western Europe throughout the Middle Ages. In central and eastern Europe, where the nobles retained their power longer, it continued until quite recent times. The manorial system was undoubtedly a primitive type

of economic system and had many shortcomings. However, it provided a livelihood for the upper classes, as well as for the peasants, and enabled western Europe to survive during the troubled Dark Age.

Moreover, the manorial system laid the foundations for Europe's later progress. As the destructive wars of the nobles decreased, the serfs managed through their co-operative efforts to cut down dense forests, drain swampy areas, and reclaim more and more land for farming. The amount of food produced slowly but steadily increased. In time, the peasants produced more than they needed, and the surplus could be sold and traded in the towns. Population increased and the standard of living rose. Thus the manorial system eventually prepared the way for the reappearance of a more advanced economy.

Despite some progress during the Middle Ages, agricultural methods in fifteenth-century Europe were still crude by modern standards. Can you identify the different processes shown in these pictures? What is the function of the man with the bow and arrow?





22 / Lesson Review

Checking the facts

1. Explain: upper clergy; lower clergy; tenant; serf; lord's domain; manor; three-fold system; fallow land; manorial dues.
2. Name the three great classes of society in early medieval Europe and describe the main function of each.
3. What was the legal status of a medieval serf? How did it differ from that of a slave?
4. Describe a typical medieval manor. Why was medieval farming inefficient?
5. What were the serf's main obligations to his lord? What were the lord's obligations to the serf?
6. Describe briefly the main difficulties that faced the typical medieval serf.
7. How did the manorial system prepare the way for the appearance of a more advanced economy?

Applying history

1. The medieval manor has been defined as "an economic system characterized by isolation and self-sufficiency." Explain this definition. Why did such an economic system appear during the Dark Age?
2. It has been said that the medieval serf was

tied to the soil, and that the soil was also tied to him. Explain what this means. In what respect might the serf's position be considered better than the modern laborer's?

3. Why was the medieval serf's standard of living low? In what parts of the world do similar conditions exist today?
4. Why did the serfs live closely together in villages? Why do modern farmers prefer to live and work on separate farms?
5. Medieval society was relatively static, that is, changed very slowly. Explain why. Why is custom particularly important in such a society?

Special activities

1. Arrange a class exhibit on "Life on the Medieval Manor." Be sure to include a model or large drawing to show the various buildings and the different uses of land on the manor.
2. Stage a debate on this question: Was it profitable for a feudal lord to mistreat his serfs?
3. Do some outside reading on the subject and prepare a class report describing the plow and other farm implements used in medieval Europe.



A city is much more than a collection of tall buildings and multitudes of people. It is generally a center of government affairs, of trade and manufacture, and of cultural activities. Its skilled craftsmen produce a variety of manufactured goods. Its schools educate the citizenry and train officials for government service. Above all, the city is a place where the meeting of many minds and the competition of many ideas produce rich intellectual and artistic achievements.

A city can exist, however, only through trade. It purchases the foodstuffs and raw materials of the countryside and pays for them with manufactured goods. The larger it grows, the wider becomes the area on which it must depend for its supplies and markets. Farmers must be able to raise large surpluses of food for the city dwellers. The government must be powerful enough to keep law and order so that trade can flourish. Thus cities, because of their needs and achievements, are evidence of an advanced civilization. The absence of cities, on the other hand, is an indication of a lower level of culture.

THE REVIVAL OF TRADE AND TOWN LIFE

Decline of Trade During the Dark Age. City life had virtually disappeared in western Europe during the Dark Age because of the many obstacles to trade. Robber

knights built castles near mountain passes or river fords where travelers had to pass. Bandit gangs roamed the countryside. At sea, pirates were a constant menace, especially after the early ninth century, when the Moslems gained control of the Mediterranean. Travel was so dangerous that trade became difficult even between neighboring districts.

Numerous other difficulties existed. The roads were rough dirt tracks, almost impassable in rainy weather, and bridges were few. Each local lord charged a heavy toll for the right to cross his land. The numerous tolls made goods so expensive that few could afford to buy them. Because of the shortage of precious metal for coins, most trade was carried on by barter. The few coins in circulation were of many different kinds since most lords coined their own. In some cases, a lord made a little extra profit by mixing in a cheaper metal. A merchant had to be a coin expert in order to carry on business without being cheated.

The Church also made trade difficult by insisting that every commodity had a "just" or fair price. This was based on the cost of the raw materials and labor which went into its manufacture. Profit making was considered sinful. Usury, the taking of interest on loans, was also condemned. Yet people would not lend out their money or engage in trade unless they could hope for profits large enough to cover the risks involved.



Life in feudal towns and cities was much more varied than it was on the manor. Top, German carpenters build a house. Center, the Butcher's Guild in Nuremberg, Germany, parades in a procession that included a tremendously long sausage. Below are shown some of the old guild halls in Antwerp, Belgium, which can still be visited.



Role of the Jews. Since the Jews were not bound by the Church's regulations, they became for a time the main merchants and moneylenders. They kept alive the little trade which did exist in the Dark Age. But the high prices of goods and the high interest rates were often blamed by resentful people on the Jews themselves. Furthermore, the Jews were regarded with dislike or suspicion because of their religion. In many places, they were required to wear special marks on their clothing and to live apart from other folk. Superstitious mobs blamed them for having supposedly caused a plague or a famine and sometimes attacked and massacred them. Anti-Semitism (antagonism toward the Jewish people) survives in many places today, a relic of the Dark Age.

Reappearance of Trade and Cities. As the invasions of the ninth and tenth centuries finally came to an end and as feudalism gradually restored a measure of order to western Europe, trade slowly began to grow once again. Another important factor in the growth of European trade was the breaking of Moslem control of the Mediterranean sea routes in the early eleventh century. Merchants again found it profitable to supply the needs and wants of society. As trade increased, towns and cities again gradually came into existence. Just as their decay had foretold the doom of the Roman Empire, so their revival signaled the appearance of a new civilization in western Europe.

Some of the cities which reappeared in the Middle Ages, especially those in Italy, had been famous in Roman days. Some new cities began as mere manorial villages. Old or new, the medieval cities were usually located at some point important to trade. Some were built at the junction of rivers or of roads used by merchants. Others grew up at points along the seacoast where there were good natural harbors. Merchants

would gather at one of these advantageous locations to exchange the goods they had brought from their own districts. Soon craftsmen from different manors would settle there because they were able to find a market for their products. Then more merchants and more craftsmen would arrive. By the end of the eleventh century, towns with five thousand inhabitants were no longer uncommon. Before another century had passed, many had grown into sizable cities. The most important of these cities were found in the Italian peninsula, where city life had never completely disappeared. Other very important cities arose in the Rhine River valley and in the Low Countries or Netherlands (present-day Holland and Belgium), where strategic trade routes were located.

Large numbers of serfs came to the towns seeking refuge from war, famine, or oppressive lords. According to medieval law, a serf became a free man if he stayed in town for a year and a day without being caught. Other people came because Europe's population was increasing so rapidly that there was a shortage of good farmland in some regions. Still others wanted to share in the adventure, excitement, and gaiety of town life. A few came in search of knowledge, for schools and even universities grew in number. In the towns people found more freedom and the opportunity for a fuller life than they had known before. Like a snowball rolling downhill, the towns grew rapidly in size and importance.

LIFE IN THE MEDIEVAL TOWNS

The Medieval Town. Can you imagine the feelings of a country boy as he goes to town for the first time in his life? It is market day, and the road is crowded with people and wagons loaded with produce. Joining the throng, he trudges toward the

tall town wall. On arrival, he is greeted by a scene of seemingly complete confusion.

Through the open gate he can see a broad cobblestoned street so blocked by shops, displays of merchandise, and pedestrians that the wagons can hardly force their way through. Both sides of the street are lined with tall buildings, some of them five stories high! Shopkeepers and peddlers shouting their wares, whining beggars, angry wagon drivers, creaking wheels, and lowing oxen—all combine to create a great din.

For hours our youngster wanders around—visiting the magnificent new cathedral, examining the goods on display in the market, watching some wandering entertainers, or just drifting with the crowd. As he finally starts homeward, he probably thinks to himself, “How wonderful this all is! Some day I, too, will live in the town.”

To a modern visitor, things would have looked much less attractive. For the medieval town, hemmed in by its protective wall, was badly overcrowded. Buildings were usually erected in solid rows, interrupted only by narrow alleys. Garbage of all sorts was thrown into the streets. Dogs, pigs, and other animals fed on the filth. Every few years plagues broke out in the towns, killing off large numbers of the inhabitants. Fires spread quickly through the close-packed wooden houses. At night, robbery was so common that people went out only in groups, carrying torches and weapons.

Conflicts of Towns and Feudal Lords. The medieval town was also menaced by neighboring feudal lords. The lords were angered because the town harbored their runaway serfs. They also resented the fact that their serfs became more independent once they could sell their produce in town. Above all, the lords were anxious to obtain part of the wealth of the townspeople,

Medieval towns had to build strong walls and fight for their very existence.

The lord on whose territory the town was built claimed the right to tax and control it. The townspeople generally got him to surrender his claims by paying him large sums of money. In return, the lord granted the town a charter, a written statement of its rights and privileges. The typical charter gave the town the power to govern itself and to regulate its trade and industry. Each medieval town became in effect a tiny independent republic, governed by a council of leading citizens.

Role of the Guilds. Business in the town was controlled by an association of merchants and craftsmen called the merchant guild. The merchant guild was important for a variety of reasons. It limited competition by restricting the number of members. It prevented visiting merchants from doing business unless their towns granted similar privileges to its own merchants. To protect its trading caravans from robber barons and bandits, the merchant guild provided them with escorts of armed guards. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the guilds did much to promote trade and to further the prosperity of the townspeople.

Later, as the towns grew, the craftsmen formed separate guilds. Each craft guild obtained a monopoly of a single type of work within the town. In Paris, for example, there were more than one hundred different guilds, composed of bakers, butchers, wool spinners, and so on. Each craft guild allowed only a certain number of shops to be opened; set a “just price” on all goods; and fixed standards of quality for every article produced by its members. These regulations had two purposes—to prevent unfair competition among the guild members and to protect the public against inferior goods.

The guild played an important role in the life of its members. It helped if they became sick or disabled. It arranged social events, such as banquets and plays, for them. Sometimes it also maintained a school for their children. In time of emergency, the guild also armed its members for defense of their town.

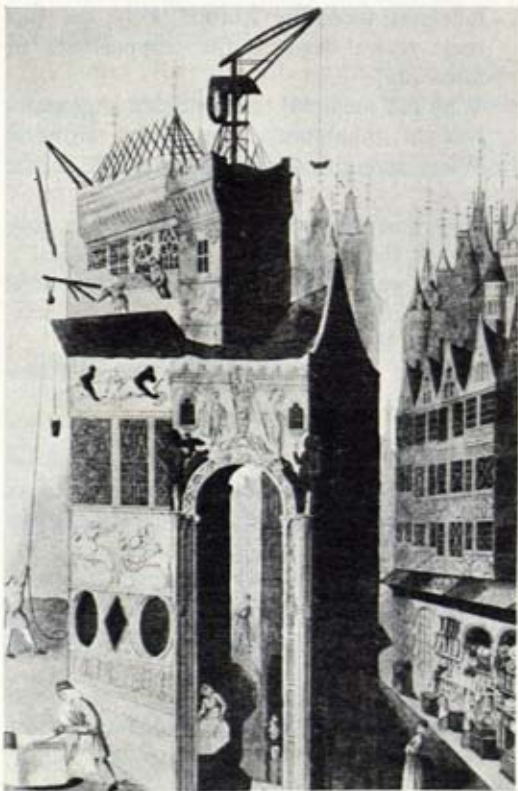
Steps to Guild Membership. Still another important function of the craft guild was to provide for the training of its members. A new worker, usually a young lad, was first engaged as an apprentice, or learner. He ran errands for his master and helped about the shop. In return, he was taught the trade and was provided with food and lodgings.

After three to eight years as an apprentice, he became a journeyman. The journeyman's

hours were long, and his wages were small. But when he gained sufficient skill and experience, he might be permitted by the guild to become a master and open his own shop. Only the master was a full-fledged member of the guild.

A New Middle Class. As the towns grew large and powerful, a new class was added to medieval society. Between the feudal lords who ruled and the serfs who labored in the fields, there was now a middle class of townspeople—the bourgeoisie. Here was a group of men who had generally made their way upward in life through their own efforts. As they increased steadily in numbers and wealth it was evident that this new middle class would have a major share in the shaping of European civilization.

As town life developed in feudal Europe, complex and handsome structures began to be built. Town markets were a magnet for country folk, a place where they could sell their produce and purchase things unavailable in rural areas.





23 / Lesson Review

Checking the facts

1. Explain: just price; usury; anti-Semitism; town charter; merchant guild; craft guild; apprentice; journeyman; master; bourgeoisie.
2. Why did trade in western Europe decline during the Dark Age?
3. Give two reasons for the revival of trade in eleventh-century Europe. How did this trade revival lead to the reappearance of town life?
4. Why did medieval towns attract large numbers of inhabitants from rural districts? What were the disadvantages of life in the town?
5. How were the towns able to obtain recognition of their rights from the feudal lords?
6. What were the main economic functions of the guilds? What other important services did they perform?
7. Describe the steps in the training of a new guild member.

Applying history

1. How and why did the feudal lords interfere with trade? What were the effects of their actions on early medieval society?
2. Compare the medieval guild with the modern labor union. In what important respects are the two organizations basically different?
3. Explain the "just price" theory. Was it beneficial or harmful to guild members? to the general public? Justify your answers.

4. The word *bourgeois* referred originally to any town dweller. Later it came to mean a middle-class person with considerable money. Why did this change in meaning take place?
5. Compare the role of the nobles with that of the townspeople in early medieval Europe. Why was the monarch more likely to protect the interests of the townspeople at this period of history?

History and geography

1. What geographic features explain the early revival of trade in the Italian cities (maps, pp. 170-171 and 175)? in the Rhine River valley? in the Netherlands?
2. What geographic features encouraged trade between the cities of northern Italy and the countries north of the Alps (map, pp. 170-171)?
3. Why was sea trade more important than land trade between medieval western Europe and Constantinople (map, pp. 214-215)?

Special activities

1. Draw a large, detailed picture or make a model of an early medieval town. Show town walls, streets and shops, the guildhall, and the church.
2. As a class report describe a typical medieval fair.

THE CHURCH IN THE MIDDLE AGES



Of all the institutions which shaped medieval society, by far the most influential was the Roman Catholic Church. It was truly a "universal" church. Nearly all the inhabitants of western Europe lived and died within its fold. The Church enriched their existence in this world and held out to them the hope of eternal life in the next. It offered aid to the weak and needy, and opportunity for advancement to the bright and capable. Its teachings inspired monks to retire from the world and pilgrims to undertake long and perilous trips to sacred places. Its views as to usury, just prices, and ways of conducting business were enforced by the guilds. The Church also played an important part in medieval government and education. So completely did it dominate people's lives that the Middle Ages are often called the Age of Faith.

THE AGE OF FAITH

The "Keys to Salvation." People were brought into close and frequent contact with the Church through the Seven Sacraments (sacred rites). According to the Christian belief, these were religious ceremonies instituted by Jesus Christ during his life on earth. *Baptism* of the newborn infant washed away the taint of original sin and brought him into the Church. *Confirmation* of the youth admitted him to active Church membership. *Marriage* started him on the obligations of

family life. *Extreme unction* brought him comfort as he lay on his deathbed.

When a person sinned, the Church offered him forgiveness through *penance*. In celebrating the *Eucharist*, he gave thanks for Jesus' sacrifice and suffering for mankind. The seventh sacrament, *ordination*, admitted a person to the holy orders of the clergy. These sacraments were considered the "keys to salvation." On them, the Church taught, depended the welfare of a Christian's immortal soul.

A Super-Government. By the time feudalism appeared, the Church was firmly established as a kind of "super-government" (pp. 126-127). At its head was the pope, whose capital was in Rome. The clergy in each country served as his officials. Through them, his authority reached downward to the lowliest member of the church. From time to time, the pope would summon all the high Church officials to a council. This religious congress would consider and seek to deal with any important problems facing the Church.

The Church had rich sources of income. It levied taxes which everyone had to pay. Most important was the tithe, a tax based on a person's income. ("Tithe" was an Anglo-Saxon word meaning *one-tenth*.) It also collected fees for performing weddings, christenings, and other ceremonies. In addition, the Church received gifts of money and property from pious persons or repent-

ant sinners. In this way, it acquired vast landholdings in every country. The total revenues of the Church were far larger than those of any medieval ruler.

In addition to its spiritual duties, the medieval Church provided many services now performed by the government or by other nonreligious agencies. It took care of the sick and fed the poor. It kept important records, notably of births, marriages, and deaths. Its schools and libraries were the leading centers of learning. The Church even had its own system of law, as well as special courts to administer it. Only Church courts had the right to try a member of the clergy or to deal with heretics. They also claimed the right to settle disputes over legal documents, such as contracts and wills. The Church courts based their decisions on legal principles more just than those of the feudal courts and usually imposed milder penalties.

The Church had various ways of enforcing its decrees and decisions. Any person who defied it—even a king or a great feudal lord—might be excommunicated (expelled from the Church). The offender was proclaimed an outcast. No member of the Church was allowed to have any dealings with him. His vassals were released from all their obligations. His body could not be buried in holy soil, and his soul was believed condemned to eternal damnation.

If a ruler still resisted, the Church had an even stronger weapon, the interdict. This meant that all churches were closed and religious ceremonies were suspended throughout his territories. The most powerful kings feared this weapon, because it was likely to arouse their subjects to open rebellion. Finally, if neither excommunication nor interdict proved successful against a stubborn ruler, the pope could preach a crusade (holy war) against him. In theory, at least, the

medieval Church was stronger than any ruler—because it could enforce its decisions with punishment both in this life and the next.

Clashes with Feudal Monarchs. Medieval popes were frequently forced to employ these drastic weapons in clashes with feudal monarchs. In theory, there was no reason for conflict. The pope was the spiritual leader of Western Christendom, while the monarchs were supreme in temporal (worldly) affairs. In practice, however, disputes did occur because the powers of the Church and temporal governments overlapped. Rulers often objected because the Church heard appeals from their courts or tried cases in which they had an interest. Moreover, they looked with envy at the rich landholdings of the Church and sought to tax or gain control of them.

Serious disputes also arose over the control of important Church appointments. In the tenth century, feudal kings began the practice of employing bishops and other high Church officials to govern large territories in their behalf. Since the clergy were not allowed to marry, the rulers did not have to fear that they would make their positions hereditary and thus escape royal control. Moreover, kings often welcomed the opportunity to give influential and profitable church positions to their relatives and friends. It even became customary for rulers to practice lay investiture. This meant that laymen, instead of the proper spiritual leaders, assumed the right to invest, or clothe, high Church officials with the symbols of their authority. Inasmuch as many of the kings' candidates had no religious qualifications, the result of such practices was to lower the whole moral tone of the Church.

In the eleventh century, a vigorous movement to eliminate these abuses swept

through the Church. Reforming popes insisted that there be no interference by kings or other laymen in the choice of bishops or other Church officials. They also asserted that the Church alone had the right to invest the clergy with the symbols of their religious authority. These claims were rejected by the feudal monarchs. The resulting clash is known as the Investiture Conflict.

THE INVESTITURE CONFLICT

The Struggle Between Popes and Emperors. The Investiture Conflict became particularly bitter between the popes and the Holy Roman emperors. The latter claimed to be the supreme temporal, or worldly, rulers over all western Europe (see p. 135). They asserted that their position gave them authority over the Church. The popes, on the other hand, insisted that the religious power was superior to the temporal power. Thus the conflict over the appointment and

investiture of bishops came to involve a broader question—which had greater authority, pope or emperor, Church or state?

These issues were brought to a head by a brilliant, forceful, and ambitious pope, Gregory VII (1073–1085). Gregory forbade the investiture of bishops by any monarch, even the emperor. Moreover, he proclaimed that papal decrees were the supreme law throughout Christendom. The pope, he asserted, could veto the laws of rulers and even depose the rulers themselves. “The pope is the only person whose feet are kissed by all princes,” wrote Gregory. “His title is unique in the world.”

Angered by these claims, the Holy Roman Emperor, Henry IV, declared the Pope deposed. Gregory in turn excommunicated Henry, declared him no longer emperor, and called on his subjects to rise against him. The German feudal lords, eager to achieve independence, seized the opportunity to rebel against the Emperor. To save

Church architecture in the early Middle Ages inherited much from that of classical Rome.





Gregory VII was the son of a poor peasant who rose rapidly in the Church because he was able, devout, and a champion of Church reform. His election to the papal throne was widely acclaimed by the people of Rome.

his throne, Henry was forced to seek the Pope's pardon. In the middle of winter, accompanied by only a few followers, he crossed the Alps into Italy. Then he appeared at Canossa, where the Pope was staying. Clad only in the simple garb of a pilgrim, he stood barefoot for three days in the snow outside the castle. Finally, Gregory granted the Emperor forgiveness.

After receiving the Pope's pardon, Henry hurried home and crushed the rebels. Then he led an army into Italy and attacked Rome. Pope Gregory was forced to flee into exile, where he died a broken and embittered man. The struggle between popes and emperors continued until 1122, when a compromise agreement was finally reached. The pope was to choose and consecrate bishops. Afterwards, the emperor could invest them with their powers as feudal lords. In reality,

this agreement signified a notable victory for the papacy over the strongest ruler of Europe.

The conflict between pope and emperor for supremacy was renewed a generation later. It also flared up again in the early thirteenth century. However, in both cases, the Church emerged victorious. The Holy Roman Empire, torn by decades of civil strife, was left permanently weakened.

The Papacy at Its Height. The power of the medieval popes was also shown in other ways. At the end of the eleventh century, Pope Urban II called on the Christians of western Europe to free the Holy Land from control by the infidel Moslems. The result was a long series of religious wars between Christians and Moslems which lasted for about two centuries. During that time, many thousands of Christians laid down their lives

in what eventually proved to be an unsuccessful struggle. (For details of the Crusades, see Unit 6, pp. 210–213.)

The most powerful of all the popes of the Middle Ages was Innocent III (1198–1216). Innocent strengthened the Church's influence over the monarchs of Europe. As guardian of the Holy Roman Emperor's infant heir, he was able to dominate German politics. He forced the king of France, Philip Augustus, to take back his queen after he had divorced her. When the English ruler, King John, rejected an archbishop whom he had appointed, Pope Innocent excommunicated John and placed England under an interdict. He also threatened a crusade against the English ruler. King John was eventually forced to surrender. He had to give up his kingdom to Innocent and receive it back as a papal fief. Numerous other monarchs of Europe—including the rulers of Scandinavia, Bohemia, Hungary, Poland, Sardinia, and Sicily—also acknowledged the pope as their suzerain. Never before had the Church exercised such power in worldly affairs.

Innocent III also maintained strict discipline in the Church. He established a special court, the Inquisition, which sought out and tried heretics. When a religious sect in southern France, the Albigenses, rejected certain Catholic doctrines, he sent missionaries to reconvert them. But the Albigenses held steadfastly to their beliefs. Pope Innocent then preached a crusade against them. In the conflict which followed, many of the heretics were killed. Many others were placed on trial and condemned to death by the Inquisition. Their fate was a fearful demonstration of the Church's strength.

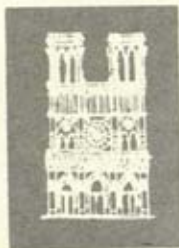
The New Monastic Orders. Pope Innocent III's position of leadership was strengthened by the work of two other illustrious figures of Church history, St. Francis and St.

Dominic. The former, a wealthy young Italian, gave up all worldly pleasures to follow Jesus' example. Francis devoted his life to helping the poor and lowly. He even nursed lepers, who were considered outcasts from society. The "birds of the air and beasts of the field" were his friends. His loving and joyous spirit soon won him many followers. With the pope's approval, they formed the new Franciscan Order.

Dominic was a pious Spanish monk. To combat the heretics in southern France, he walked barefoot through the countryside preaching to the common folk. Experience soon convinced him that people would be loyal to the Church if they knew more about its doctrines. He therefore founded the Dominican Order, which stresses the importance of education. Through the centuries, it has produced many distinguished teachers and scholars.

The two new organizations were called mendicant (begging) orders. Their members, unlike the earlier monks, "went out among the people, to share in their poverty and distress, to set an example of Christian living, and to teach pure doctrine." The lives and works of St. Francis and St. Dominic showed the power and importance of faith in medieval Europe.

The Later Reaction. In the early thirteenth century, the Church reached the height of its power in western Europe. The popes had succeeded in defeating the Holy Roman Emperors and the other feudal monarchs who had defied their authority. But there was still a great deal of opposition to the ambitious political claims of popes like Gregory VII and Innocent III. Moreover, new forces were arising which would soon present fresh problems and would weaken the position of their successors. For the time being, however, the triumph of the Church seemed complete.



24 / Lesson Review

Checking the facts

1. Explain: Age of Faith; Seven Sacraments; tithe; excommunication; interdict; crusade; lay investiture; Investiture Conflict; temporal power; Inquisition; Albigenses; Franciscans; Dominicans; mendicant orders.
2. Identify: Gregory VII; Henry IV; Innocent III; St. Francis; St. Dominic.
3. Why are the Middle Ages often called the Age of Faith?
4. What are the Seven Sacraments? How did the sacramental system strengthen the power of the Church?
5. Why has the medieval Church been called a "super-government"? How was it able to enforce its decisions?
6. Why did clashes often develop between medieval popes and feudal monarchs?
7. Why did the Investiture Conflict arise between the popes and the Holy Roman emperors? What was the outcome of their long struggle?
8. Why is Innocent III regarded as the most powerful of all medieval popes? How did the new Franciscan and Dominican orders strengthen Church influence?

Applying history

1. Name at least one other period in history which might, like the Middle Ages, be called an "age of faith." Why have such

periods of heightened religious faith occurred in many civilizations?

2. Why did the Roman Catholic Church exercise many of the powers of a government during the Middle Ages? How did this strengthen its influence with the people?
3. Why was the medieval pope called "the arbitrator among princes"? Was there any other ruler with similar authority in medieval Europe? Explain.
4. Why did the popes ultimately win out in the Investiture Conflict? Give other examples from history where spiritual power triumphed over temporal power.
5. Compare the mendicant orders with the "walking saints" of medieval India. Why did both spiritual groups prove very influential?

Special activities

1. Write a short biography of Gregory VII, Innocent III, St. Francis, or St. Dominic, based on your outside reading. Explain how the life of your subject illustrates the power of religion in the Age of Faith.
2. Find and read a decree issued by a medieval pope against a rebellious monarch and the reply of the monarch.
3. Interview a member of the Franciscan or Dominican order. Ask him to tell you about the order's history and the work it does today.

MIDDLE AGES



Education is an essential factor in human progress. Every great civilization has provided schools and teachers in order that basic skills and knowledge might be handed down from generation to generation. What happened when the Roman civilization declined? As we have seen, people in western Europe had to work hard just to earn a bare living. They no longer had the means to support schools or the time and energy to seek an education.

The Church was successful in keeping the lamp of learning from going out. Mainly as a result of its efforts, the darkness of ignorance was gradually dispelled and the way was lighted to a better future. Beginning in the eleventh century, a rich new civilization made its appearance in medieval Europe. Its accomplishments—especially in scholarship, literature, and art—were comparable with those of the other great civilizations of history.

MEDIEVAL EDUCATION AND SCHOLARSHIP

Learning During the Dark Age. During the Dark Age, most people were unable to read or write. Knights considered skill in fighting more important than book learning. Serfs had little opportunity for schooling and rarely went more than a few miles from the village where they were born. Except for a

few peddlers and pilgrims, there was no way for news or knowledge to travel. The average person knew practically nothing about the outside world, and the great achievements of the ancient civilizations were largely forgotten.

Nevertheless, a little learning was kept alive by the Church and was encouraged by a few wise rulers like Charlemagne. Every bishop tried to have at least one school in his district, usually attached to his cathedral. Many of the monasteries also maintained schools. The teachers were priests or monks, and the course of study was designed to train pupils for the clergy. These church schools were extremely important because they preserved some knowledge of the Latin language and Roman culture through the centuries of disorder.

Rise of the Universities. As political and economic conditions began to improve during the eleventh century, more people became interested in learning. The cathedral schools grew rapidly, especially in the larger towns. At the same time, many western Europeans came into contact with the advanced civilizations of the Byzantines and Moslems described in Unit 4. As a result, new knowledge was acquired and new schools for advanced study, the universities, came into existence.

Altogether, about seventy-five universities were founded during the Middle Ages. Larg-

est was the University of Paris, which at one time had as many as fifty thousand students in attendance! Other notable universities were located at Bologna and Salerno in Italy, Heidelberg in Germany, and Oxford and Cambridge in England. Many of the universities established during the Middle Ages are still active and famous today.

Universities of the Middle Ages had only the barest of physical facilities. Sometimes classes met in vacant lofts and the students sat on the straw-covered floor. Books were rare and costly because each one had to be copied by hand. The scarcity of books shaped the method of teaching. The professor read slowly from a textbook, adding comments and explanations as he went along. The students listened and took notes on wax tablets. In class discussions and debates, they were given the opportunity to show how much they had learned. As one medieval professor said, "It [debate] is more advantageous than reading because it clears up doubts. Nothing is known perfectly which has not been chewed by the teeth of disputation."

Like students in our own time, medieval scholars had other interests besides study. They "hazed" newcomers, composed poems and songs poking fun at their teachers and studies, and engaged frequently in fights with the apprentice boys of the town. Teachers often complained that the students seemed far more interested in pleasure than in learning.

The Course of Study. The course of study was based on the seven liberal arts of the ancient Roman schools—grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music. Considerable emphasis was also placed on Church history and doctrine. To obtain a degree, the student debated a difficult question with his professor, using all the knowledge and skills he had acquired during his training. It was a thorough examination,

designed to show whether he had really benefited from his education.

The first degree, the bachelor of arts, was usually obtained after three to five years of study. The graduate's status was much like that of the guild journeyman. He might also seek to obtain the master of arts degree, which would make him a full-fledged member of the university. He was then eligible to engage in teaching and was entitled to be called master or doctor. After completion of their liberal arts studies, many scholars proceeded to specialize in law, medicine, or theology (the study of religion). Theology, which attracted large numbers of students who were looking forward to careers in the Church, was known as the "Queen of the Sciences."

Reason versus Authority. In medieval universities, most scholars proved a point in discussion by quoting authorities who were universally recognized and respected. Among the chief authorities were the popes and the early Church fathers, whose writings were carefully studied. Most important of all, of course, was the Bible. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, however, leading scholars began to say that reason was just as important in solving problems as authority.

Peter Abelard (1079–1142), who is credited with being the founder of the University of Paris, was one of the first great scholars, or Schoolmen, to cast doubt on the use of authorities to prove everything. In a famous book, *Sic et Non* ("Yes and No"), he presented a number of important religious questions. Then he quoted authorities to support both sides of each question. Thus Abelard showed that merely to rely on authorities is not enough. His book was banned as heretical by the Church. But since Abelard did not go so far as to say that reason was more important than authority, he was allowed to continue his teaching and writing.



The University of Oxford came into existence in the twelfth century. It now has more than twenty different colleges. This is an air view of Oxford today.

Far more daring was the English Franciscan monk Roger Bacon (1214-1294). Bacon, who spent many years in study, insisted that scholars should experiment and observe for themselves instead of blindly accepting the views of authorities. He also attacked corruption in the Church. Because of his teachings, he was confined to prison for ten years by the Franciscan Order.

Bacon and Abelard were not alone in displaying such critical views. While western Europe was experiencing its Dark Age, Moslem scholars, as we have seen, had continued the study of mathematics, astronomy, and other sciences. In the thirteenth century, their works were translated into Latin. Through them, Arabic numerals, algebra, and geometry became known in Europe. Also, at this time, the works of Aristotle, which had been preserved by the Byzantines and Moslems, were translated into Latin and became the object of serious study in the universities. But Aristotle's method had been to observe and report the world he saw, not to quote authorities. The popularity of

Aristotle, a pagan philosopher, began to create problems for the Church, which insisted on the importance of Christian authorities.

To heal the seeming conflict between reason and faith became the lifework of the great Italian Schoolman Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274). Aquinas wrote a weighty summary of medieval learning (*Summa Theologiae*), in which he sought to prove that faith and reason are both necessary and lead to the same conclusions. His method was to state a doctrine accepted by the Church, list all possible objections to it, and then disprove each objection by clear logical reasoning. For centuries, the teaching of Thomas Aquinas exerted tremendous influence over education. He is generally considered the greatest of the Schoolmen.

By producing many competent teachers and scholars, the medieval universities not only raised the level of learning in western Europe but provided well-trained people for many important tasks. Their influence is still very apparent in modern universities.

Nevertheless, medieval education had certain serious weaknesses. It emphasized religious studies to the neglect of science and other important branches of knowledge. Students spent a large part of their time arguing about such questions as "How many angels can stand on the point of a needle?" Worst of all, most medieval scholars relied blindly on past authorities, instead of thinking and observing the world about them for themselves.

MEDIEVAL LITERATURE AND ART

Medieval Literature. Latin was the language of the Church and the universal language of scholarship in medieval Europe. Since all teaching was conducted in that language, it was understood by every educated person. Most books were written in Latin. The use of a common language made it easy for scholars of different countries to travel around and to communicate with one another. The common people, on the other hand, spoke vernacular (native) languages. In most of the territories once held by the Romans, the vernaculars were based on Latin. Gradually, these became the modern Romance languages—French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and Rumanian. In other parts of Europe, the various Germanic and Slavic peoples developed vernaculars from the tribal dialects of their ancestors.

Every country eventually produced a new literature in the vernacular which had a much wider appeal than the learned works in Latin. Songs of chivalry, of wars and heroes, were most popular among the nobility. French minstrels sang of the Knight Roland, who had fought for Charlemagne against the Moslems. In England, legends grew up about King Arthur and his Knights of the Round Table.

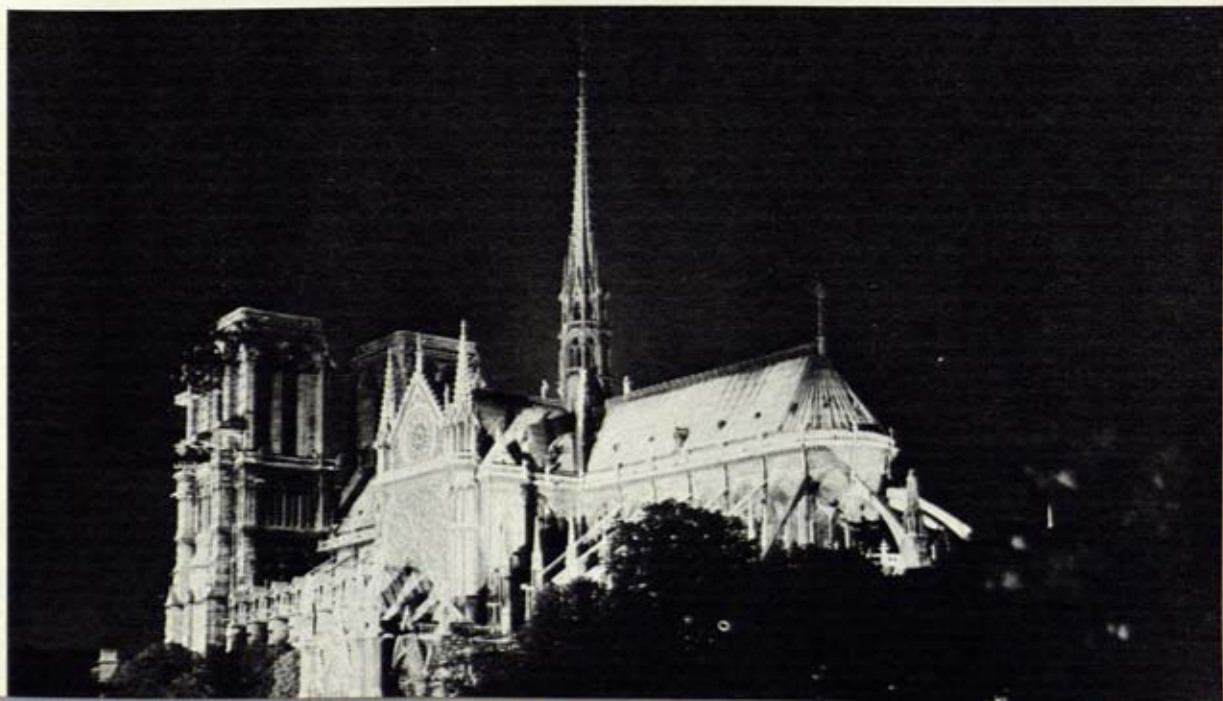
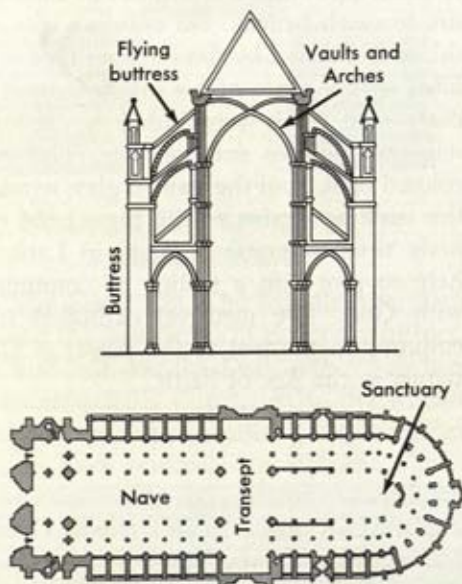
The common people had their own literature, which reflected their ideas and experiences. Their animal fables poked fun at human weaknesses. They also sharply attacked the greed and cruelty of the upper classes. One famous English poem, *The Vision of Piers Plowman*, shows how much the peasants longed for fairer treatment. On the whole, the vernacular literature was full of vigor and vitality because it reflected the way people actually lived and thought.

Whether written in Latin or the vernaculars, medieval literature was much concerned with religious themes. In addition to the theological writings of the Schoolmen, there were many histories of the Church, lives of the saints, hymns, and so on. Religious ideals (such as the legend of the Holy Grail) were glorified in many of the feudal songs about chivalry. Even drama consisted almost entirely of religious plays, which were staged in church after the service.

Two great poems, written during the Middle Ages, also used religious themes, though in quite different ways. The *Divine Comedy* was written in Italian by the poet Dante Alighieri (1265–1321). Dante describes his imaginary journey through the next world—through the torments of the Inferno and the punishments of Purgatory to the glories of Paradise. The second great poem, the *Canterbury Tales*, was by the English poet Geoffrey Chaucer (1340?–1400). Written in the English used in London at the time, it consists of witty and entertaining stories told by a group of pilgrims while traveling to a famous shrine.

Medieval Art and Architecture. Religion was also the inspiration for most medieval art. Painters reverently portrayed incidents in the lives of Jesus, the Virgin Mary, and the saints. Monks illuminated (adorned) their religious manuscripts with fine miniature paintings. Sculptors decorated churches

The Cathedral of Amiens, France (right), and Notre Dame in Paris (bottom) are celebrated examples of Gothic church architecture.



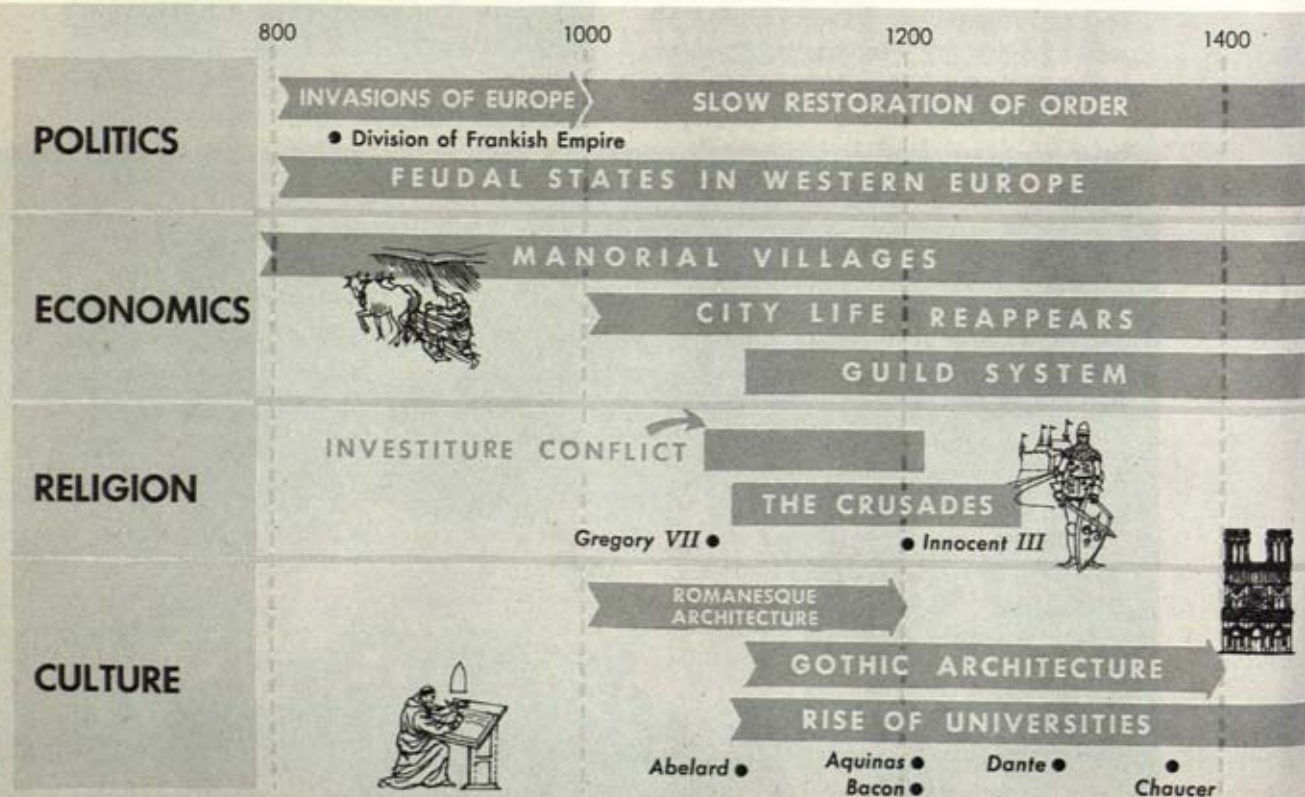
with statues of angels, saints, and grotesque demons. Glaziers artistically fitted together small pieces of stained glass into beautiful pictures for church windows.

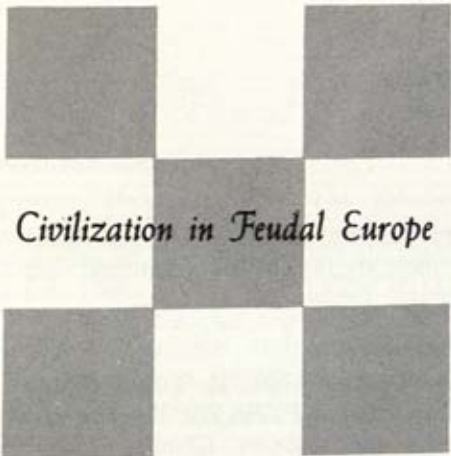
Undoubtedly, the outstanding artistic creations of the Middle Ages were the cathedrals. Cities vied with one another in building them. The finest architects, artists, and craftsmen of the period joined together in the work of construction. Though thousands of people contributed their labors, they took centuries to complete. For size and beauty, the medieval cathedrals rank among man's greatest architectural achievements.

Many of the early cathedrals were designed in the simple Romanesque style. These had thick stone walls supporting a low heavy roof of wood or stone. Then architects learned to elevate the roof by resting it on pointed arches. The heavy outward thrust

was supported by stone buttresses built alongside the exterior walls (as in the diagram, p. 203). This new "Gothic style" made possible many large windows through which light could pour into the interior.

The tall towers and spires and pointed arches of a medieval Gothic cathedral seem to point upward like a symbol of man's desire to reach heaven. On entering, the worshiper is dwarfed by the lofty ceilings and is filled with a sense of his insignificance. On every side he is surrounded by beautiful religious pictures and symbols. The softly colored light from the stained glass windows, the swelling strains of the organ, the elaborate ritual solemnly intoned in Latin—all help to give him a feeling of communion with God. The medieval cathedral is an enduring monument to the power of Christianity in the Age of Faith.





Civilization in Feudal Europe

Medieval Foundations of the Modern World

A Significant Era. The Middle Ages span almost a thousand years of European history. The first half was the Dark Age, when barbarism repeatedly threatened to overwhelm society. During these centuries, the barbarian invaders were gradually converted to Christianity. In time, victors and vanquished merged to form a new society. Eventually a rich new civilization appeared which laid the foundations for our own civilization today.

Important Political and Economic Changes. During the Dark Age, strong central government disappeared from western Europe. The feudal lords provided a degree of law and order in each local district, but they fought constantly among themselves. Gradually, ambitious monarchs arose and began to impose their authority over the warlike nobles. Political progress was also made in the towns, where the inhabitants had an opportunity to learn the fundamentals of self-government.

The inhabitants of early medieval Europe lived on the manors and had to supply almost all of their own needs. Then, as politi-

cal conditions improved, trade gradually recovered. Merchants found it profitable to supply the people with the articles they could not produce for themselves. Old towns revived and new ones sprang up. The townspeople organized guilds to protect and promote their interests. Artisans developed new skills and produced better products, thereby enabling society to enjoy higher living standards.

Cultural Progress. As soon as conditions permitted, people again became interested in learning. The universities became centers of a great educational revival. Though medieval scholarship was generally handicapped by excessive faith in past authorities, a few advanced thinkers dared to challenge accepted beliefs. Important literary works were produced in Latin and in the different vernacular languages. There were also remarkable advances in architecture and other fine arts.

Achievements of the Church. Much of this progress was achieved through the Roman Catholic Church, which occupied a vital position in medieval western Europe. It converted and civilized the barbarians, maintained essential services when governments failed, and inspired the creative work of scholars, writers, and artists. Through the Church, the ideals of Christianity guided the people as they constructed their new civilization.

Many powerful institutions helped the people of medieval Europe to move forward. But the very strength of these institutions created a danger. As time passed, they threatened to grow rigid and become handicaps, rather than aids, to progress. However, as we shall see in the next unit, this danger was averted when events brought the people of western Europe into close contact with the more advanced cultures of the East.



25 / Lesson Review

Checking the facts

1. Explain: cathedral schools; universities; liberal arts; theology; vernacular literature; Romanesque style; Gothic style.
2. Identify: the Schoolmen; Abelard; Roger Bacon; Thomas Aquinas; Dante; Chaucer.
3. Why did learning decline during Europe's Dark Age? How was some learning kept alive during this period?
4. Why did improved schools begin to appear during the eleventh century?
5. Describe the methods of teaching, the course of study, and the degrees of the medieval universities.
6. Discuss briefly the work of each of the three great medieval Schoolmen.
7. What were the major achievements of medieval education? What were its shortcomings?
8. Describe the achievements in literature, art, and architecture of the medieval period. Explain how each showed the influence of religion.

Applying history

1. Why was theology regarded as the "Queen of the Sciences" in medieval universities? Which studies generally receive the greatest stress in universities today? Explain this shift of emphasis.
2. Explain what is meant by the phrase *Reason versus authority*. Why is it often necessary, especially for young people, to accept authority?
3. Why was the literature of the common people quite different from that of the upper classes during the Middle Ages? Do such sharp cultural differences still exist? Prove your answer.
4. Why was the ability to use Latin helpful

to medieval scholars? Do you think we should try to establish a universal language today? Explain.

Special activities

1. Read passages from the *Divine Comedy* or the *Canterbury Tales* that illustrate medieval ways and attitudes. Compare them with ideas in our own day.
2. Stage a debate following the methods used by medieval scholars. Choose a controversial topic of current interest and have both sides prepare briefs which consist mainly of quotations from authorities.
3. Prepare a report on the University of Paris or another important medieval university.
4. Visit a Gothic church or some other building in your community built in the Gothic style. Write a brief essay comparing Gothic with more recent styles of architecture.

Summarizing Unit 5

1. Arrange a class exhibit entitled "Europe During the Middle Ages." Use, wherever possible, the materials you have gathered in other parts of this unit.
2. Divide the class into four groups—knights, serfs, townspeople, and clergymen. Have each group prepare a report telling what their social class contributed to the development of medieval European civilization.
3. Play a hat game, drawing slips to review the important terms, names, and events in this unit.
4. In your notebook, prepare an outline of the most important political, economic, religious, and cultural developments discussed in Unit 5.

Books to Read

Specialized Accounts

- BALDWIN, MARSHALL W. *The Medieval Church*. Cornell, 1953. A brief, scholarly treatment of the Church and its role in medieval society.
- BALDWIN, SUMMERFIELD. *The Organization of Medieval Christianity*. Holt, 1929.
- . *Business in the Middle Ages*. Holt, 1937. Brief scholarly studies suitable for the general reader.
- COULTON, G. G. *Medieval Panorama*. Cambridge, 1944. Life in England from the Norman Conquest to the Protestant Revolution, described by a noted scholar.
- *DAVIS, WILLIAM S. *Life on a Medieval Barony*. Harper, 1951. An excellent picture of a typical feudal community of the thirteenth century.
- *HARTMAN, GERTRUDE. *Medieval Days and Ways*. Macmillan, 1956. Interesting descriptions of medieval life.
- HASKINS, C. H. *The Rise of Universities*. Cornell, 1957. A brief, readable description.
- *HOLMES, URBAN T. *Daily Life in the Twelfth Century*. Wisconsin, 1952. A vivid description of life in medieval London and Paris, based on an actual account by a young university student.
- *MILLS, DOROTHY. *The Middle Ages*. Putnam, 1935. Lively, with many quotations and illustrations.
- *PACKARD, SIDNEY R. *Europe and the Church under Innocent III*. Holt, 1927. A brief account of the most powerful medieval pope and his relations with European monarchs.
- POWER, EILEEN. *Medieval People*. Doubleday, 1955. The lives of six ordinary people described vividly by a distinguished scholar.

- *TAPPAN, EVA M. *When Knights Were Bold*. Houghton Mifflin, 1939. A well-illustrated account of medieval industry, trade, religion, and culture.

Biographies and Historical Fiction

- BOLTON, I. M. *Son of the Land*. Messner, 1946. The story of a runaway serf in medieval England.
- *CHESTERTON, G. K. *St. Thomas Aquinas*. Doubleday, 1956. An excellent biography of the great Schoolman.
- GILBERT, JANE. *Imps and Angels*. Dutton, 1946. A novel set in the period when the great cathedrals were being built.
- GRAY, ELIZABETH J. *Adam of the Road*. Viking, 1942. The adventures of a wandering minstrel in thirteenth-century Europe.
- JEWETT, SOPHIE. *God's Troubadour*. Crowell, 1957. A life of St. Francis of Assisi.
- *JORGENSEN, JOHANNES. *St. Francis of Assisi*. Doubleday, 1955. Highly recommended biography of the founder of the Franciscan Order.
- *LAMPREY, LOUISE. *In the Days of the Guild*. Stokes, 1918.
- *———. *Masters of the Guild*. Lippincott, 1921. Simple but informative sketches of medieval industry and town life.
- PEI, MARIO A. *Swords of Anjou*. John Day, 1953. A novel of war and romance in feudal days.
- SCOTT, SIR WALTER. *Ivanhoe*. Various editions. A dramatic story of feudalism and chivalry in the England of Richard the Lion-Hearted.
- *WADDELL, HELEN J. *Peter Abelard*. Holt, 1933. An interesting fictionalized biography.

UNIT 6

THE AGE OF TRANSITION

Historical dates are convenient tools. By serving as pegs on which to hang a chain of events, they make it easier to trace the order in which events occurred. Historians, therefore, have tried to find a satisfactory date to mark the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of modern times. They have found this difficult because there was no sharp break between the two periods. In late medieval society, as in the declining Roman Empire, changes occurred so gradually that few people noticed their significance.

Nevertheless, the fourteenth century witnessed the beginning of a period of transition. As a result of the Crusades and other earlier developments, Europeans enjoyed a growing prosperity and more direct contacts with the East. They began to acquire a new outlook on life, new cultural interests, and new political and religious concepts. In the fifteenth century, the transition to the new age was much more apparent. And by the end of the sixteenth century, feudalism, serfdom, and the other main institutions of the Middle Ages had disappeared or had been greatly modified. Europe was beginning to take on its modern form.

To understand the changes during this Age of Transition, we should be able to answer the following questions:

1. What happened when the West came into close contact with the civilizations of the East?
2. How did western Europe experience a "rebirth" of learning?
3. How did the formation of new nations alter the map of Europe?
4. How did religious disunity develop in western Europe?
5. How did all of these changes contribute to the passing of the Middle Ages and the emergence of modern times?



26 / THE MEETING OF EAST AND WEST



If a man lives all his life in a valley, his horizon is limited by the surrounding mountains. Then one day he decides to see what lies beyond the hills. Slowly and laboriously, he toils up the steep ascent. Finally he reaches the summit. Before him lies a new horizon, a new world.

So it was with the people of western Europe in the Middle Ages. For almost five hundred years, during the Dark Age, they lived in the valley. Then, in the Feudal Age, they began the long upward climb. Finally surmounting the barriers of disorder and ignorance, Western men discovered in the East the civilizations of the Byzantines and Moslems. Both were more glorious by far than they had ever imagined.

THE WARS OF THE CROSS

Renewed Contact with the East. During the Dark Age, there had been little contact between western Europe and the East. In the eleventh century, however, when the Moslems lost control of the Mediterranean Sea, Italian merchants again found it possible to trade with Constantinople and other Byzantine ports. Christian pilgrims accompanied the merchants in order to visit the

Holy Sepulcher, the tomb of Jesus, in Jerusalem. Additional contact was made by scholars who went to Spain, southern Italy, and Sicily, where they acquainted themselves with Moslem learning.

The travelers' reports of the wealth and splendor they had seen aroused in many people the desire to learn more about these strange and fascinating Eastern civilizations. The opportunity came when the West launched a series of religious wars, or Crusades, against the Moslem world. To understand the powerful effects of the renewed contact between East and West, it is important to study the story of the Crusades.

Causes of the First Crusade. The Crusades began mainly as a result of events in the East. At the beginning of the eleventh century, a nomadic people from central Asia, the Seljuk Turks, invaded Mesopotamia and gained control of the caliphate of Bagdad (see p. 147). Later they expanded westward, defeated the Byzantines, and conquered all of Asia Minor.

The Byzantine emperor sent frantic appeals to the pope for help. His pleas were echoed by pilgrims, who returned from the Holy Land with tragic tales of mistreatment. Because the Seljuk Turks had recently em-

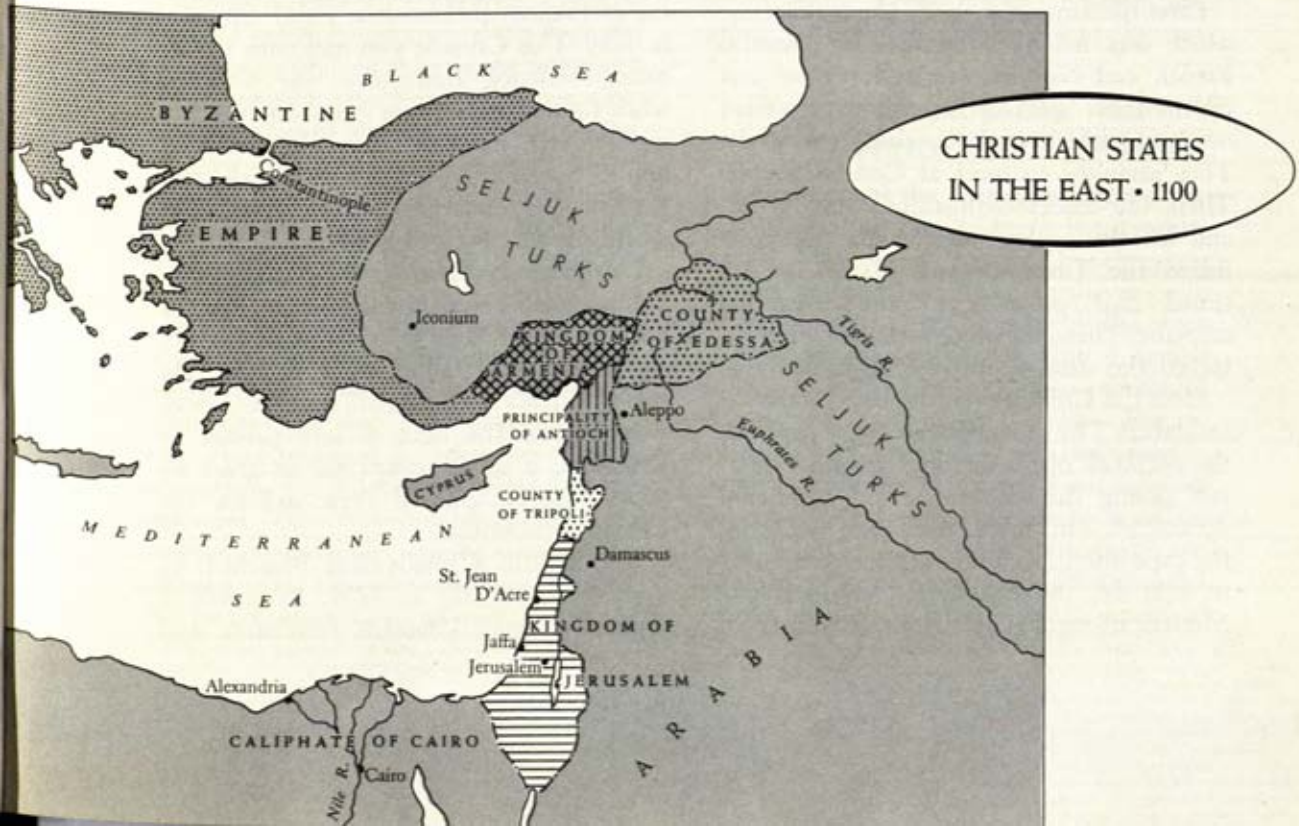
braced a new religion, Islam, they were intolerant, as new converts are inclined to be. However, scholars believe that the stories of Seljuk atrocities were greatly exaggerated.

The Pope, Urban II, was much disturbed by the sufferings reported by Christians returning from the East. But he also had other reasons for responding to their appeals for help. He felt that Europe needed greater peace and security. Conditions were likely to improve if the war-loving feudal nobles departed for the Holy Land to fight the Turks. Moreover, Urban was engaged at this time in a conflict with the Holy Roman Emperor over investiture. By proclaiming a holy war against the Moslems, he hoped to strengthen the papacy and gain leadership of the West.

In answer to the Pope's summons, a great council of churchmen and nobles met in 1095 at Clermont in France. In a stirring speech, the Pope called on his audience to

wage war against the Turks. "Christ himself will be your leader," he said. "Wrench the land from the accursed race. Thus shall you dispossess your foes of their wealth and come home victorious, or, purpled with your own blood, receive an everlasting reward." His words met with enthusiastic shouts of "God wills it! God wills it!" Many of his listeners immediately took up the cross, which became the symbol of the Crusaders. Then priests and monks spread the Pope's message throughout western Europe and persuaded many other people to join in the great venture.

Religious zeal and idealism were probably the main inspiration of the Crusaders. They were anxious to safeguard their fellow Christians in Constantinople and to regain control of the Holy Sepulcher from the Turks. Moreover, the Pope had promised that all who participated in the Crusade would be



granted forgiveness of their sins. What mattered suffering or danger or even death when the prize was eternal salvation?

However, many Crusaders were influenced by less worthy motives. Some hoped to gain riches or to acquire territory in Palestine, described in the Bible as a "land flowing with milk and honey." Still others looked for adventure, excitement, or glory. A few were even criminals, who left Europe to escape punishment.

The First Crusade, 1096–1099. Some members of the lower classes, aroused by the preaching of the clergy, stopped whatever they were doing to answer God's call. Ignorant of the distance and difficulties involved, about ten thousand of them—men, women, and children—set forth for Jerusalem. It was more a mob than an army. They begged or stole food as they marched eastward. The few who survived the hazardous journey reached Asia Minor only to be slaughtered or enslaved by the Turks.

Later the same year, 1096, the main army, which was led by a number of powerful French and Norman feudal lords, set out for the East. Some of the groups proceeded overland; others went by ship from Italy. They arranged to meet at Constantinople. There the leaders reorganized their forces and led them across the Straits. They defeated the Turks in Asia Minor and restored that province to the Byzantine emperor. Then, moving southward, they attacked the strongly fortified cities of Syria.

Here the Crusaders encountered stubborn resistance. The growing scarcity of supplies, the outbreak of disease, and frequent quarrels among the leaders created additional difficulties. On more than one occasion, the expedition faced failure. But continuing to fight on, the Crusaders conquered one Moslem stronghold after another. Jerusalem

itself was conquered in 1099. The First Crusade was a complete success.

The Later Crusades. Unfortunately, the Crusaders organized the captured territory into feudal states (map, p. 211). Like the feudal lords in the West, they soon began to fight among themselves. The Turks, profiting from the Christians' disunity, succeeded in recapturing Edessa, one of the Crusaders' key outposts, in 1144. Shocked by this loss, the Church appealed to the rulers of Europe to save the Holy Land. The Holy Roman Emperor and the King of France agreed to take up the cross. However, because the German and French knights seemed more anxious to fight each other than the enemy, the Second Crusade proved a dismal failure. The Turks continued their slow advance until they had retaken Jerusalem in 1187.

News of this disaster inspired the three strongest rulers of Europe—the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, King Richard the Lion-Hearted of England, and King Philip Augustus of France—to launch a Third Crusade, in 1189. This Crusade also met with ill fortune. Frederick Barbarossa was drowned while fording a stream in Asia Minor. Lacking a leader, most of his knights returned home. Soon afterwards, the French and English kings quarreled bitterly and Philip Augustus went back to France.

Left to carry on the war alone, King Richard was unable to defeat the Turks. But the English King's courage won the admiration of the generous Seljuk ruler Saladin. He signed a treaty with Richard granting Christian pilgrims the right of safe passage to Jerusalem, a small reward for so great an effort. But in spite of these defeats, the Crusades continued.

The Fourth Crusade was preached by Pope Innocent III in 1204. It proved a shameful affair. Venetian merchants and



This citadel built by Crusaders at Aleppo, Syria, still stands as a memorial to their bold venture.

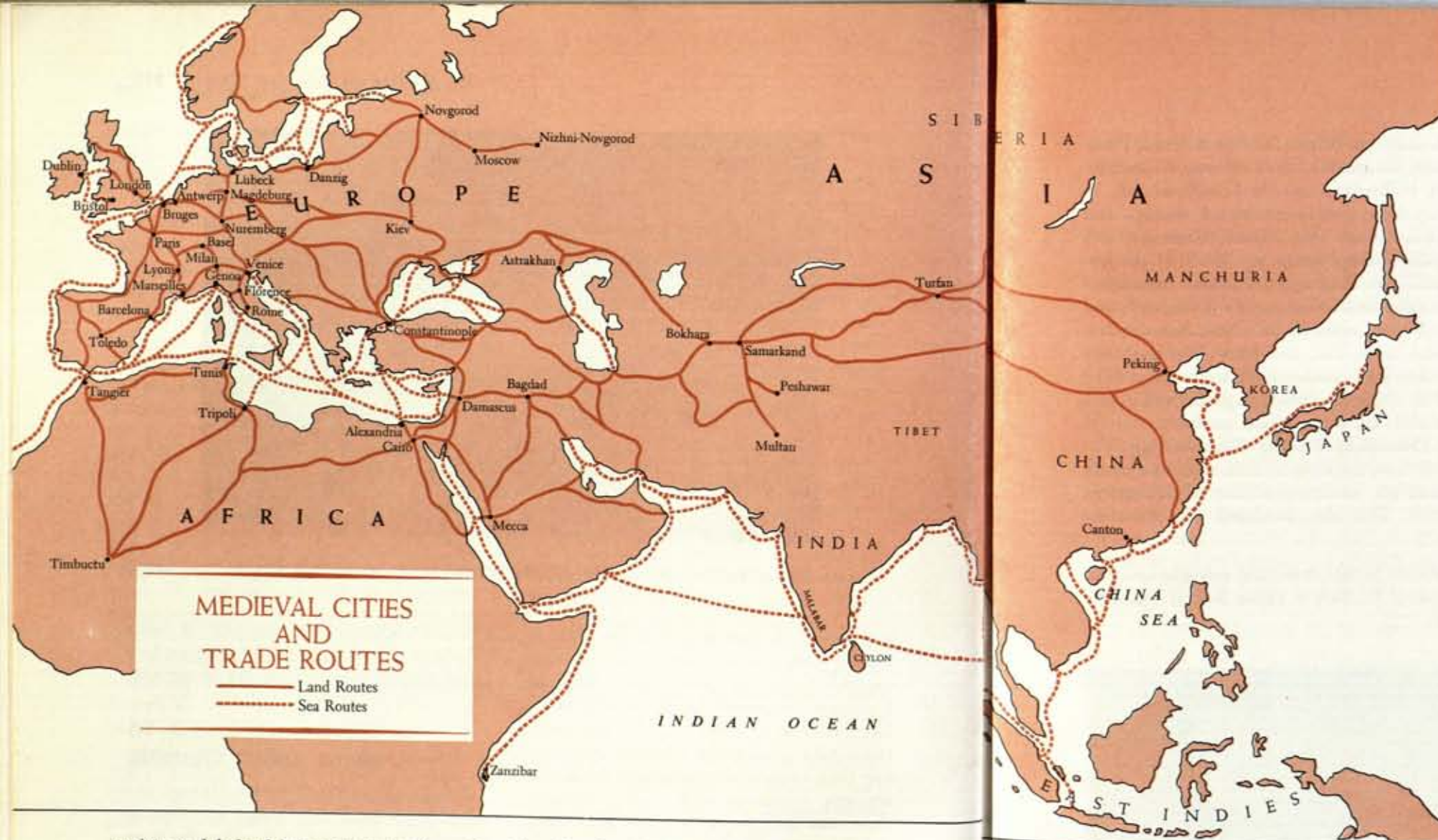
shipowners diverted the Crusaders into attacking Venice's great trade rival, Constantinople! Despite the protests of the Pope, the Crusaders conquered the city, establishing a Latin Empire in the East. The Byzantines recovered control about a half-century later, but their empire never regained its former strength. Moreover, after such a betrayal, there was little hope that the Westerners and Byzantines would co-operate against the Moslems.

In all, the stream of European migration to the East continued for about two centuries. During this time, there were four major Crusades and a number of minor ones. The Europeans, however, were unable to overcome the handicap of distance. More important, they were unable to stop the constant quarreling among themselves. Consequently, the Moslems regained control of the Holy Land at the end of the

thirteenth century and retained it until World War I. Thousands of Christians had sacrificed their lives, only to fail in the end.

THE CRUSADES HELP TO BRING ABOUT CHANGES

Significance of the Crusades. History, like a tapestry, is made up of many intertwining threads. Thus, to say that the Crusades were responsible for transforming medieval civilization would be to ignore many of the other threads. As we have seen in Unit 5, feudal Europe was witnessing many profound changes even before the Crusades. For example, orderly government was beginning to reappear, trade and town life were reviving, and schools and universities were being established. Even so, the importance of the Crusades must be recognized. They speeded up the changes taking place in medieval



society and helped bring about the Age of Transition.

Rise of the Ottoman Empire. The influence of the Crusades was not limited to western Europe alone. The power of the Seljuk Turks gradually crumbled, partly as the result of the long wars with the Crusaders. Eventually, new invaders, the Ottoman Turks, conquered Asia Minor. Capturing Constantinople in 1453, the Ottoman Turks destroyed the old Byzantine Empire and then advanced deep into Europe. For more

than four hundred years, the Ottoman sultans ruled the Balkan Peninsula, as well as all the lands along the eastern Mediterranean.

Decline of Feudalism and Serfdom. The most important effects of the Crusades were felt in the West. Because many nobles were killed, the feudal nobility of Europe was weakened. In addition, the nobles who did survive found their influence lessened by their long absence and financial troubles. The average lord had been forced to bor-

row heavily from moneylenders to pay for his trip to the East. The high interest rates made it difficult for him to repay his debts. Often, he was forced to sell his serfs their freedom or to accept money payments in place of their services. In either case, his control over them was reduced.

In the fourteenth century, the lords' authority over the serfs was further weakened. The Black Death, a plague originating in the East, swept over Europe in 1348. It caused the death of between one-third and

one-half of the total population. The resulting shortage of labor placed the peasants in a favorable bargaining position. Unless the lord gave them their freedom and rent reductions, they threatened to leave the manor. Some lords avoided trouble by agreeing to the peasants' demands. Others were stubborn and refused any concessions.

A number of peasant revolts broke out, especially in England and France. These raged for months before they were suppressed. In the end, however, the lords were generally forced to grant most of the peasants' demands. Thus the decline of the lords' power, which began with the rise of towns, was hastened by the Crusades and the Black Death. This decline was to continue for centuries until feudalism and serfdom vanished completely from western Europe. As the feudal nobility grew weaker, it was no longer able to halt the rising power of Europe's kings.

A Higher Standard of Living. The Crusades helped bring about changes in the way Europeans lived. From the Moslems they learned refined manners and customs, such as the use of eating implements. Lords and ladies could now wear garments of silk or muslin, instead of coarse wool or linen. Rugs, porcelains, and glassware helped to make life in the castle more gracious. Spices, useful for preserving and flavoring meat, found a profitable sale. New foods—sugar, tea, coffee, citrus fruits, and peaches ("Persian apples")—quickly won popularity. In an unexpected way, Europeans did gain a share of the East's riches.

New Trade Routes. Once Europeans became accustomed to the luxuries of the Orient, trade with the East expanded remarkably. As in ancient Roman times, the Mediterranean Sea became a highroad of commerce, linking the ports of Italy with



those of Asia Minor and North Africa. From Italy, the goods of the East were shipped by sea to England and the Low Countries, or they were carried northward through the Alpine passes into France, Germany, and central Europe (map, pp. 214–215). As payment for these goods, Italian merchants brought back a wide variety of foodstuffs and such raw materials as wheat, fish, timber, wool, hides, fur, and pitch. The exchange enriched all concerned. Both Europe and the East obtained necessary goods and found markets for their surplus products.

Flourishing Trading Cities in Italy. For centuries, the cities of Italy enjoyed a nearly complete monopoly of the Mediterranean trade. They also developed new industries

That Byzantine influence was strong in medieval Italy can be seen from these examples—mosaics from a church in Ravenna (above) and the Cathedral of St. Mark in Venice (below). Note the Byzantine domes, arches, columns, and decorations.



and became the most prosperous cities in Europe. Richest of all was Venice, "Queen of the Adriatic" (map, p. 223). Built on small islands at the head of the Adriatic, the city was easily accessible to both land and sea trade. It was already a flourishing commercial center in the early eleventh century. Because it was Europe's most convenient gateway to the East, Venice grew very wealthy during and after the Crusades. By building a powerful fleet it was able to acquire a great maritime empire in the eastern Mediterranean.

The great rival of Venice was Genoa, on the northwest coast of Italy. Because it has an excellent port, Genoa was an important center of Mediterranean shipping. Like Venice, it was inhabited by many wealthy merchants and bold seamen, of whom Christopher Columbus is the most famous.

Midway between these two great port cities is Milan. Located in the rich Po River valley, near the Alpine passes into Switzerland and France, Milan early became a leading center of industry and trade. Armor making and the manufacture of woolen cloth were the city's main industries. Milan was also, for a time, the head of the Lombard League, an alliance of northern Italian cities formed to protect Italy from foreign invasion.

Florence, in the north central portion of the peninsula, was another of the leading Italian commercial cities. Its wealth was based on woolen-cloth manufacture and far-reaching financial activities. Florentine merchants opened the first banks in western Europe. Using various tricks to evade the Church's laws against usury, they made fortunes on loans to the Crusaders.

Aside from these four, there were many other prosperous cities in Italy. They gave added evidence of the peninsula's impor-

tance in the revived Mediterranean commerce.

The Hanseatic League. Expanding trade also enriched many cities of the Low Countries and Germany. They served as the main distributing centers in northern Europe for goods obtained from the Venetians and other Italian merchants. Some seventy of these cities, located mainly in north Germany, combined in a strong organization known as the Hanseatic League.

The Hanseatic League maintained trading posts in numerous countries—England, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, and Russia. Besides distributing Oriental goods, the League for a time controlled almost all of Russia's trade with the West and monopolized the Baltic Sea herring fisheries. Fish was especially important as a trading item in medieval Europe because the common people could not afford much meat and nobody was supposed to eat meat on Fridays or during Lent. The Hanseatic League continued to play an important role in the commercial life of northern Europe until the sixteenth century, when shifting trade routes and growing competition from the new nations of Europe destroyed the basis of its prosperity.

Cultural Gains. The meeting of East and West also provided Europeans with the opportunity to learn about Eastern culture. Westerners learned a great deal about geography and science. They borrowed many Eastern inventions, notably Arabic numerals, the compass, the magnifying lens, gunpowder, and paper. They also rediscovered many ancient Greek and Roman writers, whose works had been preserved by the Byzantines and Moslems. As we shall soon see, the Europeans' contacts with these older civilizations helped to revolutionize the entire medieval outlook on life.



26 / Lesson Review

Checking the facts

1. Explain: Holy Sepulcher; Crusades; Council of Clermont; Holy Land; Black Death; "Queen of the Adriatic"; Lombard League; Hanseatic League.
2. Identify: Urban II; Frederick Barbarossa; Richard the Lion-Hearted; Seljuk Turks; Saladin.
3. How did western Europeans become acquainted with the Moslem and Byzantine civilizations in the eleventh century?
4. Discuss briefly at least three reasons why Pope Urban II called the First Crusade.
5. What motives influenced people to join the Crusades?
6. Why was the First Crusade considered a success? Why did the later Crusades fail?
7. Why did feudalism and serfdom decline in western Europe during the later Middle Ages?
8. Explain how trade with the East enriched the Italian city-states, the cities of Germany and the Low Countries, and western Europe generally.

Applying history

1. Why did the early Crusaders help the Byzantines? Why did they later attack and seize Constantinople? Why was the Westerners' conquest of the Byzantine Empire an important factor in the final failure of the Crusades?
2. Give your opinion of this statement: The indirect results of the Crusades were much more important than their direct achievements. Describe briefly at least two other instances of military conquest that promoted the spread of civilization.
3. How did the Black Death affect the peasants of western Europe? Why do workers generally benefit when there is a scarcity of labor?

4. Why did Venice become known as "Queen of the Adriatic"? Mention at least two other cases of seafaring activity that helped bring a country prosperity and power.

History and geography

1. Locate (maps, pp. 211 and 214-215): Genoa; Milan; Florence; Kingdom of Jerusalem; County of Tripoli; Principality of Antioch; County of Edessa.
2. What geographic factors explain the location of the Christian states in the east (map, p. 211)?
3. Trace the routes used by the early Crusaders (map, pp. 214-215).
4. Trace at least two routes by which silks and other fine wares from China could reach western Europe during the medieval period (map, pp. 214-215). Estimate their length. Explain why only valuable goods were shipped and why their prices in Europe were very high.
5. Choose one of the following groups of cities (map, pp. 214-215) and explain why each city in the group became a flourishing commercial center: (a) Samarkand, Bagdad, Alexandria; (b) Venice, Genoa, Milan; (c) Marseilles, London, Paris; (d) Antwerp, Lübeck, Danzig.

Special activities

1. Consult a source book on medieval history and read to the class Pope Urban's speech to the Council of Clermont. Make a list of the different ways in which he appealed to his listeners to go on a crusade to the Holy Land.
2. After you read a detailed account of the First Crusade, write the diary of a knight who took part in it.
3. Stage a debate between "Crusaders" and "Moslems" on the question, Were the Crusades justified?

27 / THE BIRTH OF A NEW CULTURE



History never repeats itself, even if the old adage says it does. But it contains many parallels. This should not surprise us. It is natural for similar conditions to produce similar results, even though the time or place may be different. Let us compare Greece in ancient times with Italy in the Age of Transition.

As in Greece, the typical city in Italy together with its surrounding area formed a small independent republic or city-state. Most of the Italian city-states were torn by feuds between the wealthy classes and the common people. In some, the government fell under the control of an aristocracy of merchants and bankers. In others, power was seized by ambitious despots, who resembled the ancient Greek tyrants. The Italian city-states were also weakened by continual wars among themselves and eventually fell an easy prey to foreign conquest.

Despite their difficulties, the Italian city-states enjoyed centuries of remarkable prosperity. During the period of their greatest glory, about 1350 to 1550, their culture was comparable to the Golden Age of ancient Athens. From Italy, the new culture slowly spread beyond the Alps into northern Europe. Everywhere, it produced profound changes in art, in literature, and, above all,

in men's attitudes toward life. This new culture—named the Renaissance or “rebirth of civilization”—served as a bridge between the Middle Ages and the modern world.

THE NEW HUMANISM AND ITS EFFECTS

The Rise of Humanism. The name “Renaissance” is, of course, a misleading one. It was created by writers who felt that civilization had been reborn after a long dark age. However, as we have seen, even in the West civilization did not die when Rome fell. Medieval Europe witnessed the establishment of many schools and universities, the appearance of the great Gothic art, and the development of a rich new culture. In fact, the Renaissance should be considered both the result and the continuation of earlier medieval achievements.

Italians were the first to experience the Renaissance. The Italian city-states prospered as a result of their busy trade with the East. Merchants and Crusaders brought back new ideas, as well as spices, perfumes, and other luxuries. As wealth and knowledge increased, men worried less about religion and the afterlife. They concentrated instead on the joys and pleasures of the present. The

old medieval culture, which had been dominated by the Church and religion, gave way to a new culture in which man was the center of existence.

A basic feature of the Renaissance was the widespread interest in the classics, the rich literature of ancient Rome and Greece. True, many of the classics had been known to medieval scholars. Aristotle's writings, for example, had been used by the Schoolmen to construct their own systems of theology and philosophy. But there was one important difference. Unlike the scholars of the Middle Ages, most of the Renaissance scholars were not members of the clergy. Thus they felt free to enjoy the delightful works of Cicero, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, and other "pagan" writers, even though these had little religious or spiritual purpose. Since the Renaissance scholars were primarily concerned with humanity and things human rather than with religion, they were called humanists. Their worldly outlook on life was called humanism.

Humanism in Italy. The first great humanist was a native of Florence named Francesco Petrarch (1304-1374). As a boy, Petrarch came across some poems of Virgil. Fascinated by these and by other Roman writings, Petrarch thereafter devoted himself to studying the literature and history of ancient Rome. In some of his own writings, he imitated the classics. However, unable to learn Greek, he could only look longingly at the books of Homer and Plato.

Petrarch's chief contribution to humanism was his arousing the interest of many other people in the classics. He spent years looking in old monasteries for long-lost manuscripts. Soon scholars, wealthy merchants, and even princes joined in the search. Like Petrarch, they also studied and imitated the writings of the ancient Romans. In the fifteenth cen-

tury, when Italian scholars learned Greek from Byzantine refugees, they became equally interested in the Greek classics.

As the spirit of humanism spread, new schools sprang up where the Greek and Roman classics were taught. The older universities had to add the "humanities" to the curriculum, despite stubborn resistance from the Schoolmen. As more and more ancient manuscripts were discovered, new classical libraries were established. Soon the interest in the classics overshadowed the interest in theology.

The influence of the humanists was greatly increased by one of the most important inventions in history, the printing press. From the Moslems, Europeans had learned to make inexpensive paper out of rags. They also discovered block printing, which had long been used in China. Then, in the fifteenth century, movable type and the printing press were invented. After that, books no longer had to be copied slowly and expensively by hand. As printed books became cheaper and more plentiful, the gates of knowledge were opened for the first time to large numbers of people.

Literature in Renaissance Italy. There was a vast outpouring of literature in Italy during the Renaissance. Petrarch wrote many poems, essays, and letters, but he is best known for his *Sonnets to Laura*. In medieval literature, women were pictured as being so perfect as to be almost unreal. But Laura, in keeping with the new worldly spirit, was very much a human being. Interestingly enough, Petrarch did not value his sonnets very highly because he had written them in the Italian vernacular, not in classical Latin.

Another important writer of the early Renaissance was Petrarch's friend Boccaccio. Boccaccio wrote a collection of coarse, but entertaining, short stories entitled the *De-*

cameron. Based on popular folk tales of the time, the themes and the treatment show clearly that the influence of the Church was declining. Like Petrarch's sonnets, Boccaccio's stories were written in Italian.

During the fifteenth century, there were few outstanding literary figures. The Italian humanists had learned to write beautifully polished Latin and Greek. However, most of their works imitated the classics so closely that they lacked any real merit. In the sixteenth century, writers began using Italian again. Displaying greater originality, they wrote some notable poems, comedies, histories, and works on philosophy. Probably the most important of these writers was Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527).

Machiavelli's New Politics. Although Machiavelli was an author of plays and histories, his best-known book is a realistic study of government called *The Prince*. During the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the Italian city-states suffered from civil strife, local wars, and foreign invasions. Machiavelli, who had been active in the unstable politics of Florence, was disturbed by the destruction and bloodshed. He believed that the only means of preventing such chaos was through the establishment of a strong and all-powerful government. The ruler or the prince, being the head of the government, should keep order and protect the state. He should use any available means to accomplish these goals. Ignoring moral values, he could tell lies, execute opponents, break treaties, and fight wars—all without any reason but to keep and expand his power.

It is important to understand how Machiavelli's political approach differed from earlier ideas about government. During the Middle Ages—before Machiavelli—men believed that a ruler did not possess absolute power.

Like other people, he too was subject to divine law. Machiavelli, on the other hand, exalted the power of the ruler and made his word supreme law. His ideas greatly influenced politics not only in his own time but also in later generations. The most extreme example of Machiavelli's "Prince" is the modern dictator.

A New Art in Italy. Just as Renaissance literature shows a new worldly outlook, so does Renaissance art. Thanks to the generous support of rich merchants, bankers, and later even the popes, art flourished as the most creative spirit of the new age. One of the outstanding centers of art in Renaissance Italy was the city of Florence. In the fif-

teenth century, the most famous artist of the Venetian school (p. 222), produced more than 700 paintings before his death at ninety-nine.

National Gallery, Washington, D.C.



teenth century, it was controlled by a family of very rich bankers, the Medici. The Medici were probably the foremost patrons of culture in all history. During their long rule, Florence developed and attracted many famous artists. Of these, Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo, and Raphael rank among the greatest of all time.

Painter and sculptor, mathematician and engineer, architect and inventor, Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519) was a living example of the Renaissance and humanism. Leonardo was remarkably curious about the world he lived in. He made numerous sketches of plants, animals, and fossils and filled notebooks with drawings of the human body. He also had a deep understanding of the human spirit, as can be seen from his famous painting, the “Last Supper,” reproduced on p. 124. Jesus has just said, “One of you will betray me.” In the other faces can be read the dramatic question, “Is it I?” Like other Renaissance artists, Leonardo was also interested in new painting techniques. He experimented with oil paints and with the contrasts of light and shadow. As a result, his portraits give the viewer an extraordinary feeling of reality.

During our discussion of the Renaissance, attention has been called to the new spirit influencing man’s activities. But we must not forget that the Church was still powerful and that many men were still religious. Michelangelo (1475–1564) is an example of a man influenced by the old as well as the new. Michelangelo was commissioned by the pope to decorate the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican, the pope’s palace. Lying on his back on a scaffold, he worked for four years painting scenes from the Bible. These paintings display such strength and spirit that they fill the room with movement and life.

In Michelangelo’s sculpture, which was his main interest, the Renaissance spirit is more evident. Not since the time of the ancient Greeks had the human body been considered beautiful in itself. Although Leonardo da Vinci had portrayed human figures, it was Michelangelo who concentrated on the body as the highest expression of beauty and truth. His giant statues of Moses and David reveal him as one of the greatest sculptors who ever lived.

The third famous artist of the Florentine school was Raphael (1483–1520). Though strongly influenced by Leonardo and Michelangelo, Raphael was not so interested in dramatic and daring ideas. His genius was to portray a quiet and harmonious beauty, such as that in the “Sistine Madonna.” This painting has a special interest because its complex design so effectively achieves depth. Obviously a painting can have only two dimensions, width and height. It was Raphael who mastered the technique that gave paintings the illusion of a third dimension.

Although the main centers of Renaissance art were Florence and Rome, other Italian cities were experiencing a similar artistic revival. In Venice, for example, another important school of painting developed. The “Queen of the Adriatic” was an even gayer and more luxurious city than either Florence or Rome. Consequently, Venetian artists concentrated more on portraits and landscapes, less on religious subjects. Using vibrant colors, they portrayed the magnificence and elegance of the great merchants and their ladies. The most famous artist of the Venetian school was Titian (1477–1576), who won renown as a realistic portrait painter. His paintings can usually be identified by their rich colors, particularly the deep “Titian red” (see p. 221).

Architectural Imitation of Ancient Rome. Italian architects also broke with the traditions of the Middle Ages. They turned against the Gothic style, which they considered fit only for barbarians. Instead they modeled their buildings after those of ancient Rome, the remains of which could still be seen everywhere about them. Round arches, columns, and domes were the main characteristics of Renaissance architecture. Many of the churches, palaces, and mansions which sprang up in the prosperous Italian cities actually remind the viewer of Roman temples.

The Church of St. Peter in Rome, the finest example of the new classical architecture, was designed by famous Renaissance architects and artists, among them the great Michelangelo. It is a massive structure, capable of holding eighty thousand people. The key feature is the great dome, which rises more than four hundred feet from the floor below. The new classical style is so impressive that for centuries it has been used for public buildings, both in Europe and in America.

Renaissance Music. Humanism, as we have seen, affected all aspects of Renaissance culture. Music was no exception. Though most music was still written for church services, musicians began to value the color and emotion that could be found in the music of the people, folk music. Instead of remaining a part of religion, music became a separate art, respected for its own inherent beauty. Moreover, interest was not limited to vocal music. Stringed instruments—including the violin, viola, and lute—were perfected. The first simple pianos were invented. Various instruments were combined to form Europe's first orchestras.

The most noted figure in Renaissance music was the sixteenth-century Italian com-



poser Palestrina. Palestrina possessed great technical skill, especially in the use of harmony. His influence on later musicians entitles him to be considered "the father of modern music." In the next generation, Italian composers made large strides forward by setting the drama to music and creating a new music form, the opera. In the art of music, western Europe soon surpassed all earlier civilizations.

Waning of the Italian Renaissance. After several centuries of glory, the Renaissance period in Italy came to a close, about the middle of the sixteenth century. The end came rather suddenly. The prosperity of the peninsula ebbed as the result of invasions by foreign powers. Even more important was the dwindling of Mediterranean commerce following the discovery of new trade routes to the East. Still another cause of decline was the revived activity of the Inquisition following the Protestant Revolution

(see pp. 244-250). By punishing people who held unorthodox ideas, the Inquisition in the end stifled all creative thinking. However, though cut short in its Italian homeland, the Renaissance continued to live on for another century in the north.

THE RENAISSANCE IN NORTHERN EUROPE

The Renaissance and Humanism in the North. In the fifteenth century, the Renaissance moved northward across the Alps. This expansion was aided by foreign students who studied in Italy, were deeply influenced by the new culture, and carried it back home with them. But, of course, northern Europe was undergoing an economic and social transformation, just as Italy had experienced earlier. Trade and towns were flourishing; a wealthy class of townspeople was emerging; and the feudal system was breaking down. Moreover, as in Italy, artists found support among generous patrons. The most important of these patrons were the monarchs of the new European nations and the prosperous Hanseatic merchants.

The Renaissance in northern Europe differed considerably from that in Italy. The Italian humanists were so influenced by the ancient pagan writers that many of them neglected or ignored the medieval religious traditions. But most northern European humanists continued to maintain strong ties with the Church. Since life in the north was harsher, they had a more serious, even somber, outlook on life. Consequently, northern humanists concerned themselves mainly with practical religious and social problems. They used their new knowledge to criticize long-accepted beliefs and to challenge the superstitions which had hindered progress during the Middle Ages.

Literature in the North. The foremost humanist in the north was the Dutch scholar Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536). Erasmus, who was considered the most learned man of his time, traveled widely and was thoroughly acquainted with both Christian and classical writings. He spent years making a new Latin translation of the Greek New Testament. Yet he interrupted his scholarly labors to write a popular pamphlet, *In Praise of Folly*, in which he ridiculed the foolish behavior of people who act on the basis of habit and custom, instead of using reason. Although trained as a priest, Erasmus was particularly critical of the clergy. His criticisms were an attempt to bring about Church reform.

Additional criticism—religious, political, and social—was provided by other humanists. One of Erasmus' English friends, Sir Thomas More, wrote a very thoughtful work describing society as he believed it might exist in a perfect country. His book was named *Utopia*, meaning "no such place." Rabelais, a French author and physician, wrote several books describing the fantastic exploits of an imaginary giant named Gargantua. Though formerly a monk, Rabelais poked fun in these books at monastic life, the universities, and other institutions of the time. Feudalism and chivalry were ridiculed by a gifted Spanish writer, Cervantes. His famous novel *Don Quixote* tells of the unhappy adventures of an elderly gentleman who had read too many medieval romances. These books not only mark the beginning of modern popular literature; they also aroused in the people a desire for reforms in religion, government, and society.

Another major form of literature was the drama. In fact, not since Athens' Golden Age had it played so important a role. In Renaissance England especially, the theater

took on new life. Most noted of the English dramatists was William Shakespeare (1564–1616). His plays—tragedies and comedies alike—reveal him as a master of the English language and a genius in the art of understanding the human heart and mind. Shakespeare has been judged the greatest dramatist of all time, and his plays attract large audiences even today.

Art in the North. Genius was also evident in northern art. The fourteenth-century painters Jan and Hubert Van Eyck, citizens of Flanders and founders of the Flemish

school of art, were little influenced by the artists of Renaissance Italy. In fact, the Van Eycks greatly influenced Italian art. For they discovered how to use oil paint. An artist could work more slowly and effectively with oil paint, for unlike the pigments used earlier, it did not dry immediately. As we have seen, Leonardo da Vinci was one of the Italian painters who used the new paint.

The discovery of oil paint was a necessity for the Van Eycks and their followers. Look at the picture below. Only by the use of oil paint could an artist capture the sheen of

Two Renaissance masterpieces from northern Europe. Below, the Holbein portrait of Desiderius Erasmus, the "Prince of Humanists." Right, "The Annunciation," center panel of an altarpiece done by a painter of the Van Eyck school.



Metropolitan Museum of Art

gold, jewels, and satin. The Van Eycks were breaking away from the medieval traditions, just as were the Italians. But, instead of emphasizing the human form and personality, they chose to make exact and detailed representations of such things as flowers, jewels, fabrics, and hair.

By the early sixteenth century, when the German artists Dürer and Holbein were active, there was more contact between Italy and the north. Consequently, these artists were more influenced by Italian art. For instance, Holbein in his portrait of Erasmus included numerous details, but the most important emphasis is on Erasmus as a person. Compare this portrait (p. 225) with the Van Eyck school painting beside it.

In Spain too there was an artistic Renaissance, expressed notably by the artists El Greco and Velázquez. Both were familiar with Italian art, but they adapted it to their own personalities. There is a distinct genius in the dark religious fervor of El Greco and the courtly dignity of Velázquez.

The climax of Renaissance art—both northern and southern—was reached by Peter Paul Rubens in the early sixteenth century. His early development was in the Flemish tradition. Later, while studying in Italy, he learned to use large canvases, rich color, and dramatic themes. Rubens' genius in blending these styles enabled him to produce works of unique grandeur.

Scientific Progress During the Renaissance. Science also benefited from the spread of knowledge and from the more critical attitude of the Renaissance. Geographers drafted more accurate maps and helped to make possible the Voyages of Discovery (see pp. 256–260). Astronomers carefully studied the heavens. Copernicus (1473–1543), a Polish monk who had studied in Italy, re-

vived the old Hellenistic idea that the sun is the center of the universe. Later, an Italian scientist, Galileo, developed a simple telescope that enabled him to prove Copernicus' theory. However, the Church objected when Galileo published a book to popularize it. Because the Copernican theory made the sun and not the earth the center of the universe, it was considered a direct challenge to the authority of the Church and Scriptures. The book was publicly burned and Galileo was forced to retract his views.

The Church was not alone in opposing the Copernican theory. It was also rejected by the famous early-seventeenth-century English philosopher and statesman Sir Francis Bacon, who believed that the heavens were beyond the limits of human understanding. Nevertheless, Bacon wrote several books urging seekers of truth to think for themselves, instead of blindly accepting untested theories. They should "turn to the direct observation of nature, to the accumulation of facts about things and the discovery of the laws that govern them." Bacon's methods were soon used so effectively by other scientists that the seventeenth century is often called "the Age of Genius."

Decline of the Renaissance. In northern Europe, the Renaissance, though continuing until about the middle of the seventeenth century, was blighted by the religious conflicts arising from the Protestant Revolution. The spirit of humanism could not flourish in an age of intolerance and strife. Nevertheless, the new culture and the new view of mankind which had arisen during the Renaissance in Italy and in northern Europe did not die out. In almost every field, the Renaissance set in motion new forces which were destined to transform our Western civilization.



27 / Lesson Review

Checking the facts

1. Explain: despot; Renaissance; classics; humanism; Church of St. Peter; Utopia.
2. Identify: Petrarch; Machiavelli; the Medici; da Vinci; Michelangelo; Raphael; Titian; Palestrina; Erasmus; Cervantes; Shakespeare; the Van Eycks; Dürer; Holbein; El Greco; Velásquez; Rubens; Copernicus; Galileo; Sir Francis Bacon.
3. List and discuss the main similarities between the city-states of Renaissance Italy and those of ancient Greece.
4. Why did the Renaissance develop first in Italy? In what respects was it different from medieval culture?
5. Tell how each of these factors contributed to the growth of humanism: Petrarch's interest in the classics; the new classical schools and libraries; the invention of the printing press.
6. In what ways did the Renaissance in northern Europe differ from that in Italy?
7. In parallel columns, list the outstanding writers and artists of the Renaissance in Italy and in northern Europe.

Applying history

1. Discuss: The Renaissance should be considered both the result and the continuation of earlier medieval achievements.
2. Why did Renaissance scholars find the ancient Roman and Greek classics so enjoyable? How may the influence of these classics be seen in modern schools?
3. Explain: "The end justifies the means." How does this statement fit Machiavelli's ideas of government?
4. Why has the Renaissance been called an

"intellectual revolution"? Explain the importance of Renaissance scientific discoveries in the rise of modern science.

5. Find in a dictionary the meaning of the words *ascetic* and *aesthetic*. Why is *ascetic* often used to describe medieval culture? Why is *aesthetic* an appropriate word for the Renaissance?

History and geography

1. Locate (map, p. 223): Milan; Venice; Genoa; Florence; Rome; Papal States; Naples; Sicily; Ottoman Empire.
2. What were the advantages of Venice's location (map, p. 223)? Why did Genoa become an important center of trade between western Europe and the East?
3. Compare the map of Renaissance Italy on p. 223 with that of ancient Italy on p. 94. How did the location of the Papal States contribute to Italy's political disunity?

Special activities

1. Prepare a class exhibit on Renaissance art. Point out the resemblances between Renaissance and Greco-Roman styles.
2. Read excerpts from Benvenuto Cellini's *Autobiography* and report to the class. Give examples of the Renaissance spirit as seen in his work.
3. Write a short biography, based on your outside reading, of Petrarch, da Vinci, or one of the other important figures of the Renaissance. Explain how his life shows the influence of humanism.
4. Stage a debate between two fifteenth-century university professors on the question: Should the classics be added to the course of study?

28 / THE RISE OF NATIONS



Living today in a world of nations, we consider it only natural to call ourselves Americans, and to call other peoples by such names as Englishmen, Frenchmen, Germans, or Italians. Yet, considering the six thousand years of recorded history, nations in their present form are a recent development. Medieval Europe, as we have seen, was divided into thousands of small political units. People usually thought of themselves not as the subjects of a king or nation but as the subjects of a local lord or city. When Dante, for example, was driven from Florence by political enemies, he went to a nearby Italian city, where he wrote sad poems lamenting his exile from his beloved "country"! Nationalism, the feeling of loyalty to a nation, could not arise until small feudal or city states were brought together under the control of a strong ruler. The formation of nations was still another important achievement of the Age of Transition.

KINGS VERSUS FEUDAL LORDS

Weakness of the Feudal Monarchs. During the Middle Ages, the Holy Roman Emperors were in theory the supreme temporal rulers in western Europe. Numerous kings, whose predecessors had once been leaders of large tribal groups, also claimed the right to rule entire countries. Actually, these em-

perors and kings were often weaker than the great lords, their vassals. In some countries, notably in Germany, the king was elected by the nobles, who deliberately picked someone too weak to control them.

The typical medieval ruler possessed honor and dignity. He was consecrated by the Church and received homage from his vassals. However, he had little real authority. His income came mainly from his own fiefs, and only their inhabitants had to obey him. If he tried to collect taxes from his powerful vassals or issue orders to them, they usually ignored or defied him. If he sought to enforce his demands, he had to fight an endless series of wars. A king's power, so it was said, extended only as far as he could take his army on a summer campaign.

The idea of a strong ruler survived even through these centuries of political weakness. For monarchy was a long-honored tradition, shared both by the inhabitants of the Roman Empire and by the conquering German tribesmen. The glorious reign of Charlemagne, a powerful and successful ruler, strengthened this tradition. However, in the Feudal Age following Charlemagne, Europe suffered from disunity and constant petty wars. Churchmen, peasants, and townspeople became ever more anxious for peace. Longing for a strong government which could keep order, promote justice, and en-

courage trade, they naturally looked to the king for leadership. He alone represented unity and authority amidst the many conflicting loyalties of feudalism.

Gradual Triumph of Royal Power. With this widespread backing, the feudal kings gradually made headway against the rebellious vassals. The support of the townspeople proved especially important because they provided the king with sizable sums of money. Instead of being dependent on his vassals to fight for him, he could now hire and equip a strong professional army. Against such an army, the feudal lords found it difficult to maintain themselves.

Another factor aiding the king was the invention of new weapons. In the later Middle Ages, ordinary foot soldiers armed with pikes or longbows were already able to defeat knights on horseback. The invention of firearms did even more to revolutionize warfare. Guns could shoot holes through the toughest armor, and cannon could blast openings through the thickest castle walls. Equipped with firearms, monarchs succeeded in breaking the power of their vassals. By the end of the fifteenth century, the feudal system, which depended upon castles and armored knights, was doomed, and several kings ruled over unified nations.

Changes in Government. The people benefited from the long struggle between kings and nobles. In every European country, it had been the custom for the monarch to consult with a council of lords and clergy before he made any important decision. Such consultations between the suzerain and his chief vassals were essential in the feudal system of government by contract. Gradually, the monarch came also to recognize the value of the support of the smaller landholders and townspeople. He asked them to elect representatives to his council. These

medieval councils—known in England as Parliament, in France as the Estates-General—mark the beginning of the modern system of representative government.

In order to gain strength against the feudal lords, the kings introduced other significant reforms. They appointed capable officials, mainly townspeople, who kept careful financial records and brought other businesslike ideas into government. The king's judges replaced trial by ordeal and other feudal practices with logical rules and procedures derived mainly from the old Roman law. Trade and travel also increased as tolls and other local trade barriers were removed. When a people became united under a strong monarch, they almost always enjoyed greater peace and prosperity than under feudalism.

ENGLAND: THE FIRST MODERN NATION

Advantages of an Island Location. The first modern nation, England, owes its early origin largely to its geography. Although near enough to the continent to share in Europe's cultural advances, England was protected from frequent invasions by the surrounding sea. The Scots and Welsh, England's land neighbors, were too weak in number to be a serious threat.

The sea also hemmed in the English people, giving them a feeling of unity and kinship. At the same time, they could engage in fishing and shipping. Eventually, they became an important seafaring people and acquired great wealth and an overseas empire. Through the centuries, England's island position has proved one of its most valuable assets.

England During the Dark Age. England's early inhabitants, the Britons, were a primitive tribal people of Celtic origin. They were

conquered and civilized by the ancient Romans. After the withdrawal of the Roman legions in the early fifth century, barbaric German invaders—the Angles and Saxons—conquered most of the island, killing or dispersing the original inhabitants. Seven small quarrelsome kingdoms then emerged. Later, the Anglo-Saxons were converted by Christian missionaries and began to learn the ways of civilization (see p. 131).

In the ninth century, a large part of England was overrun by a new group of invaders, the fierce Danes. An able king, Alfred the Great (871–899), united his people and drove the enemy back. After Alfred's death, however, the Danes won control and ruled England for a short time. Alfred's descendants later regained the throne, but England remained a weak and disunited country until it was overwhelmed by still other invaders.

The Norman Conquest. In the year 1066, William, Duke of Normandy, laid claim to the English crown. He crossed the Channel with a powerful army. After defeating and killing his Anglo-Saxon rival in the Battle of Hastings, he subdued the whole country.

William the Conqueror (1066–1087) proved a stern but able ruler. Although he rewarded his followers with land taken from the English, he scattered their fiefs very widely. As a result, none of his vassals could form a large feudal state and become strong enough to challenge the royal authority. The king also compelled every knight who held land to take an oath of allegiance directly to him. During William's reign, England enjoyed a secure, orderly government.

More important were the long-range effects of the Norman Conquest. The Normans, as their name indicates, were originally Norsemen. After settling in northern France (Normandy) in the early tenth century, they had quickly adopted the language and ways of their French neighbors. It was

this Norman-French culture which the Normans brought over with them to England. In time, it mingled with the Germanic (Anglo-Saxon) culture of their subjects. Just as the English language was enriched by the mixture of different tongues, so English life was enriched by the blending of different cultures. Since William and his successors also retained their holdings in France, they kept England in close touch with the advancing civilization of the continent.

The Rule of Law. Despite the precautions of William the Conqueror, the feudal lords threatened the power and position of some of his successors. Henry II (1154–1189), a king of unusual ability and vigor, restored the royal power. In addition to being ruler of England, Henry controlled Normandy, Anjou, Aquitaine, and other sizable French fiefs. His holdings in France, which he had acquired from his parents and his wife, represented about one-third of that entire country! With such rich resources at his disposal, Henry was able to destroy the castles of the rebellious nobles and force them to disband their large private armies.

The English king was also responsible for important legal reforms. He appointed able judges and sent them on regular visits (circuits) to all parts of the kingdom. When a royal judge arrived in a district, he generally swore in a group of freemen. They were able to tell him if any lord had broken "the king's peace" or if any other crimes had been committed. They could also help the judge decide the right and wrong of any dispute. With these practices, the modern jury system had its beginning.

In dealing with the cases that came before them, the judges based their decisions on Norman and Anglo-Saxon law and on local customs. Gradually, the wisest legal decisions were taken as precedents by other judges and lawyers throughout the

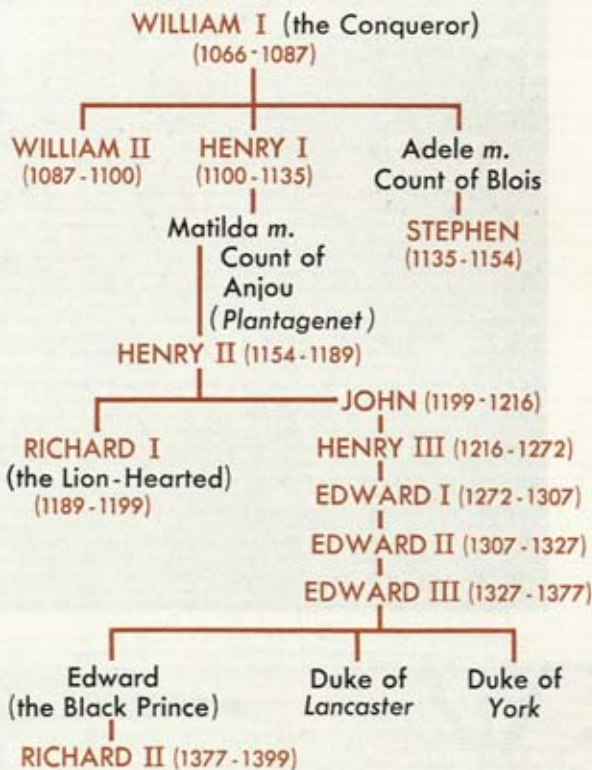
NORMAN AND PLANTAGENET RULERS OF ENGLAND (1066-1399)

country. This common law (common to all England) remains even today the basis of the legal system in all English-speaking countries. Together with the jury system, it helps to protect the people from an unfair government and to guarantee that they will receive justice.

Magna Carta, 1215. Strangely enough, England's next great political advance came under King John (1199-1216), a ruler who gave his subjects many causes for complaint. John had revolted against his brother, Richard the Lion-Hearted, while Richard was away on a Crusade. Later, John quarreled with the pope, fought losing wars, and levied burdensome taxes. The nobles, joined by the clergy and a few townspeople, finally rose in revolt and marched on London. To save his throne, the King had to sign a lengthy document known as Magna Carta (the Great Charter).

Magna Carta was mainly a restatement of traditional feudal rights which the King had violated but now promised to respect. However, two of the articles in Magna Carta were especially significant for the future. First, no freeman was to be imprisoned or in any way molested "unless by the lawful judgment of his peers [equals]." This came to be a guarantee of a fair trial by jury for all Englishmen. Second, the king was forbidden to levy new taxes "unless by the common consent" of the kingdom. Therefore, whenever he needed new funds, the king had to secure the consent of his vassals. This article eventually led to the rise of the English Parliament.

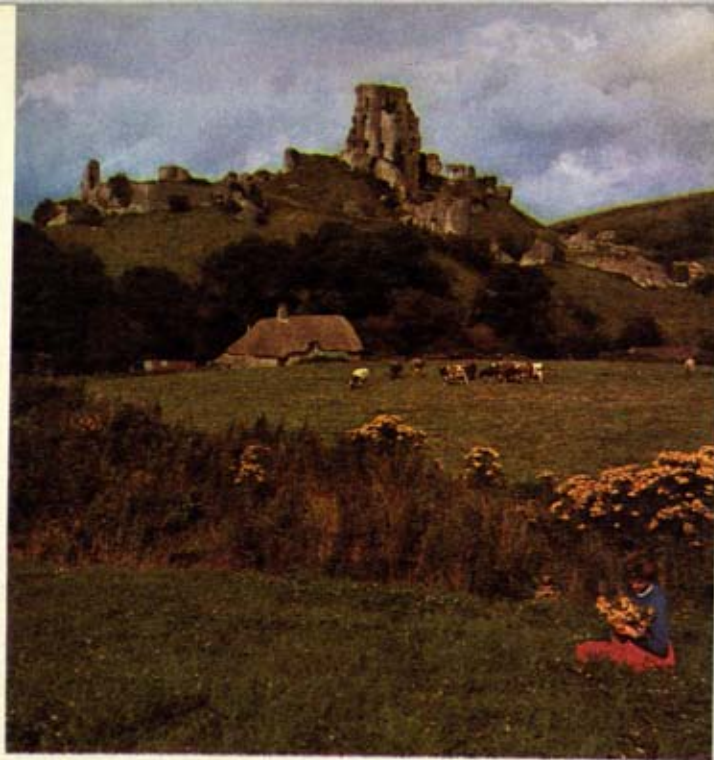
Magna Carta had little immediate importance. It did nothing for the serfs, who then numbered about four-fifths of the population. Moreover, it was soon violated by John and by his successors. Even so, it represents a landmark in English constitutional history. It set a valuable precedent for the



future by showing that even the king was bound by certain basic laws.

The "Model Parliament," 1295. Another important advance in government came during the reign of Edward I (1272-1307). Edward needed his subjects' support to wage his wars of conquest in Wales and Scotland. Previous kings had frequently summoned a council of nobles and higher clergy to advise them and to approve new taxes. Edward now ordered that the smaller landowners and townspeople should also be represented, by two knights from every county and two citizens from every town.

The first meeting of the King's council attended by all four groups is known as the "Model Parliament," because it established the pattern of organization for the modern English Parliament. The nobles and higher



The Norman invasion had many effects on English life. A Norman castle (left) dominates peaceful modern English countryside. A famous tapestry records scenes from the Battle of Hastings (below), considered one of history's decisive battles. On the left, William the Conqueror's fleet sails for England. On the right, King Harold's brothers are slain. When the King himself fell, the Normans won the victory.



clergy came to form the House of Lords; the representatives of the lower classes became the House of Commons. By inviting these different classes to take part in public affairs, the King helped to strengthen the unity of the emerging English nation.

The Hundred Years' War, 1337-1453. Edward III (1327-1377) was even more ambitious for foreign conquest than his grandfather, Edward I. His ambition gave rise to a series of long conflicts between England and France which are known as the Hundred Years' War. The war began when the king of France died childless and was succeeded by his cousin, Philip, Count of Valois. Edward III, arguing that he was the rightful heir because his mother was the sister of the late French king, led an invasion force across the Channel. The English foot soldiers, armed with powerful longbows, killed large numbers of French knights in two great battles, Crécy and Poitiers. But Edward lacked the means to take and hold all France. The war dragged on and on, with the Valois kings gradually recovering most of their lost territory.

Years later, the English under Henry V (1413-1422) launched a second invasion of France. After inflicting a new crushing defeat on the French, they occupied Paris. The King of England was even recognized as the heir to the French throne.

However, France was saved by a simple peasant girl, Joan of Arc. Inspired by visions of the saints, she joined the discouraged French troops and roused them to fight against the foreign foe. Joan of Arc won several important victories; then she was taken prisoner, tried by the English as a witch, and burned at the stake. But Joan's sacrifice was not in vain. Her great courage and love for her homeland stirred her

countrymen to new sacrifices and finally enabled them to expel the English. The Hundred Years' War permanently ended the attempts of the English rulers to win territory on the continent. On the other hand, the war helped greatly to strengthen English unity. Since the English kings were no longer involved in the affairs of France, they were able to concentrate their attention on governing their own nation.

The Wars of the Roses, 1455-1485. Exhausted and impoverished, the English people longed for peace. However, quarrels over the throne plunged the country into a series of bloody civil wars, called the Wars of the Roses because the two rival groups wore different-colored roses to identify themselves. A white rose was worn by the followers of the Duke of York, a red one by the supporters of the Duke of Lancaster. Fighting continued over a period of thirty years, with victory finally being won by Henry Tudor of the house of Lancaster. The war-weary people turned with relief to the new ruler, who promised to heal the wounds of the nation and restore peace.

The First of the Tudors. Henry Tudor, who took the throne as Henry VII (1485-1509), kept his promise. The nobility had been weakened by the long wars. With the people behind him, Henry crushed the last few plots, making himself the unchallenged ruler of England. He avoided foreign wars and was therefore able to lower government expenses. Wisely, he labored to expand England's commerce, build up its navy, and fill the empty royal treasury. Although disliked by some of his subjects, who thought him a miser, Henry VII was a good king. Under him, the English became a really united nation and laid the foundations for their later great achievements.



28 / Lesson Review

Checking the facts

1. Explain: nationalism; Normans; Norman Conquest; jury system; common law; Magna Carta; Model Parliament; House of Lords; House of Commons; Hundred Years' War; Wars of the Roses; Tudor Dynasty.
2. Identify: Alfred the Great; William the Conqueror; Henry II; Joan of Arc; Henry VII.
3. Why did feudal monarchs generally have little real authority? Why were some of them eventually able to triumph over their vassals?
4. How did townspeople and peasants benefit from the king's victory over the nobles?
5. What was the significance of the Battle of Hastings (1066)?
6. In what ways did the Norman Conquest benefit the English people? What were its bad effects?
7. Explain why each of these has been of lasting significance in history: jury system; common law; Magna Carta; the Model Parliament.
8. What were the effects of the Hundred Years' War on the English monarchy? What were the effects of the Wars of the Roses?
9. How did Henry VII's policies strengthen the English monarchy?

Applying history

1. Why did businessmen in medieval Europe favor strong government? Why did this

- support prove important for the monarchs?
2. How did the invention of firearms revolutionize warfare? Why did the European monarchs profit more from this invention than did the feudal lords?
3. In what respects was the king's justice superior to that of the feudal lords? How did this help to strengthen the monarchy?
4. What were the main provisions of Magna Carta? Why did so few of its provisions deal with the problems of the lower classes?
5. Why is England called the "Mother of Parliaments"? Why should Americans be interested in England's early political progress?

History and geography

1. What is meant by the term *British Isles*?
2. What geographic factors delayed the unification of England, Ireland, and Scotland until fairly recent times (map, pp. 170-171)?

Special activities

1. Draw a cartoon that shows why a united nation was better for the common people than a collection of feudal states.
2. Arrange a class exhibit of pictures showing the Norman invasion, the signing of Magna Carta, the meeting of the Model Parliament, and other important events in medieval English history.
3. Prepare a short biography of Joan of Arc, including a discussion of her lasting contributions to the French nation.

ON THE EUROPEAN CONTINENT

**FORMATION OF THE
FRENCH NATION**

England, as we have seen, has been called the first modern nation. However, during the course of the Middle Ages, a number of nations also appeared on the continent of Europe. Like the English, each of these nations lived in a fairly compact geographic area and had its own ruler. Each spoke a language or group of dialects of its own. Above all, each possessed a historical tradition which made it feel quite different and apart from neighboring peoples.

The earliest of the nations to emerge on the continent was France. That country was bounded by the English Channel on the north, the Atlantic Ocean on the west, the Pyrenees on the south, and the Alps on the southeast. (See map, p. 238.) Although the rest of its eastern boundary was not clearly defined, France, like England, could be considered a natural geographic unit. Four great rivers—the Seine, Loire, Rhone, and Garonne—facilitated trade and travel within the country. Thanks also to its pleasant climate and rich soil, France was destined to become one of Europe's leading nations.

France's Early History. The country we call France was known as Gaul to the Romans, by whom it was conquered and civilized. When the Roman Empire collapsed, Gaul was invaded by various groups of German tribes. The most important of these, the Franks, eventually reunited the entire country. Under Charlemagne, the greatest of the Frankish rulers, it was the core of a large empire which included most of western and central Europe. (See Unit 4, pp. 131–132.)

After Charlemagne's death, the Frankish Empire was divided by his grandsons. France became a separate kingdom. The later French Carolingian monarchs were weakened by civil conflicts and the invasions of the Norsemen. They were scarcely more powerful than their great feudal vassals. In 987, when the last member of the dynasty died without an heir, the lords elected one of their own number, Duke Hugh Capet, as

king of France. They regarded a suzerain as essential in order to avert complete anarchy in the country.

Factors Favoring the New Capetian Dynasty. The first Capetian ruler controlled only the town of Paris and a small area around it. Yet several factors made it possible for his descendants to establish one of the strongest kingdoms in Europe. Each of the Capetian rulers, for over three hundred years, had a grown-up son to take over the throne. It became customary for the nobles to elect the son as king of France even before the father died. In time, the kingship came to be regarded as hereditary rather than elective. Moreover, many of the early Capetians were shrewd and ambitious rulers. Through intrigue and conquest, they succeeded in gradually expanding their landholdings and authority.

Still another factor favoring the Capetians was the prosperity of their capital, Paris. Located on the River Seine, it was the trading center of northern France. Eventually Paris became the largest city in medieval Europe. The revenues which the Capetians secured from the Parisian townspeople strengthened the French kings in their struggles to control the great feudal vassals.

Three Notable Kings. Three kings stand out in the rise of the Capetian Dynasty. The first of these, Philip Augustus (1180-1223) was a cruel and scheming ruler, who took advantage of every opportunity to enlarge his territories and to extend his influence. He seized the holdings of some of his vassals while they were away on Crusades. He weakened his rival, King Henry II of England (see p. 230), by inciting Henry's sons to revolt. When Richard the Lion-Hearted ascended the English throne, Philip conspired against him and managed for a

time to keep him a prisoner. Finally, when Richard's brother John became king, Philip found an excuse to take over Normandy and the other English fiefs in northern France. The Capetian monarch also strengthened his authority by appointing loyal middle-class officials to supervise justice and tax collections throughout his realm.

Philip's grandson, Louis IX (1226-1270), also did much to strengthen the French monarchy. He gained the favor of his people because he was tall and handsome, courageous in battle, and deeply religious. He led several Crusades against the Moslems. He also led a Crusade against certain heretics in southern France and was able to annex their territory. Above all, Louis was interested in maintaining law and order throughout his realm. He sought to suppress feudal wars and established a royal tribunal to hear appeals from the courts of the nobles. By encouraging the people to bring their cases before his judges, he greatly strengthened the royal influence and increased the royal revenues. Louis IX earned the distinction, quite unusual for a king, of being called *Saint Louis*.

The strongest of the Capetian rulers was Philip IV (1285-1314), whose kingdom took in most of present-day France. Through his capable officials, Philip was able to exercise control over the great nobles. However, he fought many wars to gain additional territory. These wars, together with his personal extravagance, emptied his treasury.

To raise funds, the French King resorted to desperate measures. He even sought to impose taxes on Church property in France. After a long and bitter struggle with the Pope, Boniface VIII, the French King finally won. His agents captured the Pope and subjected him to such rough handling that he died a short time afterward. Philip

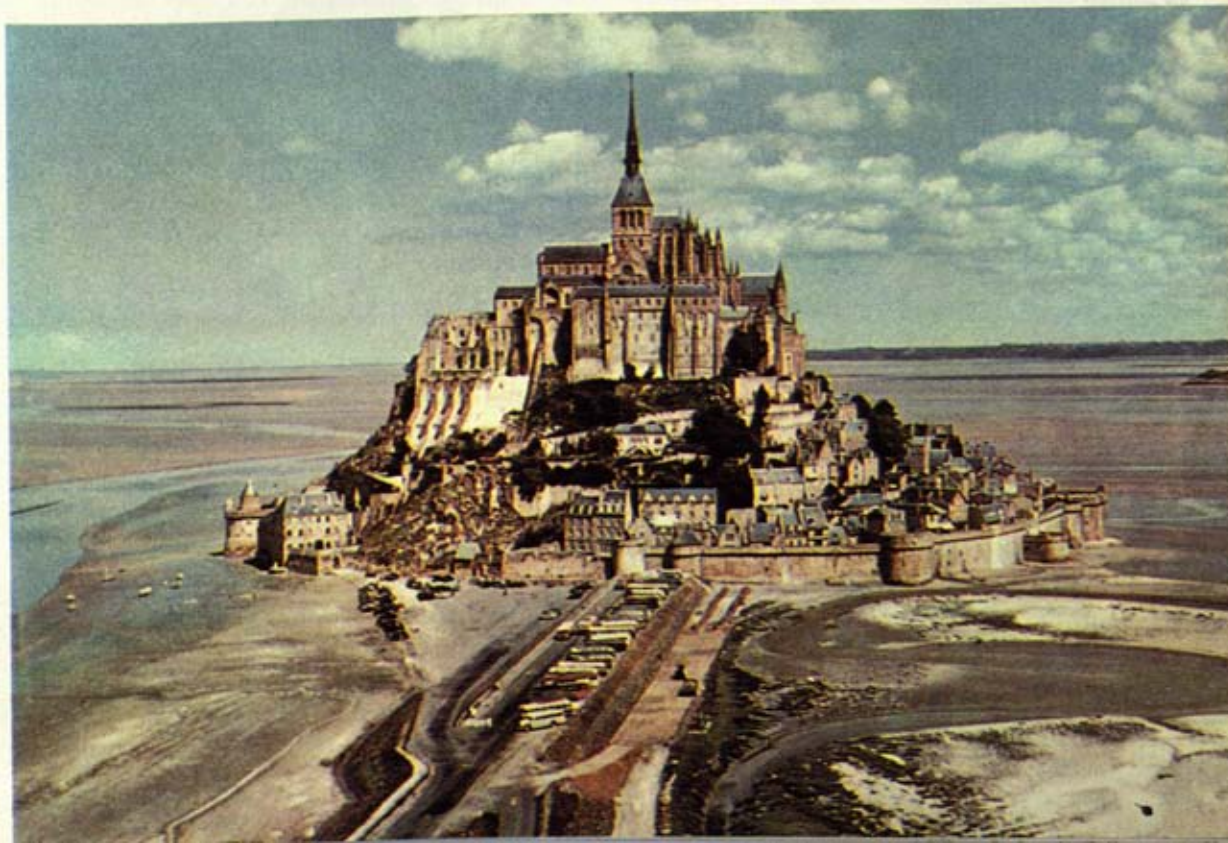
then forestalled a new struggle with the Church by managing to have a Frenchman elected as Boniface's successor. The new pope moved the capital of the Church from Rome to Avignon in southeastern France, where it remained for many years.

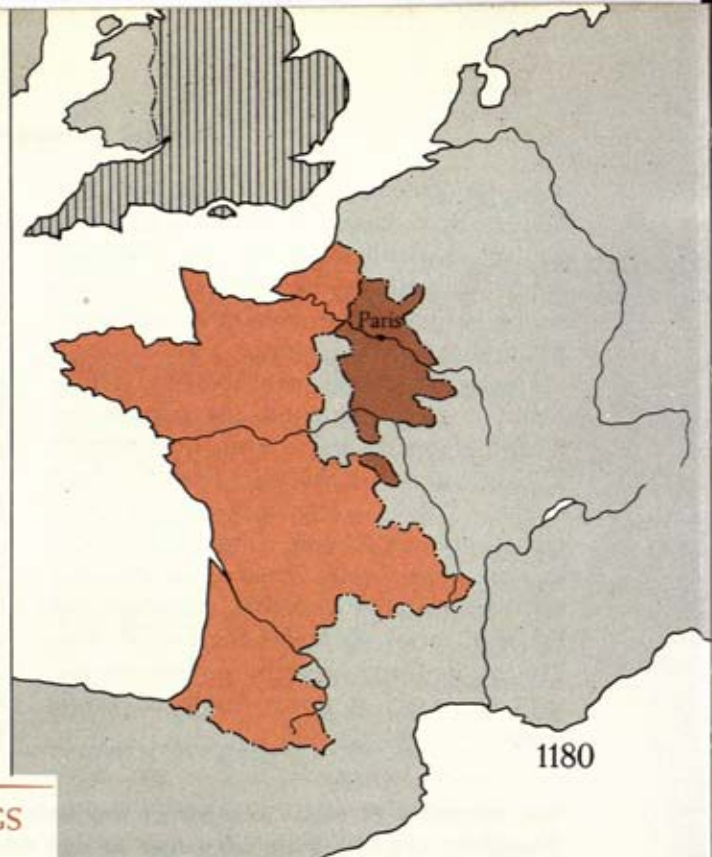
During the struggle with the Pope, Philip found it necessary to ask his subjects for pledges of support and to secure new taxes. In 1302 he summoned delegates from the three estates (classes)—clergy, nobles, and commoners—to meet with him. This body, known as the Estates-General, was France's first representative assembly. Although the Estates-General resembled the English Parliament in many respects, for reasons we shall soon see, it never developed much power.

The Hundred Years' War (1337-1453) and Its Effects. The growing unity of France was severely tested by the Hundred Years' War with the English (see p. 233). Since France was the battlefield, much of the country was ruined. Even during the brief intervals of peace, conditions improved but little. Companies of professional soldiers roamed the countryside, looting, burning, and killing. The peasants and townspeople suffered unbearable hardships.

However, the Hundred Years' War resulted in a strengthening of the power of the Valois kings. Joan of Arc had helped to create a new patriotic feeling among the French people. Moreover, because of the widespread disorder and suffering, all classes were ready to make sacrifices in order to pre-

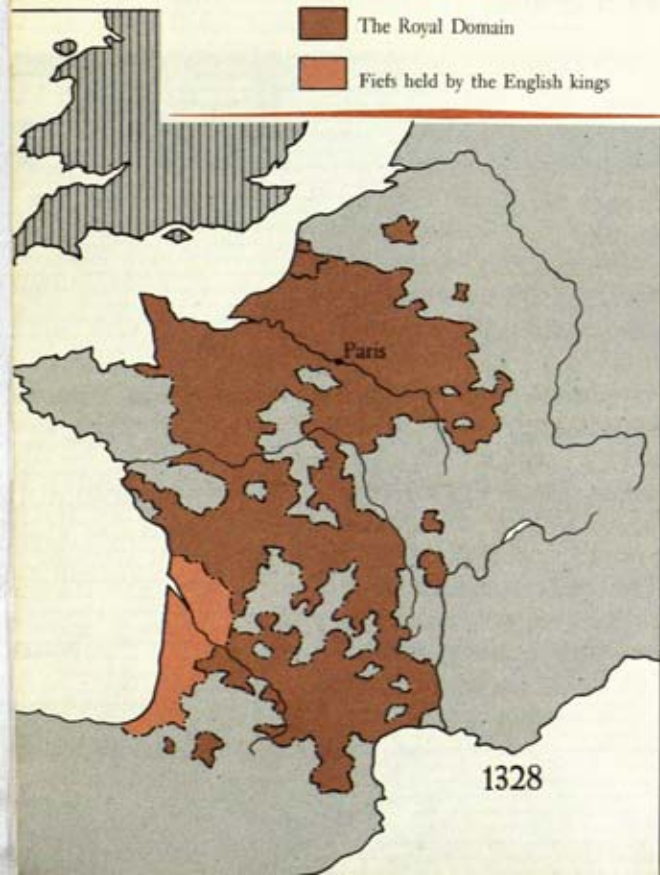
The monastery of Mont Saint-Michel was built upon a rocky island on the northern coast of France. Its approaches are submerged at high tide. As a result of its location and fortifications, it was not captured by the English during the Hundred Years' War.





DOMAINS OF THE FRENCH KINGS
987 to 1500

- The Royal Domain
- Fiefs held by the English kings



vent future invasions. The Estates-General voted to let the king maintain a large standing army. He was also permitted to raise taxes for the army's support. This grant of power was to prove a serious mistake. By surrendering the "power of the purse," the Estates-General left itself with no control over the monarchy. After the fifteenth century, France's first representative assembly declined in importance and eventually passed out of existence.

Completion of French Unity. One great obstacle to French unity remained even after the expulsion of the English. On the east, the King of France's ambitious kinsman and vassal, Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, was busy extending his realms. It seemed that he might become stronger than his overlord, King Louis XI (1461-1483). The crafty French King sought to meet the threat by weaving a web of alliances between France and the many states which felt endangered by Burgundy. These plots won for Louis the nickname "the Spider King."

Eventually, Charles the Bold's armies were shattered when they tried to conquer the Swiss. The bold Duke himself was killed in battle. Louis XI was now able to take over most of Burgundy. The elimination of this last great vassal marked the complete triumph of monarchy over feudalism in France. Although a few fiefs survived, France was a united nation by the end of the fifteenth century (map, p. 238).

UNITY AND DISUNITY ELSEWHERE IN EUROPE

Spain and Portugal. The Iberian Peninsula became the home of two modern nations, Spain and Portugal (map, p. 240). After the decline of the Roman Empire, as we have seen, the peninsula was conquered first by the Visigoths and then by the Arabs. Under

Moslem rule, Spain was for centuries the most advanced region in western Europe. Christian countries were greatly influenced by the Arabic civilization, especially in science, philosophy, art, and music. However, the Spanish Moslems, or Moors, were later weakened by quarrels among themselves.

Even after the Arab conquest, several tiny Christian kingdoms had survived in the northern mountains. In the eleventh century, these kingdoms launched the first of many long campaigns to drive out the Moors. While other European Crusaders went off to fight in the distant East, Christian knights in the Iberian Peninsula fought wars to free their own land. Eventually their struggle against the Moors was completely successful. During the twelfth century, Portugal emerged as an independent kingdom in the southwestern part of the peninsula. The Kingdom of Spain was formed in 1479 after the two strongest states, Aragon and Castile, were joined by the marriage of the royal heirs, Ferdinand and Isabella. United, the new kingdom was able in 1492 to conquer Granada, the last Moorish stronghold in the peninsula.

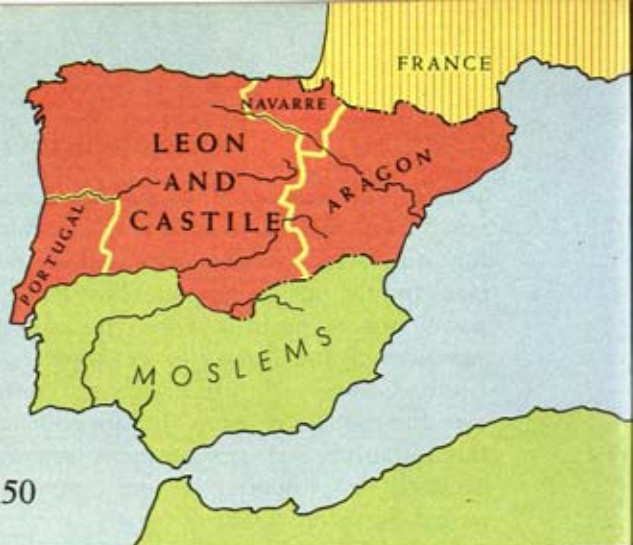
Ferdinand and Isabella tried in many ways to strengthen the new kingdom. To lessen the power of the feudal lords, they destroyed the nobles' castles and outlawed private wars. To help trade, they built bridges, held fairs, and abolished internal taxes on goods shipped from one part of the country to another. Unfortunately, the Spanish rulers, striving for uniformity, displayed considerable religious intolerance. They ordered the Moors and Jews to adopt Christianity or leave the country. They also revived the Inquisition (see p. 197). Thousands of the new converts, suspected of not being sincere Christians, were tortured and burned at the stake.

Because the Moors and Jews had played the leading role in industry and commerce,

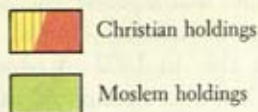
910



1150



CHRISTIAN RECONQUEST OF SPAIN



1492



their expulsion proved damaging to Spain's economy. However, the effects were not felt for some time. Following Columbus' discovery of the New World, Spain gained much wealth and power. In the sixteenth century, it controlled the seemingly inexhaustible gold and silver mines of Mexico and Peru, and was the richest and strongest nation in Europe. Portugal also enjoyed a brief period of prosperity as a result of the Voyages of Discovery (described in Unit 7, pp. 256-260).

Nations in Northern and Eastern Europe. The Scandinavian peninsula, in northern Europe, was the home of three Norse peoples—the Danes, Norwegians, and Swedes. During the Dark Age, as we have seen, they did much damage to Europe by their raids and conquests. Later, in the eleventh century, they were converted by Christian missionaries and settled down to a civilized existence. Gradually, differences of language and culture led to the rise of three separate kingdoms, of which Denmark was the most pros-

perous and progressive. Indeed, for a time, the king of Denmark controlled the other two. Sweden regained its independence in the early sixteenth century. Norway, after long periods under Danish and Swedish rule, finally became independent in 1905.

Altogether, there were a half-dozen important nations in western Europe at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Several other nations—notably Poland, Hungary, and Russia—were also appearing in central and eastern Europe. The pattern of modern Europe was emerging from the medieval patchwork of petty feudal states.

Disunity in Italy. Italy, on the other hand, remained disunited for centuries longer. The medieval struggles between popes and emperors had prevented the rise of any strong central authority in Italy. In the late fifteenth century, the peninsula consisted of a dozen or so independent states. Most important were the Duchy of Milan and the Republics of Venice and Florence in the north; the Papal States in the center; and the Kingdom of Naples in the south. These states quarreled constantly among themselves for political and economic reasons.

To obtain help against rival states, the Duke of Milan invited the King of France into the peninsula. This proved a tragic mistake, for it gave the Spanish an excuse to intervene also. Sixteenth-century Italy became a battlefield and provided rich spoils for both the French and the Spanish invaders. Milan and Naples lost their independence. Even the pope had difficulty retaining possession of the Papal States. Constant wars and foreign domination—this was the heavy price the Italians paid for having small independent states after most other peoples had formed united nations.

The Triumph of Feudalism in Germany. Germany, too, was very slow to achieve na-

tional unity. The reasons were both geographical and historical. Northern Germany opens out into the eastern European plain. Lacking an easily fortified frontier, it suffered frequent attacks and invasions during the early Middle Ages. Later, the Germans took the offensive and expanded eastward along the shores of the Baltic Sea. However, the constant fighting interfered with Germany's political progress. The great German feudal lords, or princes, became so warlike that they successfully resisted the authority of the Holy Roman Emperors.

The excessive ambition of the medieval emperors was an additional cause of German disunity. Considering themselves heirs of the ancient Roman Empire, they tried for centuries to gain control of Italy. As we have seen, they were eventually defeated by the popes and the thriving city-states of northern Italy. However, while the Holy Roman Emperors were wasting their strength in distant military expeditions, the feudal princes seized control in Germany. They won the right to elect the emperor, to be exempt from his taxes, and to coin their own money. Though there was a Diet (parliament), its authority was as weak as that of the emperor himself.

Rise of the Habsburgs. In the sixteenth century, the house of Habsburg, one of the German princely families, had hopes of restoring the power of the Holy Roman Emperor. The founder of the family fortunes was Rudolf of Habsburg (1218–1291), a minor feudal lord in southwestern Germany. Since Rudolf posed no threat to the important German princes, they elected him Holy Roman Emperor. During succeeding centuries, many other Habsburgs were elected to that office because they promised not to interfere with the princes' authority. Eventually, the imperial crown became virtually a family possession.

Rudolf also acquired for his family the Archduchy of Austria and some other valuable territories in central Europe. Austria had long been important as a German barrier against invasions by the Slavs and Magyars. Its leading city, Vienna, was the center of a thriving trade along the Danube River. For the Habsburgs, Austria became the core of a far-flung empire.

Though the Habsburgs did engage in wars, their greatest successes came through marriages. These were always arranged carefully with an eye to increasing the family's holdings. "Let others wage wars," became a German saying. "You, happy Austria, get married."

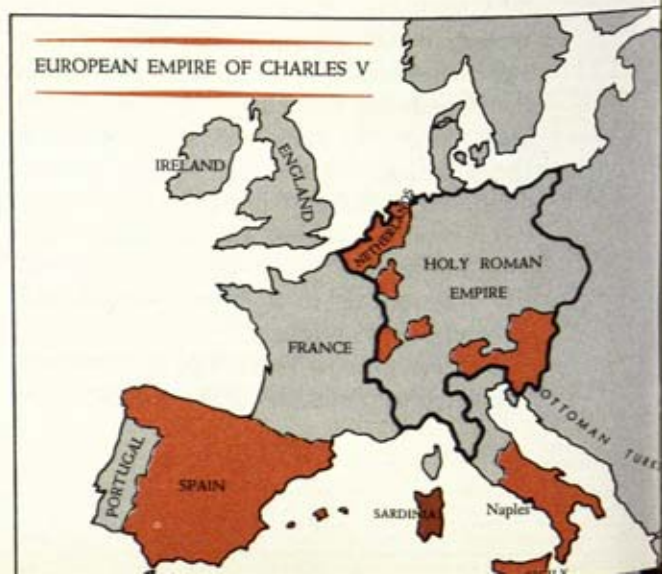
The Empire of Charles V, 1519–1556. The Habsburg who benefited most from this wise policy was Charles V. From his father's family, Charles inherited the extensive Habsburg holdings in central Europe, part of Burgundy, and the Netherlands—that is, present-day Holland and Belgium. He was also elected Holy Roman Emperor following the death of his grandfather. His mother, the heiress of Ferdinand and Isabella, brought him Spain and all of its possessions, including the Spanish colonies in America and the Italian territories of Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia. As Holy Roman Emperor, King of Spain, Archduke of Austria, and ruler of the Low Countries, the nineteen-year-old Charles controlled more territory than any European ruler since Charlemagne (see map, p. 242).

Despite all his titles and holdings, Charles never succeeded in restoring unity to Germany. Throughout his long reign, he was involved in numerous conflicts. One powerful and persistent enemy was the Ottoman Turkish Empire. The Ottoman Turks were nomadic barbarians from central Asia who had taken over the empire of the Seljuk Turks. After capturing Constantinople in

1453, the Ottoman Turks overran the Balkan Peninsula, crushed Hungary, and attacked Austria. In the Mediterranean, their naval forces seriously menaced Christian commerce until they were defeated by a combined Spanish and Venetian fleet in 1571.

Another strong enemy of Charles V was France. The King of France, Francis I, feared that the Habsburg Empire, which encircled his country, would some day crush it. To prevent this, he fought many wars against Charles, mainly in the Netherlands and Italy. He even allied himself with the infidel Turks. Charles was forced to spend most of his time traveling back and forth from one distant battle front to another in defense of his empire.

The most severe blow to Charles V's authority was a rebellion of a number of the leading German princes. This occurred largely because of the Emperor's efforts to crush a great religious revolt in Germany (described on pp. 246–248). After years of fighting, Charles was forced to admit defeat. Serious differences in religious beliefs were now added to the other causes of disunity in the Empire. The Habsburg ambition of restoring the imperial power had ended in failure.



29 / Lesson Review



Checking the facts

1. Explain: Capetian Dynasty; Estates-General; "power of the purse"; German Diet; Habsburg Dynasty.
2. Identify: Philip Augustus; Louis IX; Philip IV; Ferdinand and Isabella; Emperor Charles V; Francis I.
3. List and discuss briefly three factors which favored the rise of the Capetian Dynasty.
4. Explain how each of these rulers strengthened the French monarchy: Philip Augustus; Louis IX; Philip IV; Louis XI.
5. What were the effects of the Hundred Years' War on the French monarchy?
6. What were the important achievements of Ferdinand and Isabella? What were the results of their harsh treatment of the Moors and Jews?
7. Why did medieval Italy and Germany fail to become unified countries?
8. How did the Habsburgs acquire a large empire in central Europe?
9. Why did Charles V find it difficult to rule his vast empire successfully?

Applying history

1. How did the Capetian monarchs of France make their position hereditary? How did this development strengthen them in their struggles with the feudal lords?
2. Explain the following titles: Philip Augustus; Saint Louis; the Spider King. Which of these three rulers was most popular with his subjects? Justify your answer.
3. Explain: The Estates-General "committed suicide" when it surrendered its control over the king's expenditures.
4. Why were the Spaniards more intolerant than other fifteenth-century Europeans?
5. Why might Charles V's large empire be re-

garded a source of weakness rather than of strength? Why did Francis I of France feel justified in allying himself with the Moslem Turks?

6. What advantages did England and France have over Italy and Germany in early modern times? What lesson might the countries of western Europe today learn from this situation?

History and geography

1. Locate (maps, pp. 238, 240, 242): Seine River; Loire River; Rhone River; Garonne River; Aragon; Castile; Granada; Portugal; Naples; Netherlands.
2. Trace the course of the four great rivers in France (map, p. 238). What relationship is there between these river valleys and the French kings' expansion of their power?
3. After examining the maps on pp. 170-171 and 240 carefully, explain the geographic factors which retarded the unification of Spain. What similar factors help explain Portugal's independence?
4. What important European territories outside the Holy Roman Empire were ruled by Emperor Charles V (map, p. 242)?

Special activities

1. Pretend that you are members of the French Estates-General during the Hundred Years' War. Debate the question: Should the king be permitted to levy taxes for the support of a large standing army?
2. Prepare a class report on the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella or Emperor Charles V.
3. Arrange a map and picture exhibit on the rise of France, Spain, and the other unified nations which emerged in late medieval Europe.

THE PROTESTANT REVOLUTION



For more than a thousand years, the Roman Catholic Church was the spiritual dwelling place of all Christians in the West. It also dominated the cultural, political, and economic activities of medieval Europe. Such a large and ancient structure was bound to develop some weaknesses. As time passed, the cracks grew wider and deeper. Eventually, in the early sixteenth century, whole sections of the Church crumbled and collapsed. The very foundations of medieval Europe, on which the Church also rested, were shaken by the growing commerce and prosperity, the spirit of humanism, the rise of national monarchs, and other new forces which had emerged during the Age of Transition.

FUNDAMENTAL CAUSES OF THE PROTESTANT REVOLUTION

Weakening of the Papacy. The Church's troubles first became serious when the papacy fell under French influence (see pp. 236-237). For more than seventy years, 1305-1378, the popes were all Frenchmen and lived in Avignon, instead of Rome. This period is called the "Babylonian Captivity of the Church," a name implying that the popes were prisoners in France just as the ancient Jews had once been in Babylon.

Angered by the change, the people of Italy demanded that the "Eternal City" should again be made the capital of the Church.

There was also opposition to the French popes in other countries, especially England, which was then fighting against France in the Hundred Years' War. Finally, one of the Avignon popes yielded to popular feeling and returned to Rome.

However, new difficulties arose when the pope suddenly died. The cardinals, threatened with violence by a Roman mob, chose an Italian as his successor. Then, regretting their choice, the French cardinals escaped to Avignon. They declared the election null and void and elected a second pope. Each pope denounced the other as an impostor and excommunicated all of the rival pope's followers.

Pious Christians were extremely worried because they feared for their eternal salvation. Yet the Great Schism (split) in the Church lasted for almost forty years, 1378-1417. In 1409, a council of cardinals ordered both popes deposed and elected a third one. Because the council did not have the power to enforce its decision, the Church was now left with three popes! Finally, Europe's rulers and its leading bishops and theologians met in a new council at Constance, in Switzerland (1414-1418). They healed the schism by dethroning all three popes and choosing a new one.

The Babylonian Captivity and the Great Schism seriously weakened the authority of the papacy. Popes, in general, were no longer regarded with the same respect. Their power

was further reduced when some rulers, notably the kings of England and France, regained the power to choose members of the higher clergy in their realms. Frequently these rulers appointed incompetent or worldly bishops, who neglected their religious duties. The popes themselves did little to improve this situation. During the Renaissance, some of them showed less interest in religion than in Italian politics and art, the enrichment of their families, and worldly pleasures. Discontent with all of these conditions showed itself in the growth of heresy—in other words, attacks on the Church and its doctrines.

Growth of Heresy. In England, a reformer named John Wycliffe (1320–1384) denounced popes and clergy alike for their worldliness and immorality. He also translated the Bible into English so that people could read and study it for themselves. Wycliffe was protected by the English rulers, who did not respect the authority of the French popes. But later his followers, who were blamed for a great peasant revolt, were subjected to persecution and death because of their beliefs.

John Huss (1369–1415), another religious rebel, spread Wycliffe's ideas among the people of Bohemia in central Europe, now modern Czechoslovakia. Huss went even further in his beliefs than Wycliffe by telling his followers that it was their duty to refuse obedience to sinful clergymen. Huss was called before a Church council, condemned as a heretic, and burned at the stake. Long and bloody wars followed in Bohemia. When the country eventually fell under the control of the Habsburgs, most of the Hussites were forced back into the Church.

Humanist Attacks. The fire which destroyed Huss, so it is said, burned on and on. Discontent within the Church, though ap-

parently suppressed by force, actually continued and increased. It emerged with renewed vigor as a result of humanism.

Although a member of the clergy, Erasmus ridiculed the scandalous behavior of some priests and monks. Other humanist scholars joined in attacking the clergy for their emphasis on external ceremonies, for their adoration of saints and relics, and for their sale of pardons for sin. In general, the humanists criticized the Church because they believed it should serve all men, not the interests of a clergy that was concerned more and more only with its own privileges and wealth.

The new printing presses turned out thousands of copies of the humanists' writings, which were read by large numbers of people. The way was being prepared for a great religious upheaval. However, it is important to note that most of the humanist scholars who publicized the Church abuses believed in reform, not in a violent revolution.

Economic Factors. The growing criticism of the Church was echoed by many people for economic reasons. By the sixteenth century, as the result of generous gifts from the faithful, the Church had accumulated great wealth—in land as well as in jewels and precious metals. Kings and princes, needing funds to finance armies and governments, cast envious eyes on the Church's rich properties. Businessmen resented the Church's taxes, which drained off the wealth of their countries, and its economic teachings, which condemned profit-making. The peasants also disliked Church taxes. Besides, they believed that religious reform might enable them to acquire more land and make other improvements in their economic conditions.

National Feeling. The new national feeling arising in Europe made rulers fearful and jealous of control from Rome. As kings

grew stronger, they opposed any outside interference in their national affairs. They wished to choose Church officials, to bar appeals to Rome from their courts, and to reduce money payments due the Church. In Germany, there was no single powerful monarch to defend the country's interests. Nevertheless, the German princes bitterly resented foreign control of Church appointments and heavy taxation for the support of the luxurious papal court. By the early sixteenth century, political, economic, and religious discontent had roused feeling against the Church to a dangerous pitch in many countries. Explosives had collected which could be set off by a single spark.

MARTIN LUTHER'S REVOLT AGAINST THE CHURCH

The Sale of Indulgences. The explosion began in Germany mainly because of the Church's financial abuses. To meet growing expenses, the Renaissance popes had revived an old practice, the selling of indulgences. An indulgence was a promise from the pope that a repentant sinner would not suffer punishment for his sins. One of the papal agents in Germany, a monk named Tetzel, made some very extravagant claims. It appeared as though people were free to commit sins if only they bought an indulgence. Among those who were much disturbed by Tetzel's preaching was an earnest and learned monk named Martin Luther. His protest against the sale of indulgences provided the spark which set off the Protestant Revolution.

Luther's Doctrine of Salvation. As a youth, Martin Luther had had an extraordinary religious experience. His father, a well-to-do German peasant, had sent him to school to become a lawyer. One day young Luther and a friend were riding through a forest when suddenly a storm broke and a

bolt of lightning killed his companion. The shock was a great one. Deeply concerned about the salvation of his soul, Luther left law school, to the disappointment of his family, and entered a monastery.

For years Luther prayed and fasted and spent much time in study and meditation. At last he came to the conclusion that all his efforts to achieve salvation were in vain. Man, he believed, was tainted by original sin and was so depraved in his nature that he could hope to be saved only through God's mercy. Faith in Him was the sole road to salvation. As Luther saw it, the Church's doctrine of salvation through good works, as well as faith, was a mistaken one.

Once he found peace within himself Luther rose rapidly in his order. The Church, at the time, was not disturbed by Luther's views. In fact, he was appointed a professor of theology at the new University of Wittenberg in Saxony, where his interesting lectures and unusual viewpoint attracted many students. Luther was already an important figure in Wittenberg when Tetzel began the sale of indulgences. Shocked by Tetzel's claims, Luther felt compelled to register a public protest.

Luther's Break with the Church. In 1517, Luther posted on the Wittenberg church door a long list of his objections to the indulgences. To his surprise, these objections, known today as the Ninety-Five Theses, aroused tremendous popular interest. They were soon published and distributed throughout Germany. As the sale of indulgences dropped sharply, Church officials called on Luther to recant his heresies.

Luther would not yield and appealed to the pope. While awaiting the pope's decision, he wrote a series of pamphlets explaining and defending his views. Luther argued the equality of all believers. All men, he asserted, could determine Church doctrine by

studying the Bible for themselves. Such views were completely unacceptable to the Church. Luther was now finally excommunicated by the pope, but the German monk defiantly burned the papal decree.

Called by Emperor Charles V before a meeting of the German Diet, Luther refused to retract his statements. "Here I stand," he said. "With God's help, I can do nothing else." His break with the Catholic Church was now final. The year 1521 saw the birth of the Lutheran Church.

Luther's Early Difficulties. The new church was off to a stormy beginning. Luther, already proclaimed a heretic by the pope, was now declared an outlaw by the Diet. He was saved from death only because the ruler of Saxony carried him off to a lonely castle, where he remained almost a year. Later, a number of German princes, eager to seize the Church's lands, founded a league to protect him against the Emperor. Without the support of these princes, the Lutheran Church would have had a very brief existence indeed.

Fresh difficulties soon arose. Large numbers of peasants joined the new church in the belief that they would get better treatment from their lords. Some even dreamed of restoring the social equality of early Christianity. When no reforms were introduced, they revolted against the lords and attacked their castles. The Peasants' Revolt of 1525 was especially widespread in southern and western Germany. Luther, shocked by the excesses, harshly condemned the rebels—"thievish, murderous hordes of peasants," he called them—and urged the princes to crush them. This they did in brutal fashion.

Despite Luther's attitude, a number of German princes decided to return to the Catholic Church. They feared that his teachings would lead to other disturbances in the future. Many of the peasants, disappointed

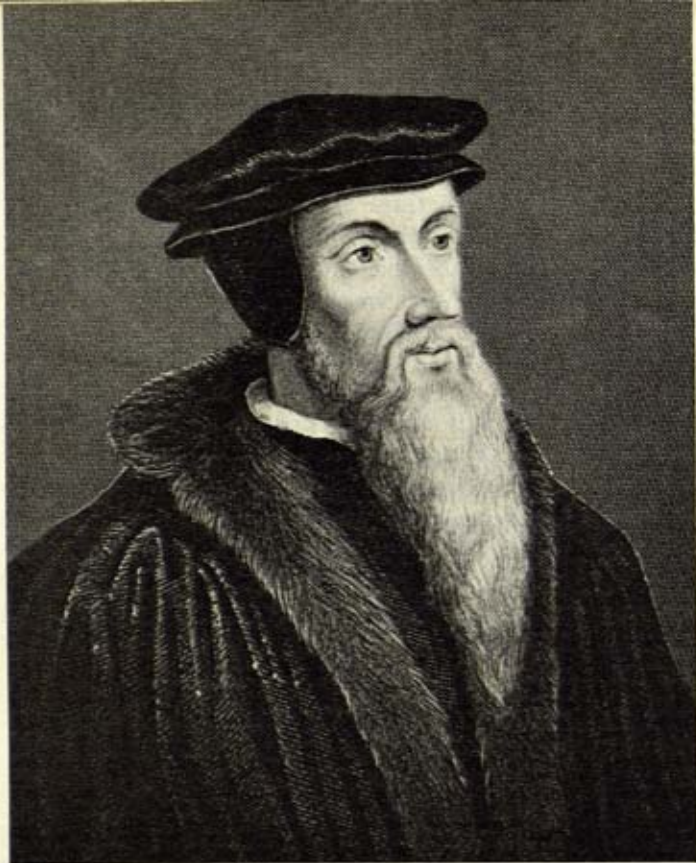
in Luther, also withdrew their support. They joined a new radical religious sect, the Anabaptists, which refused obedience to either the Church or the state.

The Lutheran Religion. Meanwhile, Luther was vigorously carrying on his work of revising Catholic practices. In the Lutheran Church, members of the clergy were allowed to marry. Monasteries and convents were abolished. Parts of the ritual, which Luther considered not in harmony with the Bible, were eliminated. Services were conducted in German, not Latin. Preaching and hymn singing were emphasized. Luther himself translated the Bible into German and wrote a number of fine hymns.

Luther defended the right of governments to supervise religious affairs in their realms. With the support of many German princes and of the influential middle class, his teachings spread rapidly. Most of northern and central Germany adopted the Lutheran faith. In the Scandinavian countries, the rulers also established Lutheran churches directly under their control.

Religious Conflict in Germany. The religious revolution started by Luther is sometimes called the "Reformation." Luther claimed that he was making reforms in the old religious practices. His followers came to be known as "Protestants" because they drew up a strong protest when Charles V sided with the Catholics against Luther.

For years, the Holy Roman Emperor was too busy fighting his other enemies to deal with Luther's supporters. When he finally did declare war, the conflict dragged on for almost ten years. In the end, Charles was forced to surrender to the rebels. By the Religious Peace of Augsburg in 1555, each of the German princes was left free to decide whether the people in his state would be Catholic or Lutheran. Empire and papacy alike had suffered a tremendous defeat.



John Calvin (1509–1564) was noted for his brilliant, logical mind and stern, uncompromising religious beliefs. His enemies called him “the Protestant Pope at Geneva.”

THE FORMATION OF OTHER PROTESTANT CHURCHES

Beginning of the Reformation in Switzerland. Luther's claim that each person had the right to interpret the Bible for himself inevitably influenced other religious reformers to set up their own forms of Protestantism. In Switzerland, the first Protestant leader was a scholarly young priest, Ulrich Zwingli (1484–1531), who had become acquainted with Luther's writings. Zwingli, too, broke with Rome and organized a new church in the Swiss city of Zurich.

The new doctrines resembled Luther's in many respects. But there were enough differences, particularly over the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, to prevent the two Protestant sects from uniting. Zwingli's teachings soon spread to neighboring Swiss cities. However, war broke out between the townspeople and the Catholic country folk. When Zwingli

was killed in battle, Protestantism in Switzerland suffered a temporary setback.

John Calvin and His Followers. A few years after Zwingli's death, a French reformer named John Calvin took over the leadership of the Swiss Reformation. Calvin had been forced by religious persecution to flee his native land. Eventually he settled in the city of Geneva, where he established a community dominated by his strict religious ideas. The government fell completely under his influence. It banned bright clothes, late hours, and amusements like dancing and the theater. Observation of the Sabbath was extremely strict. Calvin's followers spent most of the day in church, where they listened to sermons which lasted for hours. Calvin and the elders of the congregation—called presbyters—used the powers of government to persecute heretics and to punish anyone who violated the regulations of the new church.

Calvin's religious teachings represent an even sharper break with Catholicism than Luther's. Most important was his doctrine of predestination—that the eternal fate of every individual was known by God before his birth and could not be changed by anything he did. As Calvin saw it, some people, the “elect,” were predestined to live righteously in this world and to enjoy salvation in the next. The rest of mankind were doomed to suffer perpetual torment. Calvin, it should be noted, taught that the elect would also prosper in this world. This doctrine helped win him enthusiastic support among the rising middle class.

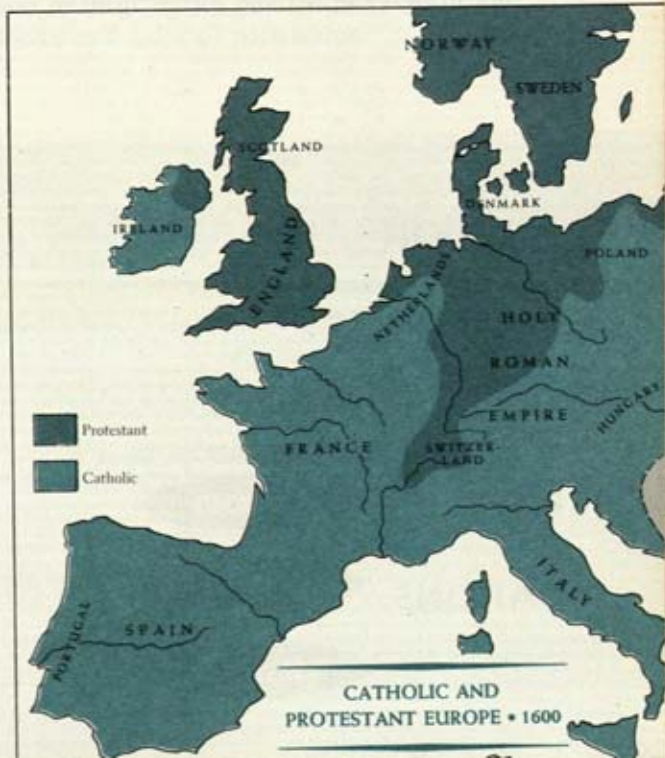
Calvin's influence was spread widely by his book, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, an explanation of his religious doctrines. Moreover, numerous young men from foreign lands came to study at the University of Geneva and returned home fired with zeal to spread Calvinistic teachings. In Holland, Calvin's principles were soon followed by the Dutch Reformed Church; in England, and later in America, by the Puritans; and in France, by the Huguenots. A zealous Scottish reformer, John Knox, carried them from Geneva to Scotland, where almost single-handed he organized the Presbyterian Church.

The Church of England. In England, the Reformation took place under royal leadership. Henry VIII (1509–1547), son of the founder of the Tudor Dynasty (see p. 233), began his reign as a devout Catholic. Author of a pamphlet against Luther, he was rewarded by the pope with a proud new title, “Defender of the Faith.” However, trouble developed when Henry's Spanish queen, Catherine of Aragon, failed to produce a male heir. If a female ascended the throne, Henry feared that England would suffer a new period of conflict and instability. His desire to remarry was strengthened when he

fell in love with one of the queen's pretty young ladies-in-waiting.

Henry therefore asked the pope for a divorce. When the pope refused, the English king broke with the Catholic Church. Through a law approved by Parliament, the Act of Supremacy (1534), he severed all connections with Rome and placed the Church of England under his personal control. He then seized the lands and other property of the monasteries and churches. Henry made only a few changes in doctrine or ritual. Even today, the ceremonies of the Anglican Church (Church of England) still bear a rather close resemblance to those of Catholicism.

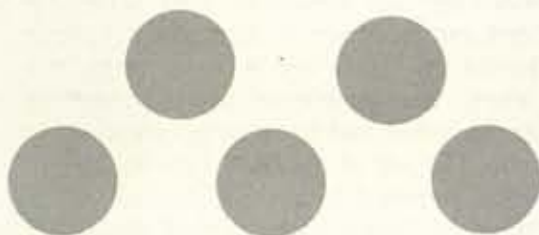
Differences between Protestants and Catholics. Since the sixteenth century, numerous Protestant sects have come into existence—Baptists, Congregationalists, Quakers, Methodists, Unitarians, Mormons, Christian Scientists, and others. Despite many variations in doctrine, almost all agree on sev-



eral principles which set them apart from the Catholic Church. Protestants, without exception, deny the authority of the pope as the leader of Christendom. They place great stress on the Bible and reject the worship of saints and images. Their ministers, who are usually chosen by the congregation, are permitted to marry. Services tend to be simple and are conducted in the language of the people, rather than in Latin.

In early days, almost every Protestant church was also a state church. That is, the ruler became the head of the church in his realm, the people were required to pay taxes for its support, and the state took title to all religious property. As in Catholic countries, persons who disagreed with the ruler's religious views were often harshly punished. Thus political and economic interests added to the differences which had arisen over church doctrine and organization. As we shall see later, the Roman Catholic Church eliminated the abuses which had given rise to criticism earlier. Nevertheless, it never became possible for Protestants and Catholics to heal the rift and merge again in one church.

The Age of Transition



The Transformation of Medieval Europe

Economic Progress and Its Cultural Effects. Change seems to be one of the laws of history. As we have already seen, those civilizations which tried to stand still either stagnated or disappeared. Western society, fortunately, was able to avoid that fate. Through contact with the advanced peoples of the East and the rediscovery of ancient Greco-Roman civilization, Europe became the heir of many different cultures. The process of change was accelerated. The Mid-

dle Ages gave way to the Age of Transition, which, in turn, prepared the way for the emergence of modern Europe.

The Age of Transition saw the continued growth of trade and cities. The Mediterranean became the highway of a vastly expanded commerce. Money, as well as land, became a measure of wealth. Advances were made in industry as craftsmen improved on earlier methods or borrowed better techniques from other peoples. Farming methods also continued slowly to improve. More abundant crops made possible a larger population and higher living standards.

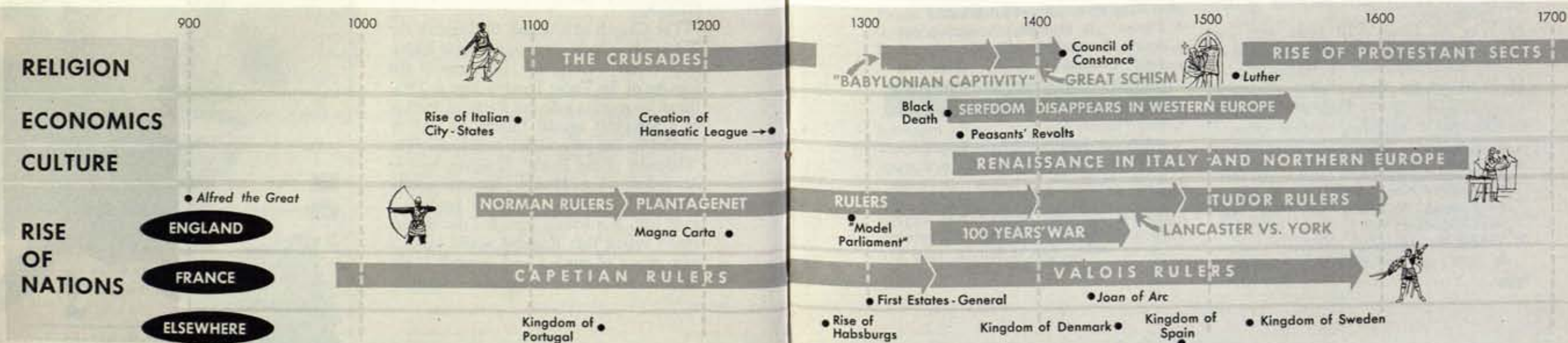
As wealth increased, many more people were able to live a leisurely existence. Patronage of the arts became popular and culture flourished. Inspired by the new humanistic spirit, Europeans during the Renaissance accomplished extraordinary achievements in literature, painting, sculpture, architecture, science, and music.

Changes in Society and Government. Merchants, craftsmen, and other residents of the rapidly growing towns formed a strong middle class. Their increasing influence helped to break down the class distinctions

of feudal society. The condition of the peasants also improved considerably as serfdom declined. The rise of the common people came at the expense of the nobles and clergy, who had dominated early medieval Europe.

The outstanding political change during the Age of Transition was the rise of modern nations. Most important were England, France, Spain, and Portugal. All were governed by ambitious monarchs. Though they occasionally invited representatives of the different classes to consult with them, these rulers resented any real limitations on their authority. Through their standing armies and power to tax their subjects, they sought to make themselves absolute rulers.

Effects on Religion. New economic, political, and social conditions led people to re-examine traditional religious ideas and institutions. The result was a religious revolution, in which the spiritual unity of Western Christendom was destroyed. Rivalry between Catholics and Protestants was to lead to great violence and bloodshed. In the next unit, we shall see how this religious rivalry was embittered by competition for commerce and colonial possessions.





30 / Lesson Review

Checking the facts

1. Explain: "Babylonian Captivity of the Church"; Great Schism; indulgences; Ninety-Five Theses; Lutheran Church; Peasants' Revolt; Protestants; Religious Peace of Augsburg; doctrine of predestination.
2. Identify: Wycliffe; John Huss; Martin Luther; Calvin; Huguenots; Presbyterians; Anglicans.
3. How did the "Babylonian Captivity" and the Great Schism weaken the authority of the papacy?
4. How did the writings of Erasmus and other humanists prepare the way for the Protestant Revolution?
5. Why did many European rulers oppose the pope's authority?
6. Why did Martin Luther post his Ninety-Five Theses? How was he able to escape punishment for his defiance of both pope and emperor?
7. What were the causes of the Peasants' Revolt? What were its important effects?
8. What were the terms of the Religious Peace of Augsburg? For what important Protestant sects were no provisions made?
9. Explain briefly Calvin's main religious doctrines. Why did his teachings win enthusiastic support among members of the middle class?
10. Why did Henry VIII break with the Catholic Church? What were the terms of the Act of Supremacy (1534)?
11. What are the main religious differences between the various Protestant sects and the Catholic Church?

Applying history

1. What was the *immediate* cause of the Protestant Revolution? What were its *underlying* causes? Which do you think were more important? Why?
2. Explain the differences between "salvation by faith" and "salvation by good works."

Why might Luther's viewpoint be considered more pessimistic than that of the Catholic Church?

3. "All Christians," wrote Luther, "are truly of the spiritual estate, and there is no difference among them save of office." Explain what he meant. How did his viewpoint differ from that of the Catholic Church, as shown in the sacrament of ordination?
4. Why was John Calvin called by his enemies "the Protestant Pope at Geneva"? List two other examples of theocracy (government dominated by religious leaders) in earlier civilizations that we have studied.

History and geography

1. Locate (map, p. 249): Holy Roman Empire; Switzerland; England; Netherlands.
2. List in parallel columns the European countries which adopted Protestantism and those which remained Catholic (map, p. 249).

Special activities

1. Prepare a radio play on the main events in the life of Martin Luther or John Calvin.
2. Explain how some of Luther's hymns reflect the Protestant point of view.
3. In recent years there have been several movements to bring about unity among the various Christian churches. Report on one of these movements and its results.
4. Discuss: The Protestant Revolution permanently shattered the religious and cultural unity of Europe.

Summarizing Unit 6

1. Play "Twenty Questions" on the important events described in this unit. Keep a record of the number of questions the rival teams require to identify each event.
2. Arrange a class exhibit showing the main political, economic, cultural, and religious developments during the Age of Transition.
3. On an outline map of Europe, color and label the countries which had achieved unity

- by the beginning of modern times. Then, using a different color, show the countries where disunity still prevailed.
4. In your notebook prepare an outline of the most important events in this unit.

5. Use the time line to find out what was happening in the leading countries of western Europe in 1100; 1200; 1300; 1400; 1500. How does this show the relationship between events in different places?

Books to Read

Specialized Accounts

- COSTAIN, THOMAS B. *The Conquerors*. Doubleday, 1950.
- . *The Magnificent Century*. Doubleday, 1951.
- . *The Three Edwards*. Doubleday, 1958. Three popular accounts of developments in feudal England.
- *FERGUSON, WALLACE K. *The Renaissance*. Holt, 1940. An excellent brief survey.
- *LAMB, HAROLD. *The Crusades*. Doubleday, 1945. Describes the leading crusaders and their adventures.
- *MILLS, DOROTHY. *Renaissance and Reformation Times*. Putnam, 1939. Light reading that contains excerpts from original sources.
- MOSSE, GEORGE L. *The Reformation*. Holt, 1953. A brief, useful survey.
- NEWTON, A. P. *Travel and Travellers of the Middle Ages*. Knopf, 1930. A noteworthy brief study.
- *PERROY, EDOUARD. *The Hundred Years' War*. Oxford, 1951. A thorough, scholarly treatment, recommended for the serious student.
- PRICE, MARY R. *A Portrait of Britain in the Middle Ages*. Oxford, 1951. Brief, clear.
- QUENNEL, M. C. and C. H. B. *A History of Everyday Things in England*. Putnam, 1956. A valuable four-volume history of social life in England, profusely illustrated.

Biographies and Historical Fiction

- ACKER, HELEN. *Five Sons of Italy*. Nelson, 1950. Brief biographies, including those of Da Vinci, Michelangelo, and Galileo.
- BARNES, MARGARET. *The Tudor Rose*. Macrae, 1953. A novel about the Wars of the Roses in fifteenth-century England.

- *DAVIS, WILLIAM S. *God Wills It*. Macmillan, 1940. A historical romance set in the period of the Crusades.
- FABRE, LUCIEN. *Joan of Arc*. McGraw-Hill, 1954. A moving account of the career of the Maid of Orleans.
- HAHN, EMILY. *Leonardo da Vinci*. Random House, 1956. A well-written biography of the great artist-scientist.
- *HARKNESS, GEORGIA E. *John Calvin: The Man and His Ethics*. Abingdon, 1958. An interesting, scholarly biography of the French religious reformer.
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- *LERMAN, LEO. *Michelangelo, A Renaissance Profile*. Knopf, 1942. An interesting biography of the great Italian artist.
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UNIT 7

THE MAKING OF MODERN EUROPE

When early prehistoric men came to the bank of a broad river, they generally had to turn back. For them, such a river was likely to be an impassible barrier. However, when boats were invented, rivers became highways of travel and trade. Eventually, mariners sailed out into the Mediterranean, and that great inland sea became a center of civilization. Later still, Europeans built ships that could cross the widest ocean. They discovered the "New World" and found an all-water route to the Far East. For the first time in history, the entire globe was open to exploration and development by the people of a single continent.

From the Far East and the Americas, Europeans drew great riches which helped to speed up the progress of their civilization. Commerce, industry, and agriculture expanded. Population increased and cities grew rapidly. Remarkable advances were made in literature, painting, music, and other branches of culture. Under powerful rulers, who hired large armies, strong nations grew stronger and new nations appeared.

Yet, during this period of great growth, Europe's progress was almost continuously interrupted by war. For generation after generation, governments spent their resources to gain new territories and to increase their power. In the eighteenth century, wars between the nations of Europe were extended to distant parts of the globe. The people of early modern Europe achieved many advances, but they sacrificed much of their gains on the altar of the war god Mars.

In this unit, the following questions will be answered:

1. What were the effects of the Voyages of Discovery and Exploration?
2. What were the main results of the "Wars of Religion"?
3. Why was the Age of Louis XIV significant in modern history?
4. How did the English people benefit from the victory of Parliament over the monarchy?
5. How did the rise of new powers in central and eastern Europe help to bring on new wars?
6. What important changes resulted from the struggle for power in the eighteenth century?

THE EXPANSION OF EUROPE



Anyone who has seen a large ocean liner being battered by mountainous waves must wonder at the courage of the early European explorers. Their ships were small and weak. In rough weather, the seams opened and the sails were torn to tatters. The food supply was inadequate for a long voyage and after a time became insect-infested and moldy. Moreover, because maps were crude, ships often lost their way when blown off course.

Superstitions and false beliefs about the unknown world were also barriers to exploration. Sailors were afraid that they might be devoured by huge sea monsters or that the ship would sail off the edge of the world if it ventured too far. As a result, captains often had to kidnap men in taverns or take them from jails. Undisciplined and mutinous crews had to be driven, coaxed, and bribed into making long voyages. Iron nerves and unshakable courage were required to risk a voyage to distant lands under such conditions. However, the rewards of an ocean voyage promised to be worth the dangers.

THE VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION

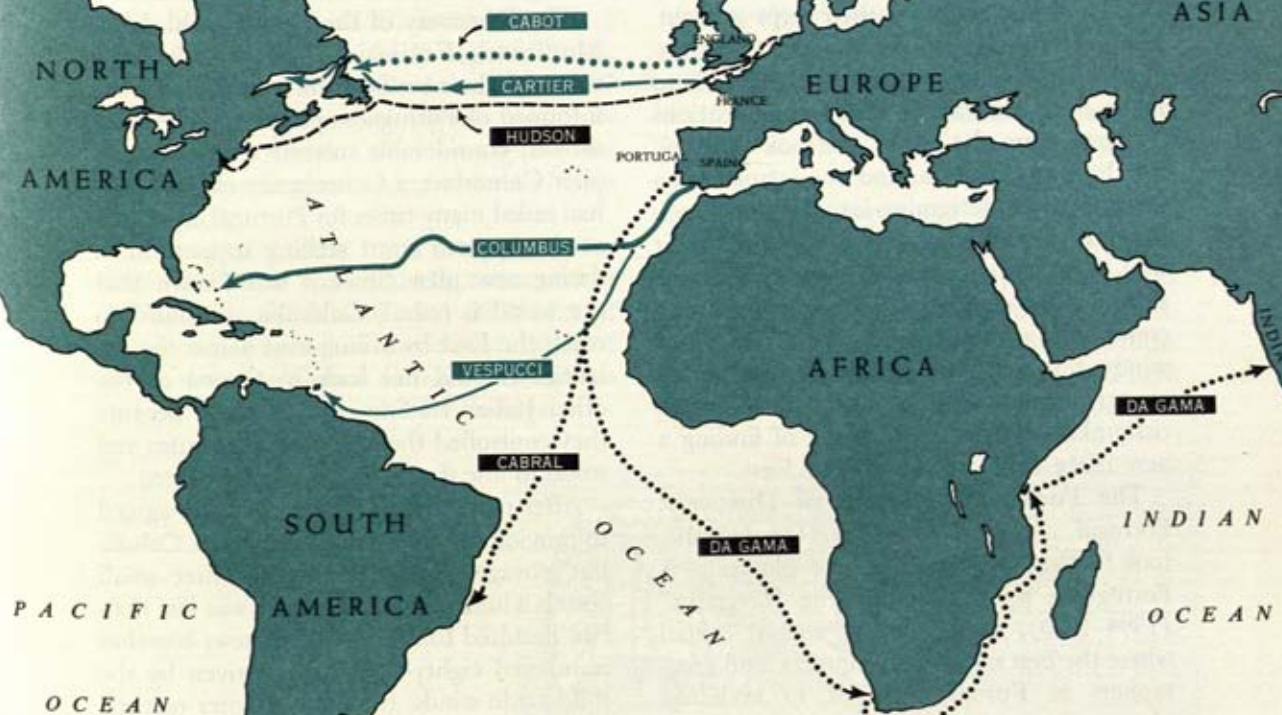
Interest in a New Route to the Far East. The demand for spices, silks, and other luxuries from the Far East continued to increase during the late Middle Ages and Renaissance, as Europe became more populous and wealthy. These goods were transported by

Arab traders to the eastern Mediterranean, where they were picked up by Italian merchants and then sold in Europe (see map, pp. 214–215). Having a monopoly of the trade, the Arab and Italian middlemen kept prices high and made huge profits. Anyone who could break their stranglehold could expect to make a fortune.

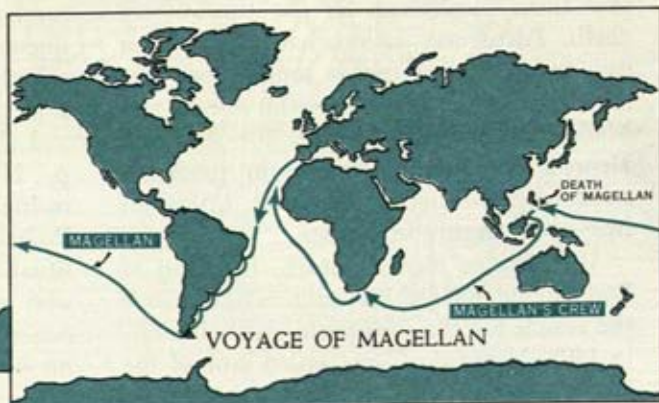
Late in the thirteenth century, Europeans did discover a new route. A party of Venetian merchants succeeded in making the difficult overland journey across Asia to the court of the Chinese emperor, but their trip took two and a half years. One of these merchants, Marco Polo, also visited Japan and the Spice Islands, later called the East Indies. Returning home, he wrote a fascinating account of his travels. Marco Polo told of the marvels he had seen in the countries he had visited, describing unheard-of wonders, such as palaces with roofs of gold. Even more important, he suggested that there might be an easier and quicker way to reach these rich lands—directly by sea.

Polo's tales aroused the interest of adventurous mariners and profit-seeking merchants. The rulers of the rising nations saw new opportunities to increase their wealth and power through trade and plunder. The Church, realizing that millions of pagans might be converted to Christianity, was ready to send forth missionaries. "Gospel, gold and glory" inspired the search for an all-water route to the Far East.

VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY



- English
- French
- Dutch
- Spanish
- Portuguese



Improvements in Shipbuilding and Navigation. The search for a sea route to the East was made possible by notable improvements in shipbuilding and navigation. During the ancient period and the Middle Ages, ship captains, fearful of losing their way, had usually kept within sight of the shore as they sailed and had anchored their ships at night. However, the danger of getting lost was lessened when European geographers learned to make more accurate charts. Two inventions acquired from the Arabs, the box compass, for showing direction, and the astrolabe, an instrument to determine latitude and longitude, also enabled navigators to find their way with more certainty. Shipbuilders designed more seaworthy vessels, and seamen continually acquired more knowledge about winds, tides, and currents. By the fifteenth century, experienced captains were willing to risk unknown seas in the hope of finding a new route from Europe to the East.

The Portuguese Voyages of Discovery. Portugal, a rising power along the Atlantic, took the lead in early oceanic exploration. A Portuguese prince, Henry "the Navigator" (1394-1460), established a special school where the best sailors, astronomers, and geographers of Europe gathered to exchange ideas and new knowledge. Regularly each year, Prince Henry organized expeditions and sent them southward. By the time of his death, Portuguese sailors had found their way two thousand miles south along the African coast and had won the Azores and Madeira Islands as colonies for Portugal. Henry's expeditions engaged in profitable trade with the natives of West Africa for ivory, gold dust, and pepper.

After Prince Henry's death, the king of Portugal encouraged his captains to continue the search for the new trade route. Finally, in 1498, Vasco da Gama sailed around the

Cape of Good Hope, crossed the Indian Ocean, and reached India (map, p. 257). The rich cargo he brought back paid many times over the cost of his expedition. More important, he had found a direct water route to the East. Da Gama had unlocked for Portugal the treasure house of the Orient.

The Discovery of the New World, 1492. Meantime, Ferdinand and Isabella, the rulers of the new Spanish nation, had been informed of Portuguese progress. Thus, they showed considerable interest when Christopher Columbus, a Genoese sea captain who had sailed many times for Portugal, appeared at the Spanish court seeking support for a daring new plan. Since it was known that the world is round, Columbus proposed to reach the East by sailing west across the Atlantic. He did not look to Genoa or the other Italian trading cities for help because they controlled the existing trade routes and stood to lose if new ones were discovered.

After many delays, Queen Isabella agreed to provide the ships and supplies for Columbus' voyage. He set forth with three small vessels whose combined weight was less than two hundred tons and whose crews together numbered eighty-eight men. Driven by the mild trade winds, the bold explorer reached land after sailing for only thirty-three days from the Canaries. Thinking that he had reached the Far East, he called the newly discovered islands the "Indies."

Columbus made three other voyages, and explored the islands of the Caribbean Sea and the coast of South America. (See map, p. 257.) However, he apparently never realized that he had found a "New World." Probably the first man to recognize the true situation was another early Italian explorer who sailed for Spain, Amerigo Vespucci. America, "Amerigo's Land," was named in his honor.

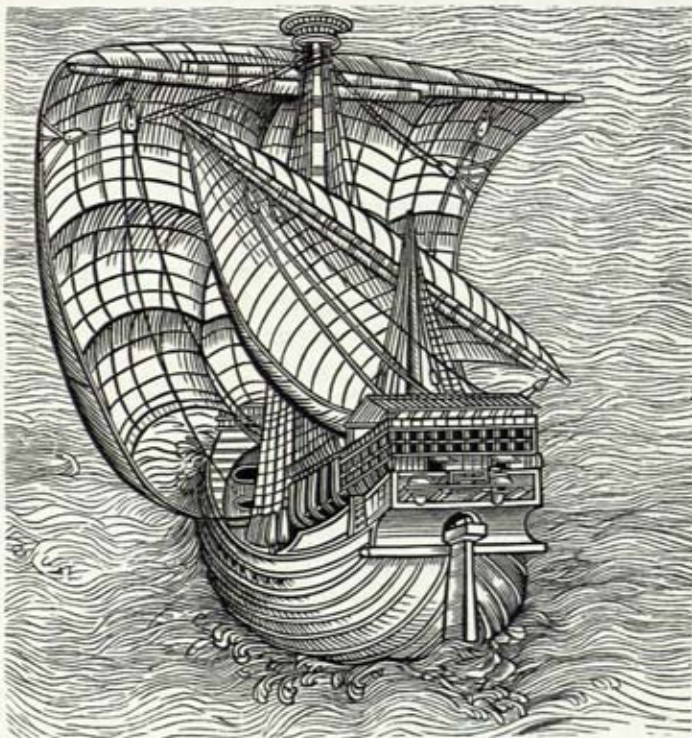
Other Early Explorers. Another early explorer was John Cabot. King Henry VII of England hired this Genoese sailor "to seek out, discover, and find whatsoever isles, countries, regions, or provinces of the heathen and infidels, which before this time have been unknown to all Christians." With a tiny ship manned by only eighteen men, Cabot crossed the North Atlantic in 1497 and reached the coast of Canada, which he thought to be China. Cabot's voyage became the basis for England's later claim to North America.

Three years later, a Portuguese commander, Cabral, was caught by a storm while sailing down the African coast. Blown far off his course, he reached the eastern coast of South America. Cabral named that large territory Brazil and claimed it for Portugal.

The Search for a Westward Passage. Strange as it seems, the discovery of America was, for a time, a grave disappointment, for the new lands barred the way to the rich East Indies and China. So the search by Spain and other powers for a westward passage to the Orient continued, leading to a number of important discoveries.

Ferdinand Magellan, an explorer in the service of Spain, sailed southward along the coast of South America. Near the tip of that continent, he passed through the straits that now bear his name and then entered the Pacific Ocean. For months he sailed westward. When finally his ships reached the Philippine Islands, his crews were greatly reduced by deaths from scurvy and starvation. Magellan himself was killed there in a fight with the natives. The remainder of his men

The caravel was a type of vessel used by Columbus and other early explorers. It had many technical advantages over earlier ships: the new stern rudder made it easier to keep on course; new ways of rigging made it possible to sail closer to the wind.



set off in the one seaworthy ship that was left, crossed the Indian Ocean, rounded Africa, and returned home with a load of spices. The voyage had taken fully three years, 1519–1522. By circumnavigating the globe, Magellan's men proved that the world was round and that the Americas were new continents. However, the Magellan expedition had not discovered a practical route to the Far East. (See map, p. 257.)

Later, in 1534, a Frenchman named Jacques Cartier explored the coast of North America. He sailed up the St. Lawrence River in search of a northwest passage to China. Still later, in 1609, Henry Hudson, an English mariner employed by the Dutch, discovered the Hudson River while on a similar search. Although these voyages did not succeed in finding the hoped-for westward passage, they did provide France and the Netherlands with claims to New World territory.

EUROPE'S NEW COLONIAL EMPIRES

The Early Inhabitants of the New World. Although the Western Hemisphere was a "New World" to the Europeans, it had been inhabited for many centuries before the coming of Columbus. Recently remains were discovered which indicate that humans lived in the Western Hemisphere twenty thousand years ago. Because the American Indians bear a close physical resemblance to the Mongolian peoples of Asia, most anthropologists believe the Indians originated there. The theory is that they crossed over from northern Asia to Alaska, by way of the narrow Bering Strait or the land bridge which may once have connected the two continents. Gradually the newcomers spread southward and occupied both of the Americas.

The early Indians lived much like other primitive peoples. They supported themselves by hunting and fishing, wore clothing made of animal skins, and lived in simple tents. In time, some of them learned how to domesticate plants and settled down as farmers. They cultivated many crops not found elsewhere, including corn (maize), potatoes, cocoa, tomatoes, squash, beans, and tobacco. Corn, which was very nutritious and easily grown, became the main item in their diet. Its many varieties have been found in every part of the Americas where the Indians lived.

The American Indians, however, developed differently in some respects from the inhabitants of other continents. They never invented the plow. Herding was practically unknown—except in South America, where the llama was domesticated. The lack of draft animals probably explains why the Indians had no wheeled vehicles. Tools and weapons also remained rather crude. Although the Indians discovered how to smelt gold, silver, copper, and other metals, they used them primarily for jewelry and other ornamentation. Until after the coming of the Europeans, most of their implements were made of either stone or obsidian, a hard volcanic glass.


The Mayan Civilization in Central America. Three great Indian civilizations eventually appeared in what is now Mexico, Central America, and the western portion of South America (see map, p. 265). The oldest of these Indian civilizations was that of the Mayas. About two thousand years ago, the Mayas succeeded in clearing the dense tropical forests of Central America. They brought large areas of land under cultivation and organized a number of thriving city-states. Unfortunately, not much is known about the Mayas' history because no one has

yet learned how to decipher their writing. What little knowledge we possess is derived from archeological discoveries and from accounts written by Christianized Mayas after the arrival of the Spaniards.

Religion apparently played a very important role in the Mayan civilization. Like other ancient peoples, the Mayas worshiped a great variety of gods, most of whom represented the forces of nature. Their pyramid-temples were large and impressive structures. On religious festival days, worshipers came

from the surrounding countryside bringing bird and animal offerings to the temples. On occasion, too, beautiful young maidens were sacrificed in the belief that they would become brides of the gods.

Although the Mayas practiced the barbarous custom of human sacrifice, their civilization had many advanced features. The priests, who also served as scholars and teachers, developed a complex system of writing or hieroglyphics. They invented a good number system, which in some ways resem-



El Castillo ("The Castle"), at Chichén Itzá on the Yucatán peninsula of Mexico, is one of the most impressive of the remains of Mayan architecture. The Mayas created the effect of tall structures by setting a one-story building on top of a pyramid of earth which they faced with cut stone blocks and wide stairways.



bled that of the ancient Romans. Excellent astronomers, they learned to predict eclipses of the sun and moon and worked out an extraordinarily accurate calendar. The Mayas also possessed great artistic skill, as shown in their statuary and wall carvings, their brightly painted pottery, and their beautiful jade and gold ornaments.

The Mayan civilization flourished for about a thousand years, until about A.D. 800. Then, for some unknown reason—possibly soil exhaustion or disease or civil conflict—it collapsed. The great Mayan cities became deserted and were soon overgrown by tropical vegetation. Two or three centuries later, three new Mayan city-states arose in the north, in the Yucatán peninsula. They formed a strong league and revived their old culture. However, this second flowering of Mayan civilization came to an end when the city-states began to fight among themselves. The Spaniards found only a few traces of the Mayan civilization when they arrived in the New World.

The Aztec Civilization in Mexico. The second great Indian civilization, the Aztec, appeared near the end of the thirteenth century but reached its height several centuries later. The Aztecs, originally a backward nomadic people from the north, settled in central Mexico in the vicinity of present-day Mexico City. Through wars and alliances, they gradually extended their control over a sizable empire.

However, the Aztecs were not mere conquerors. They soon learned writing, mathematics, and other civilized arts from neighboring Indian tribes, who may have learned these from the Mayas. They recognized the importance of education and provided schools for the training of their youngsters. To encourage trade, they established law courts, built good highways, and created a simple kind of coinage.

By the fifteenth century, the Aztecs' capital had grown into a splendid city, with magnificent palaces and temples, broad streets, and a good water supply. Their temples were even more imposing than those of the Mayas. The largest, dedicated to the god of war, was three hundred feet square at the base and about three hundred feet high. The Aztec religion was certainly an unusually cruel and bloodthirsty one. Each year the priests killed thousands of men, women, and children as sacrifices to their gods. Most of the victims were prisoners captured by the Aztecs in their frequent wars with neighboring peoples.

The Inca Civilization in Peru. The third and richest Indian civilization was that of the Incas of Peru. Like the Aztecs, the Incas were foreign invaders who rose to power through a combination of military and organizing ability. From about 1200 to 1530, they ruled a great empire which extended from northern Ecuador to central Chile and from the Pacific Ocean to the eastern base of the Andes. The empire was governed by a monarch known as the Inca, who was believed to be a descendant of the sun god.

The Inca was probably the most absolute ruler in history. He owned all of the land in the empire and assigned a plot to each peasant family. In return, the peasants had to share their produce with the Inca and the priests, and had to work for the government several months each year. Armies of laborers terraced entire mountainsides for agriculture, built elaborate irrigation canals, and constructed great paved roadways. These ran for thousands of miles, across deserts and over mountains, to connect all parts of the empire. Still other groups of laborers constructed public buildings or were sent to mine gold, silver, and copper in the mountains.

The Incas' civilization had other unusual features. Poverty and crime were almost unknown, and careful attention was paid to the health of the laborers on government projects. For example, because of the high altitudes at which the mines were located, mining was permitted only during the summer months, and the miners were required to work only from noon to sunset. The Incas also possessed a high level of culture. They had an advanced system of numbers and an accurate calendar. They manufactured fine cloth and pottery, and their metalwork was among the finest ever produced. They enjoyed dramas and created a musical form somewhat like our opera. Strangely enough, this advanced people never developed a real system of writing. Instead, they kept their records by means of knots tied in strings.

Spanish Conquests in the New World. The Spaniards were the first Europeans to learn of these rich Indian civilizations and to recognize that the Americas might prove valuable possessions. Not long after Columbus' voyages, a number of Spaniards, with the approval and backing of their government, organized expeditions to search for treasure. The majority of these adventurers met with failure. However, a few were successful beyond even their wildest dreams.

Most successful by far of all the fortune-hunters was Hernando Cortés. Landing on the coast of Mexico in 1519, Cortés and his small band of followers advanced inland and swiftly conquered the rich Aztec Empire. This remarkable feat was made possible mainly by the Spaniards' superiority in armaments. Their cannon and horses, in particular, struck terror into the hearts of the Indians. Several other circumstances also favored the invaders. The Spaniards received valuable assistance from various rebellious tribes, who had long sought an opportunity to throw off the cruel Aztec yoke. Moreover,

when Cortés arrived in Mexico, many Aztecs believed that the bold Spaniard was a god and welcomed him warmly. When they realized their mistake, it was too late to organize successful resistance.

About a decade after Cortés' conquest of Mexico, another little army of Spanish adventurers, led by Francisco Pizarro, invaded Peru. They seized the Inca ruler and later put him to death. Then they placed his young son on the throne and tried to use him as their puppet. The Indians made many attempts to drive out the invaders. But when the Spaniards executed the last Inca ruler in 1571, the Indians were left without a leader, and all organized revolts ended.

In Mexico and Peru, the Spaniards forced the Indians to work the gold and silver mines for them. However, the Indians did not make good slaves. They were rebellious, and large numbers died as a result of harsh treatment. The Spaniards therefore began to import Negro slaves from Africa. Farming and stock raising, as well as mining, then became profitable. Eventually Spanish American soil produced far greater wealth than did its mines.

Despite their loss of independence, the Indians gained some benefits from the Spanish conquest. The government in Spain issued orders that they be treated more fairly by the conquerors. Spanish missionaries converted them to Christianity, tried to protect them from their oppressive masters, and instructed them in European ways. To this day, most of Latin America is Catholic in religion and Spanish in language and culture.

The Portuguese Empire. The newly discovered territories gave rise, for a time, to conflicting claims between Spain and Portugal. However, the two nations soon agreed to a dividing line drawn by the pope. Africa, the Far East, and eastern South America were allotted to Portugal, the rest of the New

World to Spain. On the basis of this line and Cabral's visit, Brazil became a Portuguese possession.

The Portuguese directed their main energies to the development of a commercial empire in the Far East. Portuguese merchants established trading stations in India, the East Indies, China, and even distant Japan. They killed off their Arab rivals and barred other European traders. For years, they held a complete monopoly of the profitable commerce with the East. Although brave missionaries followed the merchants and brought Christianity to the native peoples, the Portuguese made many enemies because of their aggressive behavior and intolerant views. A small nation with only a small population, Portugal proved unable to hold its empire against the stronger European powers.

Dutch, English, and French Colonial Empires. During the early seventeenth century, the Dutch seized control of most of Portugal's commercial interests in the Far East and established the colony of New Netherlands in America. But they, too, lacked the manpower to hold so large an empire. Later the Dutch were forced to make way for the English and the French.

England's success in building a great empire was the result of many factors. One of these was the powerful English navy. Another, strangely enough, was the discontent of the English people. Seventeenth-century England was troubled by economic difficulties, religious persecutions, and civil wars. As a result, thousands of emigrants left the mother country to seek new homes in the wilderness of North America. The first permanent English settlements on the American continent were made at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607 and Plymouth, Massachu-

setts, in 1620. Eventually thirteen prosperous colonies were established along the Atlantic coast. At the same time, the English acquired some rich islands in the West Indies and some profitable trading posts in India.

The French also secured some important holdings in the Western Hemisphere and in India. Their first settlements in North America were planted along the St. Lawrence River valley by Champlain in 1608. From this region, named New France, the French quickly pushed westward along the Great Lakes, then down the Mississippi River to the Gulf of Mexico. They laid claim to the lands on both sides of the river and named this huge territory Louisiana in honor of their monarch, Louis XIV. (See map, p. 265.)

By the eighteenth century, the nations of Europe had gained a dominant position in distant parts of the globe. The early sea captains, who had bravely sailed westward in their frail vessels to seek a new, shorter route to the Far East, had accomplished much more than they could ever have dreamed. Though failing to discover the new route they were looking for, they did discover a New World!

THE COMMERCIAL REVOLUTION IN EUROPE

Growing Trade and Prosperity. The Voyages of Discovery and Exploration also helped bring about a series of far-reaching economic changes in Europe, known as the Commercial Revolution. From the Far East, ships brought large cargoes of spices, silks, and other luxuries. From the Americas came gold, silver, furs, dyestuffs, and many valuable new products—notably potatoes, corn, cocoa, and tobacco. The potato proved es-



pecially important because it yielded considerably more food per acre than grain and enabled Europe to support a much larger population. The rapid expansion of overseas trade and the rise in Europe's standard of living were two important features of the Commercial Revolution.

Beginning of Capitalism. Trade within Europe, which had revived during the Middle Ages and increased greatly during the Renaissance, now had an even more astonishing growth. The flow of gold and silver from America brought more money into circulation. People were able to buy more goods, prices rose steadily, and business prospered. The small class of capitalists, which had first appeared during the fifteenth century, now expanded in numbers and influence. The capitalists were businessmen who had accumulated fortunes in commerce, banking, mining, or manufacture. They were anxious to invest their capital in new business enterprises and were willing to take risks—provided that they saw a chance to make large profits. The growth of capitalism was another important feature of the Commercial Revolution.

The new capitalist system brought about important changes in the existing methods of production. The capitalists saw great opportunities for profit in the growing demand for goods both at home and overseas. As a result, they constantly sought ways to increase output in industry and agriculture.

These enterprising businessmen became ever more impatient with the fixed prices, limitations of production, and other restrictions of the old guild system. Eventually they found a way to evade the guilds' restrictions—by having goods made outside the towns. Textile merchants, for example, purchased large quantities of raw wool. They transported the wool to the peasants in their cottages and paid them to make it into cloth.

Then the capitalists sold the finished cloth, usually at a large profit.

This new method of production, which became quite common in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was called the domestic system because the work was done in the home. The guilds, which were handicapped by old-fashioned methods and were resistant to change, found it difficult to meet this competition. They became less and less important and gradually disappeared.

Capitalism in Agriculture. Another medieval institution weakened by the Commercial Revolution was the manorial system. The nobles needed more money in order to buy the attractive new products. However, while prices were generally rising, the rents and dues of the villagers were fixed by custom. Therefore, to obtain money, many of the nobles leased out their land to capitalists. The latter hired agricultural laborers and raised crops for sale in the towns. Sometimes the nobles engaged in similar large-scale farming themselves. In either case, this change marked the beginning of capitalism in agriculture—that is, of farming for profit.

In England, sheep raising became especially profitable because the rising demand for wool to be made into cloth led to a sharp increase in the price. Numerous large landowners enclosed (fenced in) their own land and even the village commons for use as sheep runs. This caused serious hardships for the peasants, who found it difficult to manage without free pasture for their animals. Unable to meet their payments to the landowner, many peasants lost their strips of land and became agricultural laborers or beggars. However, it was now possible for wealthy landowners to combine the small strips of the manorial system into large efficient farms of the modern type.

New Economic Institutions. To meet the needs of the growing class of capitalists,

many new economic institutions came into existence. Groups of merchants pooled their wealth and formed powerful trading companies, like the Dutch or English East India companies. These obtained charters from their governments granting them sole control over trade with distant lands. Some of the trading companies sold shares of stock to investors, who became part-owners of the company and were entitled to share in the profits. Such stock companies were the ancestors of the modern corporation. As the practice of buying and selling shares became common, the first stock exchanges began.

Insurance companies were also formed—to protect businessmen from excessive losses. Large new banks were organized which made loans and provided other important services. New bookkeeping techniques were invented so that businessmen could keep accurate records of their accounts. Much of the machinery of modern capitalism was created during the Commercial Revolution.

The Theory of Mercantilism. The Commercial Revolution also gave rise to a new economic theory known as mercantilism. Mercantilism was based on the belief that a nation was strong if it possessed large amounts of gold and silver. This idea was natural enough in early modern Europe. The rulers of the rising new nations thought mainly in terms of military and naval strength. Large amounts of precious metals provided funds to hire soldiers and build powerful fleets.

To obtain the precious metals, these rulers watched over and encouraged industries that were making goods which could be sold to other countries as exports. At the same time, they imposed tariffs (taxes on imports) to discourage the purchase of foreign goods. When a country had larger exports than imports, it was said to have a favorable balance of trade. This meant that more gold

and silver would come into the country than would have to be paid out.

Another essential feature of mercantilism was a growing interest in colonies. They were especially valuable if they contained gold and silver mines. They could also add to the wealth of a nation by supplying it with necessary raw materials and by buying its manufactured goods. As a rule, colonists were forbidden to establish industries, since these might compete with the industries of the mother country. They were also forbidden to trade with foreigners, so that the merchants of the mother country could have a monopoly of their commerce.

Rivalry for Trade and Colonies. From the sixteenth century to the early nineteenth, the monarchs of Europe closely regulated trade in accordance with the theories of mercantilism. However, mercantilism had a fundamental weakness. It was obviously impossible for every nation to sell more than it bought. Trade must be a two-way street. Nevertheless, each ruler thought only of advancing the interests of his own nation. The inevitable result of Europe's mercantile policies was a bitter struggle for trade and colonies.

In this struggle, the advantage lay with those nations which bordered on the Atlantic Ocean, the new highroad of world commerce. Venice, Genoa, and the other great Mediterranean ports declined. Economic leadership then passed to Spain and Portugal. But their position, in turn, was soon challenged by three other Atlantic nations—the Netherlands, England, and France. Religious issues complicated this rivalry. As we shall see shortly, the problems stemming from the Commercial Revolution combined with those of the Protestant Revolution. Jointly, these two movements helped to plunge Europe into several generations of bloody conflict.



31 / Lesson Review

Checking the facts

1. Explain: monopoly; middleman; Commercial Revolution; capitalism; domestic system; enclosure movement; stock company; favorable balance of trade.
2. Identify: Marco Polo; Prince Henry "the Navigator"; da Gama; Columbus; Amerigo Vespucci; Cabral; Cabot; Cartier; Hudson; Magellan; Mayas; Aztecs; Incas; Cortés; Pizarro.
3. Why were fifteenth-century Europeans eager to find an all-water route to the Far East? What improvements in shipbuilding and navigation made their search practical?
4. Describe briefly the achievements of at least three of the famous explorers of this period. Tell how their explorations provided the basis for rival European claims in the New World.
5. List in parallel columns the achievements and the weaknesses of the three great Indian civilizations in the Americas.
6. How did the Voyages of Discovery and Exploration help improve Europe's living standards?
7. What changes did the new overseas empires bring about in European industry, agriculture, and economic institutions?
8. What was the mercantilist system? Why did it lead to conflicts among the European nations?
4. How did Europe's discovery of a new trade route to the East affect the Arab countries?
5. The Spanish conqueror Pizarro is supposed to have said, "The New World is a cow for our milking." What did he mean? How did this attitude illustrate the new mercantilist theory?
6. Discuss the effects of European conquest on the Indian inhabitants of the New World.
7. How did the Voyages of Discovery and Exploration contribute to the Commercial Revolution in Europe?

History and geography

1. Locate (map, p. 265): St. Lawrence River; Amazon River; Gulf of Mexico; West Indies; Mississippi River; New France; Louisiana; Florida; Brazil; New Spain.
2. Trace the two all-water routes from western Europe to the East discovered during the period of exploration (map, p. 257). Why was neither one completely satisfactory? What is the customary route today?
3. How did geographic features influence the European settlement of the New World (maps, pp. 265 and 326)?
4. Which was the largest European empire in the Americas in 1700 (map, p. 265)? Which was the most valuable at the outset? Which areas in the Americas were the most suitable for settlement by Europeans? Explain your answers.

Applying history

1. Compare the ocean voyages of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries with the explorations of outer space of our own day. Which do you consider the more daring? the more important? Justify your answers.
2. Why did the great cities of fifteenth-century Italy take no part in the search for an all-water route to the East?
3. Why was it said, after the Voyages of Discovery and Exploration, that a port on the Atlantic was like a shop on Main Street, while Italy now found itself on a back street?

Special activities

1. Write a brief biography of Prince Henry "the Navigator," Christopher Columbus, or one of the other important early explorers, based on your outside reading.
2. Arrange a class exhibit on the types of ships used by the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century explorers. Compare these with the vessels used by ancient mariners and by the Norsemen during the early Middle Ages.
3. Arrange a class exhibit entitled "Indian Civilizations of the Americas."



Today in the United States and in other Western countries, Protestants, Catholics, and members of other religious sects live peacefully side by side. Thus, it is hard for us to realize that men once killed one another because of differences in religion. But people's ideas in early modern Europe were quite different from ours. Protestants and Catholics were both sure that their faith was the only road to salvation. They believed it was their sacred duty to stamp out religious beliefs contrary to their own.

Within each country, the dominant church group sought to enforce religious unity—at the point of the sword, if necessary. In turn, the desire for religious unity also led to many clashes between nations. Religious differences, it is true, often served merely as an excuse for rulers to engage in wars for territory, trade, and colonies. However, since religious issues were involved, Europe's wars of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries are usually called "The Wars of Religion."

PHILIP II AND THE ANTI-PROTESTANT CRUSADE

The Catholic Counter Reformation. The opening skirmishes of the sixteenth-century religious conflict had been won by the Protestants. England, Scotland, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, and large parts of Germany

and Switzerland had all broken away from the Catholic Church. Protestantism had also won many followers in France, the Spanish Netherlands, Bohemia, Hungary, and Poland. However, the Roman Catholic Church answered the challenge of the "Reformation" by launching the "Counter Reformation." The pope convened a great Church council, the Council of Trent, which stayed at work, despite many interruptions, over a period of eighteen years, 1545–1563. This council defended the Catholic religious teachings. It set higher standards for the clergy, improved the religious services, stopped the sale of indulgences, and adopted other important reforms.

Other measures were adopted to combat the spread of Protestant ideas. The Vulgate version of the Bible, translated from the Greek into Latin many centuries earlier by St. Jerome, was proclaimed the only official Bible for Catholics. The Council of Trent prepared the Index of Prohibited Books, a list of books which Catholics were forbidden to read. In addition, the Inquisition sought out and punished heretics even more zealously than in the past.

A new religious order, the Society of Jesus or the Jesuits, played a major role in the Counter Reformation. It was established by Ignatius Loyola, a Spanish soldier. While recovering from a serious wound, Loyola read the lives of the saints and was inspired to

devote himself to the service of God. Soon he acquired a group of able followers, whom he organized like an army and placed under rigid discipline. After long and careful training, these priests went forth to serve the Church. Many of the Jesuits became distinguished teachers and scholars. Others became confessors and advisers to Catholic rulers. Still others toiled as missionaries in distant lands. Through their zealous efforts, the Jesuits soon won for themselves the title of "Soldiers of the Church."

The Policies of Philip II. The Church also enjoyed the support of a powerful ruler, King Philip II of Spain (1556-1598). Philip was the son of Emperor Charles V (see p. 242). From his father, Philip had inherited Spain, the Netherlands, and the Spanish possessions in Italy and the New World. (The Habsburg territories in central Europe, along with the imperial crown, had gone to Charles V's younger brother, Ferdinand.) Brought up as a Spaniard, Philip was inspired, almost to the point of fanaticism, by the crusading religious spirit of his country. Three policies dominated his entire reign—the extension of his own power within his realms, the expansion of Spanish power in Europe, and the restoration of the unity of the Catholic Church.

Philip pursued these policies on many fronts. Throughout his empire, he employed the dread Inquisition against suspected heretics. He interfered in the religious struggles taking place at the time in both England and France. He became involved in a naval war with the Turks in the Mediterranean and won a decisive victory over them in the Battle of Lepanto in 1571. When the throne of Portugal fell vacant, Philip, whose mother was a Portuguese princess, laid claim to that kingdom and annexed it. Sixty years passed before the Portuguese succeeded in regaining

their independence. On the whole, Philip's political and religious crusades met with a considerable measure of success. However, they also involved him in serious difficulties.

The Revolt in the Netherlands. Trouble first developed in one of his possessions, the Netherlands. The Dutch (the people of the northern Netherlands) had adopted Calvinism, despite the efforts of Charles V to keep them Catholic. Philip renewed the attempt to force them back into the Catholic Church. He also taxed them heavily and took away their rights of self-government. When they rioted, he sent a strong army to the Netherlands under the command of the Duke of Alva. The latter's harsh policies and the brutal behavior of the Spanish soldiers drove the people into open rebellion.

The Dutch found a brave leader in William the Silent, Prince of Orange. With few funds or resources, often defeated and constantly in danger of his life, William carried on the unequal struggle. He delayed the powerful Spanish forces by opening the dikes and flooding the land. Then he gradually weakened his foe by countless small attacks. Meanwhile, Dutch privateers, the "Sea Beggars," carried on the war at sea and became the terror of Spanish shipping. Philip was never able to conquer the rebellious northern provinces of the Netherlands (Holland), but he did keep control of the Catholic southern provinces (later called Belgium), by promising the people greater freedom.

Establishment of the Dutch Republic, 1581. After long years of war, the Dutch proclaimed themselves an independent nation. They chose William the Silent as their first governor. The new Dutch Republic prospered, particularly from its trade and shipping. Since Portugal had fallen under Philip's rule, Dutch merchants had an excuse for attacking the rich Portuguese Empire in

the Far East. They smashed the old Portuguese trade monopoly, took over the East Indies, and built a great commercial empire. In the seventeenth century, the Netherlands was one of the leading European powers (map, p. 276).

Religious Changes in England. Meantime, events were taking place in England which profoundly affected Philip II's policies. The religion of that country changed three times

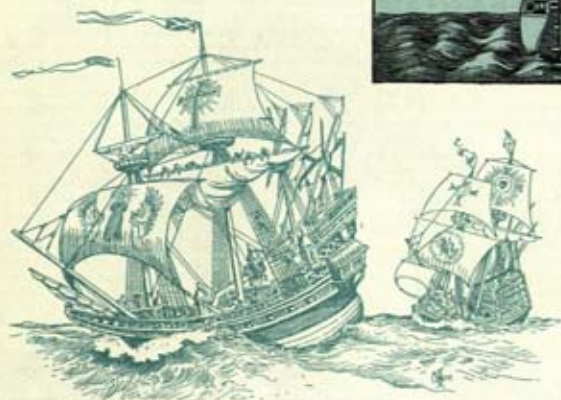
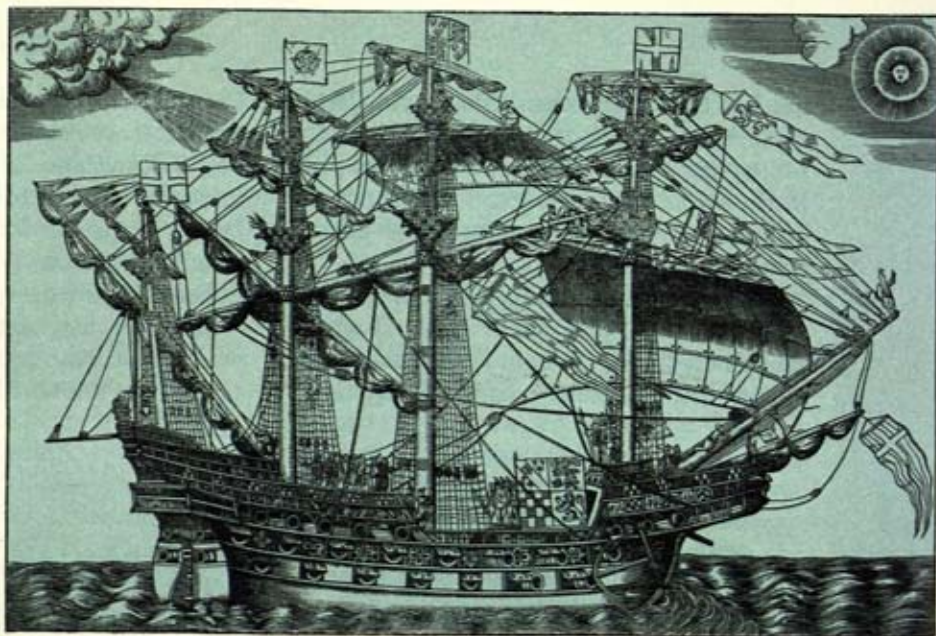
in the decade after Henry VIII's death. The first of Henry's children to inherit the throne was a sickly boy, Edward VI (1547-1553). Edward's advisers tried to force a more extreme Protestant form of worship on the people. However, these policies were abandoned after the death of the young king.

Edward's half-sister, Mary (1553-1558), who was a very devout Catholic, then ascended the throne. She chose the unpopular

Philip II of Spain (left) was proud, self-righteous, and so solemn that he almost never smiled. Elizabeth I of England (right) was one of the great rulers of English history. Shrewd and forceful, she devoted herself to the service of her people. Yet she had some human frailties—she was fond of elegant clothing and was very vain about her appearance.



Mortua Anno Miseri Cordi aet. 70
Crisp. van quereen sculpsit 1582.



Slow-moving Spanish galleons (left), heavily laden with treasure from the New World, were easy prey for the English "sea-dogs." English warships were faster and more maneuverable, and carried more cannon than those of the foe. The *Ark Royal* (above) was the English flagship in the great victory over the Spanish Armada.

Philip of Spain as her husband. In an effort to restore Catholicism to England, she executed about three hundred Protestants during her brief reign. She became known to many of her subjects as "Bloody Mary."

After Mary's death, Henry's second daughter, Elizabeth, came to the throne. Queen Elizabeth I (1558–1603) once again broke England's ties with Rome. She restored the Anglican Church, which has remained, except for one brief interruption (see p. 290), England's official church to this day.

Queen Elizabeth's Foreign Policy. To prevent interference by Philip II, Queen Eliza-

beth adopted clever and cautious tactics. Both Philip and the king of France were anxious to marry Elizabeth, believing that with marriage would come control of her realm. By remaining unmarried, she was able for years to play off the two rivals against each other.

Elizabeth used this breathing space to strengthen her hold on the throne, to heal internal religious feuds, and to build up English shipping and trade. Later, when it became evident that Philip II was plotting with English Catholics to overthrow her, Elizabeth determined to weaken the Span-

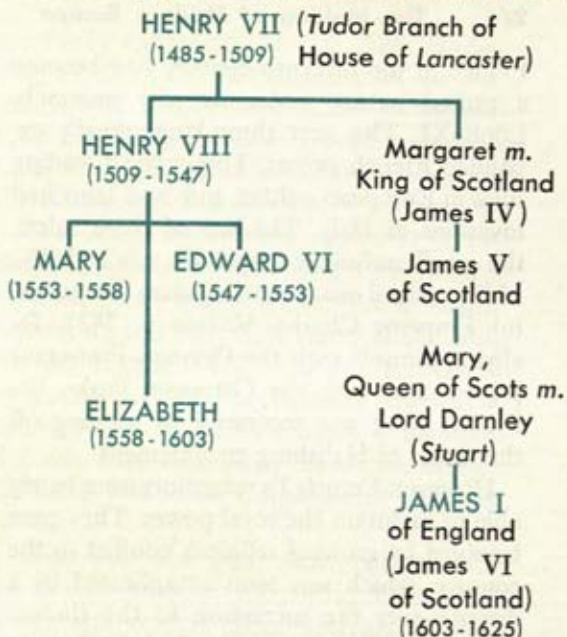
ish king's power. She secretly sent aid to the Dutch rebels and encouraged her bold mariners to prey on the treasure-laden Spanish galleons. War finally broke out between Spain and England. But by the time it came, Elizabeth had greatly strengthened England while Spain had grown weaker.

The Defeat of the Spanish Armada, 1588. Philip II relied for victory on his mighty war fleet, his tough and seasoned troops, and the Catholics in England. However, his plans went wrong almost from the start. Philip's plots to start a Catholic uprising against Elizabeth failed completely. The troops which he sent to conquer England never even had a chance to land.

As Philip's "Invincible Armada" approached English waters, the defenders chose the narrow English Channel as the battleground. The small, fast English vessels darted between the large enemy galleons and blasted them with heavy gunfire. The Spaniards, fleeing in disorder, were hit by a violent storm. Less than a third of the Armada succeeded in returning to Spain. The Spanish fleet had suffered a shattering defeat. In one of the decisive battles of history, England's seamen had saved the nation and started it on the road to world power.

The Elizabethan Age. Elizabeth's reign was in most respects a period of unparalleled progress for England. Explorers and merchants penetrated every quarter of the globe. Companies were formed to trade with Turkey, Russia, India, America, and Africa. Protestant craftsmen, refugees from persecution on the continent, were welcomed to England and established new industries there. Poets and playwrights, including William Shakespeare, created a "Golden Age" of culture. No wonder the people called their ruler "Good Queen Bess."

TUDOR RULERS OF ENGLAND (1485-1603)



The Decline of Spain. For Spain, the defeat of the Armada also proved a turning point—but of a different sort. The country had been weakened by Philip's wars. Trade and industry were being ruined by religious persecution, unwise taxes, and inefficient government. Even the influx of gold and silver from the colonies proved a mixed blessing. As large supplies of money became available, prices rose. Spain's industries suffered because it became cheaper to import manufactured goods from other countries. After a century of greatness, Spain entered a long, slow period of decline which, eventually, reduced it to the status of a minor power.

THE CONFLICT BETWEEN BOURBONS AND HABSBURGS

Civil Wars in France. While Philip was engaged in his struggles with the Dutch and the English, France was being torn by a series of bitter civil wars. As we have seen,

France in the fifteenth century had become a united nation under its wily monarch, Louis XI. The next three kings greatly expanded French power. They played leading roles in European politics and even launched invasions of Italy. The last of these rulers, the gay Renaissance despot Francis I (1515–1547), waged many wars against the powerful Emperor Charles V (see p. 242). By allying himself with the German Protestant princes and with the Ottoman Turks, the French King was successful in warding off the threat of Habsburg encirclement.

However, Francis I's successors were barely able to maintain the royal power. They were troubled by growing religious conflict in the country, which was soon complicated by a dispute over the succession to the throne. Since the last ruler of the Valois Dynasty had no children, two great French lords fought to win recognition as his heir.

One claimant to the throne, the king's Protestant cousin Henry of Navarre, was backed by the Huguenots, or French Calvinists. The Huguenots were a small minority, although they included a few powerful nobles and most of the influential middle class. Henry's rival, the Duke of Guise, was the leader of a militant Catholic league. He was supported by most of the nobility and the clergy and also received assistance from Philip II of Spain.

The religious wars in France lasted for over thirty years and were marked by many bloody incidents. Finally, a large party of moderate Catholics, becoming distrustful of the Duke of Guise and his Spanish ally, threw their support to the Huguenot leader. Henry of Navarre ascended the throne as Henry IV of France in 1589.

Progress Under the Early Bourbons. Henry IV was the first ruler of the Bourbon

Dynasty in France. The people loved him because of his gallant, adventurous spirit and because he was sincerely interested in their welfare. To end the religious strife, Henry became a Catholic. But he issued a decree, the Edict of Nantes, in 1598, which guaranteed religious toleration to his old friends, the Huguenots. Henry also built roads and canals to help the merchants, eased the tax burdens of the peasants, and helped establish the first French colonies in America. During the reign of this able monarch, France gradually recovered from the evil effects of the long civil wars.

Henry IV, assassinated by a Catholic fanatic, was succeeded by his young son, Louis XIII (1610–1643). Because Louis XIII had trouble in controlling the great nobles, conditions in France again became unstable. Then in 1624 the King appointed a very capable churchman, Richelieu, as his chief minister. Cardinal Richelieu devoted his life to strengthening the French monarchy. He planted spies among the nobles, crushed their conspiracies, and destroyed their fortress-castles. Abroad, he directed his policy against the Habsburg rulers of Spain and Austria, who still threatened France with encirclement (see p. 242). Richelieu's chance to weaken them came when a new religious war broke out in the Holy Roman Empire.

The Thirty Years' War, 1618–1648. Trouble in the Kingdom of Bohemia, a Habsburg possession, gave rise to a tragic thirty years' conflict. Many of the Czech nobles were Calvinists. They revolted when an ardent Catholic prepared to ascend the throne. The rebels obtained the support of a number of Protestant German princes. The king of Bohemia, who was also Holy Roman Emperor, led a league of Catholic princes against them. The Catholics tri-

umphed after a brief war which ended in 1623, and Bohemia remained under Habsburg rule.

Two years later the fighting was renewed. The king of Denmark entered the conflict—in order to help his fellow Protestants in Germany and to win some territory for himself. The emperor, in turn, hired Wallenstein, a famous mercenary general, to help defend the Catholic cause. The combined Catholic forces proved too strong for Denmark. They won a second complete victory in 1629.

The third phase of the war was begun the following year by the Protestant King Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden. After invading Germany, the "Lion of the North" won several important victories. Even after he was killed in battle, Sweden continued to fight. But the German princes, tired of the long bloodshed, agreed among themselves to a compromise peace.

France, as a Catholic country, might have been expected to favor the Catholic cause. However, Richelieu was primarily interested in weakening the Habsburgs of Austria. For some time, he had been sending help to the German Protestant princes and to the Dutch, who were again at war with Spain. Now he led France into the war openly. He signed an alliance with Sweden and sent armies against both Austria and Spain. The French phase of the Thirty Years' War was the longest and bloodiest of all. It lasted thirteen years, 1635–1648, until the Habsburg ruler of Austria was exhausted and agreed to peace terms. Fighting between France and Spain continued for another eleven years, until Spain finally accepted defeat.

The Peace of Westphalia, 1648. A generation of warfare left Europe physically and

spiritually exhausted. In the Holy Roman Empire, the main battleground of the war, millions of people were killed. Numerous cities and villages were destroyed, and whole areas were reduced to wilderness. What did this destruction and devastation accomplish?

The peace agreements, signed at Westphalia in northern Germany, dealt with three separate problems—religious issues, territorial claims, and the future status of the Holy Roman Empire. The religious settlement permitted each of the German princes, as before, to determine the religion of his state. But now they were given the choice of Calvinism, as well as the Catholic and Lutheran faiths.

There were also some territorial gains for the victors (map, p. 276). France obtained Alsace and several other strategic districts near the Rhine. Sweden obtained Pomerania, an important province in northern Germany. Some of the leading German Protestant states also acquired additional territory. However, France profited most from the defeat of the Habsburgs since it now became the strongest power in Europe.

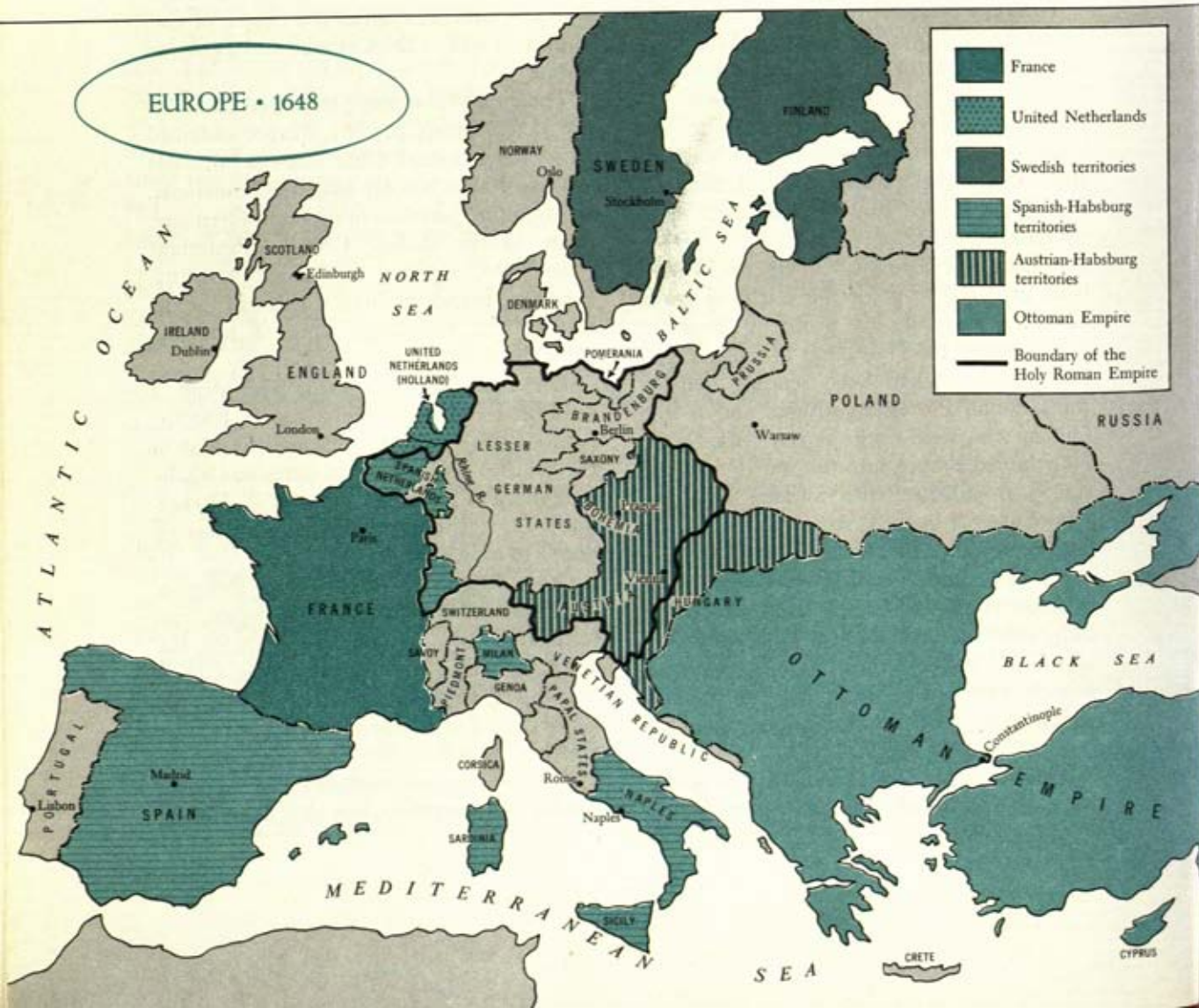
The Peace of Westphalia also dealt a deathblow to the old Holy Roman Empire. Although the Empire continued to exist in theory, each of the German states was legally recognized as free and independent. Thenceforth, the authority of the emperor was reduced to a shadow.

Other Results of the Wars of Religion. The Thirty Years' War was the worst, and fortunately the last, of the Wars of Religion. In many European countries, Catholics and Protestants came to realize that neither could crush the other. Forced to live together in peace, they gradually saw the wisdom of religious toleration. The growth of religious toleration was one outstanding

benefit which resulted from the Wars of Religion.

By the end of these devastating wars, national interests had become more important than differences in religion. Although these wars began as clashes between Protestants and Catholics, they soon became struggles between nations for political and economic power. Thus it was that France, a Catholic power, aided the German Protestants in a war against the Catholic Habsburgs.

Still another major result of the Wars of Religion was the growth of royal authority. Weary of turmoil, bloodshed, and destruction, people felt more than ever the need for a powerful monarch who could maintain a strong, stable government. They were willing to sacrifice their parliaments and other traditional rights for a future of security. This popular feeling resulted in the triumph of absolute monarchs in early modern Europe.





Checking the facts

1. Explain: Vulgate; Index; Spanish Armada; Elizabethan Age; Bourbon Dynasty; Edict of Nantes; Thirty Years' War; Peace of Westphalia.
2. Identify: Loyola; Jesuits; Philip II; William the Silent; Queen Elizabeth I; Henry IV of France; Cardinal Richelieu.
3. What were the main reasons for the so-called Wars of Religion?
4. What is meant by the term "Counter-Reformation"? Describe the roles played by the Council of Trent, the Inquisition, and the Society of Jesus.
5. What were the three great ambitions of Philip II? How successful was he in fulfilling each one?
6. Why was the reign of Elizabeth I a "Golden Age" for England?
7. What were the causes of the bitter civil wars in sixteenth-century France? How was Henry IV finally able to restore peace?
8. How did Cardinal Richelieu strengthen France and the French monarchy?
9. List and briefly describe the four main phases of the Thirty Years' War.
10. What were the major provisions of the Peace of Westphalia? What were other lasting results of the Wars of Religion?

Applying history

1. Why are both the Battle of Lepanto and the defeat of the Spanish Armada considered decisive battles in history? What important battles in ancient history also showed the vital importance of sea power?
2. Explain the sixteenth-century saying, "When Spain moves, the whole world trembles." Why was this saying no longer true in the seventeenth century?
3. Why has William the Silent been called the Dutch George Washington?
4. Was Queen Mary of England any more in-

tolerant than other rulers of her time? If she had succeeded in converting England back to Catholicism, would she still be known as "Bloody Mary"? Justify your answers.

5. Henry IV, who became a Catholic after failing to take Paris by storm, is reputed to have said, "Paris is worth a Mass." What did he mean? How did he show that he had not forgotten his Huguenot friends?

History and geography

1. Locate (map, p. 276): United Netherlands; Spanish Netherlands; Pomerania; Poland; Prussia; Brandenburg; Bohemia; Saxony; Scotland; Ireland; Austria; Portugal.
2. Compare the maps of Europe on pp. 175 and 276. List the important changes that had taken place between 1100 and 1648. How does the comparison of these two maps show the decline of feudalism and the rise of strong monarchies?
3. Why did the king of France complain that he was menaced by the "Habsburg vise" (map, p. 276)?

Special activities

1. Write a series of headlines concerning major developments during the Wars of Religion and arrange them in chronological order. How does their sequence show the close relationship which already existed in the sixteenth century among the various nations of western Europe?
2. Using information gathered from your outside reading, write a short biography of Philip II, William the Silent, Queen Elizabeth, or another important sixteenth-century ruler. Explain how this particular ruler's actions showed the influence of both religious and commercial rivalries.
3. Write a brief essay on the lasting significance of the Peace of Westphalia.



"I am the State!" These boastful words are supposed to have been spoken by King Louis XIV of France. Well might he have said them. For over half a century, 1643–1715, a nation of almost twenty million people was subject to his will. He made the laws, simply by issuing royal decrees. He collected taxes and spent the public funds as he pleased. He appointed the ministers and other important officials and could remove them if he chose. He could pardon a criminal or send an innocent man to prison. To write or say anything which offended him was a crime.

Furthermore, the "Grand Monarch" named all the high French church officials, and these officials taught the people to respect and obey him. One of his bishops, Bossuet, declared that the ruler had been chosen by God and was His representative on earth. It was therefore a sin for anyone to oppose or even to question his actions. Obedience was the sacred duty of the king's subjects. This theory of government, which was accepted by many people in the seventeenth century, is called the divine right of kings.

ROYAL ABSOLUTISM IN FRANCE

Origin of French Absolutism. Louis XIV's position as a divine-right monarch was the result of hundreds of years of French history. We have already seen (in Unit 6, pp. 236–239) how a series of able Capetian and

Valois rulers had succeeded in strengthening the royal power. The trend toward royal absolutism (monarchy with unlimited powers), which began in the later Middle Ages, was reinforced by the Wars of Religion. More than ever, people wanted a strong ruler to maintain order and to protect them from invasion. This feeling helped King Henry IV, and later Cardinal Richelieu, to weaken the authority of the nobles and to make France the leading nation in Europe.

Louis XIV was only five years old when he came to the throne. Until he was old enough to govern, France was ruled by the Italian-born Cardinal Mazarin. Mazarin, who had been selected and trained by Richelieu, was an able minister. However, because he was a foreigner and because he used his office to enrich himself, he became very unpopular. The nobles, who had been seeking an opportunity to recover their power, rose in revolt. On one occasion, they even forced their way into the young King's chamber. Mazarin succeeded in crushing the rebels, but the incident left a deep impression on Louis XIV's mind. He resolved never to permit the slightest challenge to his position.

When Mazarin died in 1661, Louis XIV took over the almost superhuman task of supervising the affairs of an entire nation. As Louis himself said, "The profession of king is great, noble, and delightful, if only one feels equal to performing the duties which it involves."

The young monarch, erect, stately, and dignified, was personally well qualified for his role. He was, in addition, both capable and energetic, spending hours every day on the affairs of state—poring over documents, consulting with his officials, and receiving foreign diplomats. The rest of his time was taken up by elaborate ceremonies and court functions, which frequently lasted until late at night. Louis XIV worked hard at what he called “the trade of being a king.”

The Achievements of Colbert. During the early part of his rule, Louis was fortunate in having the assistance of a great finance minister, Jean Baptiste Colbert. With the support of the King, Colbert embarked on an ambitious program of economic reform. He revised the tax system, closely watched expenditures, and discharged lazy or dishonest officials.

A firm believer in mercantilism, Colbert built roads and canals, established new industries, and encouraged improved methods in agriculture. He also built a large navy and strengthened France's colonial empire. Colbert succeeded in greatly increasing the prosperity and strength of France during the twenty-one years that he held office.

The New Capital at Versailles. As a sign of his great wealth and power, Louis XIV decided to build for himself a new capital. At Versailles, a dozen miles from the crowded streets and often turbulent people of Paris, he erected a magnificent palace. Here he held court, surrounded by his family, his ministers and other officials, and the leading nobles of France.

Versailles satisfied Louis's desire for a splendid setting. But it also served an important practical purpose by making the nobles dependent on the King. For the court life—with its elegant clothing, expensive entertainments, and reckless gambling—was a

heavy drain even for those nobles who owned large and rich estates. The only way most of them could meet their expenses was to obtain a post in the government or a pension from the royal treasury. To win the monarch's favor, or even the favor of his favorites, became the chief goal of a courtier's existence. The descendants of the proud feudal lords seemed little more than lackeys of the king.

Weaknesses of Louis XIV's Rule. The expense of building and maintaining Versailles proved a heavy burden for the French people. Moreover, in his new capital, Louis XIV became even more isolated from the common people of his country than before. The flattery of his courtiers made it difficult for the King to keep in touch with reality. They often called him “the Sun King,” a title implying that he, like the sun, was the center of the universe. His ever-growing vanity led Louis to commit several tragic errors.

One of these was the persecution of the Huguenots. As the French King grew older, he became more devout in his Catholic faith. He was convinced that he could easily convert the Huguenots to Catholicism—by revoking the Edict of Nantes, which had granted them religious toleration (see p. 274). When he did so in 1685, his officials subjected the Huguenots to brutal mistreatment. A few of them did become Catholics, but most of them fled for refuge to other lands. France thereby lost the services of many thousands of enterprising businessmen and skilled craftsmen. On the other hand, Prussia, England, and the other countries which welcomed them profited greatly from the Huguenots' intelligence, thrift, and hard labor.

The Wars of Louis XIV. Moreover, Louis XIV could not resist the temptation created by France's military strength and the



The Palace of Versailles is more than a third of a mile long and can house thousands of people—a magnificent monument to the splendor of the Sun King.

weakness of his neighbors. Spain, exhausted by more than a century of great religious wars, was declining in strength. The German states were disunited and were recovering only slowly from the Thirty Years' War. The Austrian Habsburgs were busy fighting the Turks, who were then on the outskirts of Vienna. Louis decided that this was a favorable moment to expand his territories. His excuse was that France needed all the land to the Rhine River in order to have a "natural boundary" on the east.

But the French King was in for a surprise. When his armies invaded the rich Spanish Netherlands in 1667, three strong nations—Holland, England, and Sweden—came immediately to its defense. Their alliance was the work of the Dutch leaders, who convinced the other nations that they must unite to keep France from dominating Europe. The idea that no one nation should be allowed to dominate Europe became a permanent feature of European politics. Nations

henceforth shifted from one alliance to another in order to keep an even balance of power. France soon agreed to make peace, retaining only a few towns on the border of the Spanish Netherlands, in 1668.

Louis XIV was now eager to punish the Dutch for upsetting his plans. He bribed the monarchs of England and Sweden to remain neutral while he launched a strong attack against Holland in 1672. However, the Dutch had a very able young ruler, William of Orange. Like his great ancestor, William the Silent, he cut the dikes and flooded the land to stop the invaders. Austria and England came to Holland's rescue in order to maintain the balance of power. Again Louis had to content himself with a few minor territorial gains.

A third great war began ten years later, in 1689, when Louis XIV tried to seize the Palatinate, a rich German state on the Rhine. As before, a powerful European coalition was formed against the French. The war

dragged on for eight years, but the fighting was indecisive. The French made no gains at all in the final peace treaty.

France suffered from exhaustion as the result of three major wars in thirty years. Louis XIV was no longer eager for territorial expansion or military glory. However, when he saw a chance to place one of his grandsons on the Spanish throne, he grasped at the opportunity, even though he realized that the other nations of Europe would oppose such an extension of Bourbon power. Louis's decision led to the long and bloody War of the Spanish Succession, 1701–1713. France faced a "Grand Alliance," whose most important members were Austria, England, and Holland. The war was marked by a series of disastrous French reverses—not only in Europe but on the sea and in the colonies as well.

Fortunately for France, the allies began to disagree. A compromise peace, the Treaty of Utrecht, was then arranged, in 1713. Louis's grandson was allowed to keep the Spanish throne—on condition that the Spanish and French crowns would never be united. Moreover, he agreed to surrender to Austria the Spanish Netherlands and the Spanish possessions in Italy. England also gained certain valuable territories—the fortress of Gibraltar, at the entrance to the Mediterranean Sea, and a part of the French empire in America (Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and the Hudson Bay region). Holland was given control of certain strategic fortresses along the French border.

Results of Louis XIV's Wars. Louis XIV had waged four great wars during his reign. These conflicts had brought much suffering to neighboring peoples. But the cost to France was even heavier. The King's treasury was empty; his grief-stricken and impoverished people mourned their dead and crippled.

Louis awoke too late to the errors of his policies. Lying on his deathbed, he warned his great-grandson, who was to succeed him, "My child. Do not imitate me in my taste for building, nor in my love for war. . . . Make it your endeavor to ease the burden of the people, which I, unhappily, have not been able to do." Unfortunately, his successor, Louis XV, and the other monarchs of Europe preferred to follow Louis XIV's example, rather than his advice.

EUROPEAN SOCIETY AND CULTURE DURING THE AGE OF LOUIS XIV

The Spread of French Influence. The splendor of Louis XIV's reign blinded people to its weaknesses, not only during his lifetime but for generations after his death. Many other European sovereigns, even the princes of the small German states, sought to imitate the monarch whose power and glory they envied. They made themselves absolute rulers within their territories. So far as their incomes allowed, they built expensive palaces, surrounded themselves with courtiers, and copied French court life. French became the language of diplomats and people of fashion. French teachers—especially of music, dancing, and fencing—were everywhere in demand. In society as in politics, the Grand Monarch influenced Europe so thoroughly and for so long that his era has been called "the Age of Louis XIV."

Life of the Upper Classes. This influence was naturally greatest among the members of the upper classes. The court nobles, like their rulers, built spacious and richly furnished mansions. They had armies of servants to wait on them. Since they no longer bore the main responsibility of government, they had a great deal of leisure time, which

they occupied with a gay round of social affairs, hunting, and other amusements.

Wealthy businessmen, especially bankers and merchants, lived almost like the court nobles. But even a poverty-stricken noble would look with disdain on "mere tradesmen." Only in England and in Holland were the old feudal class distinctions growing weaker. In England, rich commoners bought large country estates. They acquired social prestige and managed to arrange marriages for their children with members of the aristocracy.

Classicism in the Arts. Culture was another sphere where Versailles set the fashion for France and most of Europe. Louis XIV was a generous patron of the arts. He encouraged and supported a large number of writers, architects, sculptors, painters, and musicians; and they, in turn, devoted their talents to pleasing and glorifying the mighty French monarch. So impressive were their achievements that the reign of Louis XIV is often regarded as a literary and artistic golden age for France.

During Louis XIV's long reign, and for several generations thereafter, writers and artists were still greatly influenced by the Renaissance. They continued to use classical themes and models. However, the classicism of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries differed from that of the Renaissance in several important respects. As a rule, it was far more showy and elaborate. Writers flaunted their knowledge of the ancient classics with frequent quotations and references. Architects, sculptors, and painters, enjoying greater freedom in design than earlier, also reflected in their work the lavish, ostentatious taste of the period.

In architecture and the other fine arts, this new ornate classical style is known as the baroque. The baroque style originated

in Italy, but probably the most famous example of baroque art was Louis XIV's palace at Versailles, which was planned and built by leading architects of the time. The exterior of the vast structure, though harmonious and beautifully proportioned, had row after row of colonnades and columns. The walls inside were covered with huge murals, colored marble, gilded carvings, and sparkling mirrors. Sculptors decorated the spacious rooms and formal gardens with nymphs, cupids, and other figures from classical mythology. Painters showed the richly costumed courtiers in artificial poses amid classical settings. Though baroque art is today generally considered inferior to that of the Renaissance, it was widely admired and imitated in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe. The magnificence and lavish display pleased the vanity of the kings and nobles, who were the leading patrons of culture during this period.

Classicism in Literature. In literature, as in art, the main influences during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were French and classical. Two illustrious dramatists—Pierre Corneille (1606–1684) and Jean Racine (1639–1699)—wrote polished imitations of the ancient Greek tragedies. Corneille is best known for his play *The Cid*, which deals with the exploits and problems of a famous Christian hero who fought against the Moors in Spain. Racine's masterpiece, *Phaedra*, tells the story of an ancient Cretan princess who suffers remorse for a horrible crime she has committed and who finally kills herself. The genius of both dramatists is revealed in their polished poetic style. Racine is also noted for his penetrating insights into the emotions of his characters.

Even more popular were the comedies of the great satirist Molière (1622–1673). Mo-



Louis XIV conferred great honor on Molière when he invited the popular playwright to dine with him. In this famous picture by the nineteenth-century French artist Gérôme, the courtiers near the Grand Monarch and his guest appear respectful, but the others seem to be angry.

lière started his career as a comic actor and playwright with a troupe of strolling players. Becoming famous, he was summoned to Louis XIV's court to write and produce plays there. Molière's style was influenced by several ancient Roman authors, but he was chiefly concerned with the follies and foibles of people in his own day. He ridiculed the foppish clothing and manners of the courtiers, the attempts of rich bourgeois social climbers to ape the nobility, and the hypocrisy and vanities of people generally. Molière's influence was so great that he is said actually to have changed French manners.

There were numerous other noteworthy French writers during the period of Louis XIV. Two of these certainly deserve mention. Jean de La Fontaine (1621–1695), an enthusiastic student of the classics, wrote polished little poems similar to the fables of the ancient Greek Aesop. In each of them he

gently satirized a weakness of human behavior and pointed a moral for his readers to heed and follow. More cynical in his outlook was the great French noble, the Duke de la Rochefoucauld (1613–1680), who published a volume of interesting memoirs and a much more famous book of maxims.

It should not be assumed, of course, that all of the great writers of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were French. In England, for example, literature was more varied, probably because it appealed to the influential middle class as well as to the aristocrats. Religious issues were also a factor, as may be seen clearly in the career of the poet John Milton (1608–1674). Educated in the classics at Cambridge University, Milton first attracted public attention with several poems and a play written in the classical style. However, during the English civil war (see pp. 289–291), he turned his powerful pen to the defense of Puritan ideas

and wrote a number of important political tracts. The Puritan poet was stricken with blindness in middle age but continued his writing until his death several decades later. His greatest poem is *Paradise Lost*, in which he vividly described how Satan, leader of the fallen angels, entered the Garden of Paradise and tempted Eve with the fruit

Of that forbidden tree whose mortal taste
Brought death into the World, and all our woe,
With loss of Eden.

Milton's powerful moral themes and his rich, eloquent language have won him a place in English literature alongside Shakespeare.

Religious quarrels gradually subsided in early eighteenth-century England, and the classical influence again became dominant. Of the many noted classical writers who flourished during this period, the undisputed leader was Alexander Pope (1688–1744). Perhaps his most famous work is the *Rape of the Lock*, a long humorous poem in the style of a Latin epic, which tells of a gentleman's theft of a lock of hair from a noted beauty and the bitter family feud which resulted.

Still another group of early eighteenth-century English writers, responding to the gradually changing popular taste, developed a new form of literature, the novel. Short stories—about love, adventure, mystery, and other themes of human interest—had long been known. But it remained for Jonathan Swift, Daniel Defoe, and other English authors to write long books, with involved plots, based on these themes. An eager reading public brought quick fame to the early novelists and helped make the novel the popular literary form which it has remained.

The Development of Modern Music. Music also continued to make remarkable

advances during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Opera, which had originated in Renaissance Italy, was first introduced to France by Cardinal Mazarin. Operatic works were soon being composed by Frenchmen, and a Royal Academy of Music was chartered by Louis XIV. Ballets, originally a combination of dancing, choral singing, and musical dialogue, also became very popular entertainment at the French royal court. They were performed chiefly by the courtiers, with the King himself often taking part.

The music of French composers was long popular in European court circles. However, during the early eighteenth century, the finest music was composed by two German musicians. George Frederick Handel (1685–1759) studied in Germany and wrote his first opera before he was twenty. After a brief stay in Italy, he returned to Germany to become musical director of the Elector of Hanover. When this prince ascended the English throne as King George I (see p. 293), Handel accompanied him to England and remained there for the rest of his life. In addition to his numerous operas, Handel composed a large number of works for the organ and choral groups, including the famous *Messiah*.

Religious music was brought to a new peak of perfection by Johann Sebastian Bach (1685–1750). He was appointed choirmaster of an important Lutheran church in Leipzig, a position which enabled him to devote most of his time to musical composition. Bach's works fill fifty large volumes and include virtually every important form of music except opera.

New Advances in Science. Science advanced so rapidly during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries that this period, as we have seen, has been called the

"Age of Genius." Here again France was a leader but was rivaled by other countries. Newly organized societies, like the Royal Society of London and the French Academy of Sciences, stimulated scientific experiments and investigations. The telescope, the microscope, and other new scientific instruments were invented. Mathematics, an indispensable tool of scientists, leaped forward with the discovery of analytical geometry and calculus. However, basic to all these other advances was the spread of the scientific method (see p. 395). This method called for careful experimentation, careful observation, and continuous checking before any conclusions were drawn. Although suggested in earlier periods, the scientific method now came into wider use.

One of the pioneers in the use of the scientific method was the brilliant Frenchman René Descartes (1596–1650). Descartes was so disturbed by the inexact state of learning in his day that he rejected the scientific theories of medieval scholars and other traditional authorities. "Here are my books," he once told a visitor, and pointed to some rabbits that he was preparing to dissect. Descartes studied the reflection and refraction of light and made numerous important contributions to the field of physics. Following careful study of the human body, he wrote a textbook of physiology. In mathematics, which was his greatest interest, he worked out analytical geometry by combining algebra and geometry. Descartes also achieved fame as a philosopher. Here he is best known for his attempt to develop a logical proof of the existence of God.

Another important scientist of the seventeenth century who utilized the scientific method was the wealthy Irish aristocrat Robert Boyle (1627–1691). He is especially famous for Boyle's law, which states that the

volume of a gas varies inversely with the pressure. Because of Boyle's precise methods, wide experimentation, and important discoveries, he is generally considered the father of modern chemistry.

The most eminent scientist of the age—and one of the greatest scientists in all history—was the English mathematician and physicist Isaac Newton (1642–1727). Among his other achievements, Newton worked out the famous law of gravitation. By means of a simple mathematical formula, he sought to account for the paths followed by all moving bodies, from the smallest object on earth to the largest star in the universe. Newton's mathematical work was essential to many scientific advances, especially in astronomy and physics. He was knighted by the English king and was awarded many other honors both at home and abroad. Newton's fame was striking proof of the important place which science had already gained in European life.

A Balance Sheet of Absolutism. Louis XIV and his fellow monarchs had some major achievements to their credit. They strengthened their nations by weakening the nobility, helping business, and encouraging science and culture. Theirs was an important role in the development of early modern civilization.

However, it is always dangerous to concentrate too much power in the hands of one man. Even the capable and hard-working Louis XIV made the serious mistakes of persecuting the Huguenots and waging aggressive wars. Eventually, absolute monarchy was recognized as a barrier to progress and was swept aside. The example was set by the English people, who succeeded in limiting the royal authority at the very time that absolutism was making its greatest gains on the European continent.



33 / Lesson Review

Checking the facts

1. Explain: absolute monarchy; divine right of kings; Palace of Versailles; balance of power; War of the Spanish Succession; classicism; baroque style.
2. Identify: Cardinal Mazarin; Louis XIV; Colbert; Corneille; Racine; Molière; La Fontaine; La Rochefoucauld; Milton; Pope; Handel; Bach; Descartes; Boyle; Newton.
3. Why did the French nobles revolt against Cardinal Mazarin's rule? How did this revolt influence Louis XIV's ideas of government?
4. Describe the achievements of Colbert as French finance minister.
5. Why did Louis XIV build a new capital at Versailles? What problems did this create for the French people?
6. Why did Louis XIV revoke the Edict of Nantes? Why was the persecution of the Huguenots harmful for France?
7. Describe briefly the four great wars fought by Louis XIV. How did the balance-of-power principle limit France's gains in these wars?
8. Describe Europe's achievements during the Age of Louis XIV in art and architecture; in literature; in music; in science.

Applying history

1. Louis XIV is supposed to have said, "I am the state." What did he mean by this? Why were his subjects willing to accept such a powerful monarch?
2. A French duke once complained that Louis XIV "would never employ persons of quality in any kind of government business" and

that he treated the nobles as though "they were only good to be killed off in war." Why did Louis XIV adopt such policies? What effect did they have on the French nobility?

3. During the reign of Louis XIV, the French were called "the Huns of Europe." Why?
4. The baroque style has sometimes been called "palace art." Why is this an appropriate title? Why was such an ornate style favored by absolute monarchs such as Louis XIV?

History and geography

1. Locate (map, p. 276): Rhine River; Vienna; Holland; England; Sweden; Spanish Netherlands; Spain; Austria.
2. What were the "natural frontiers" of France (maps, pp. 170–171 and 276)? Where did the French border not coincide with these natural frontiers?
3. Locate the major territories which changed hands as the result of the War of the Spanish Succession. Which of these territorial changes ended the Habsburg encirclement of France (map, p. 276)?

Special activities

1. Arrange a class exhibit entitled "The Age of Louis XIV." Include photographs or drawings of the Palace of Versailles, books by some of the noted writers of the period, and recordings of works by its composers.
2. Draw a cartoon to show how an absolute monarch controlled his nation's government, business, and religion.
3. Write a brief biography of Molière, Handel, Descartes, or one of the other important cultural figures discussed in this section.

LIMITED MONARCHY IN ENGLAND



Clad in a splendid robe of scarlet and ermine, clasping a jeweled scepter, and wearing a gold crown, a modern monarch looks every bit as important as Louis XIV. However, the status of kings has certainly changed in Europe. Today, in the few countries where they survive, kings and queens have preserved their thrones only by surrendering their powers. A European monarch today is little more than a figurehead, since real power is held by the people's representatives.

England was the first great nation to limit royal authority. Protected by the sea from invasion, the English felt less need than other peoples for a strong monarch and a large standing army. Also, since the days of King John and Magna Carta, they were accustomed to the idea that the king would consult with his subjects. The Tudor rulers—Henry VIII and Elizabeth I, in particular—had exercised great power by shrewdly gauging and managing public opinion. But when the new Stuart Dynasty came to the throne and tactlessly claimed to govern by divine right, they succeeded only in provoking revolts. For most of the seventeenth century, kings and Parliament strove for the upper hand. In the end England became a limited monarchy—that is, the authority of the monarch was greatly reduced and most of the powers he had once enjoyed were taken over by Parliament.

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN KINGS AND PARLIAMENT

Hostility Between James I and Parliament. The struggle between king and Parliament started when the beloved Queen Elizabeth was succeeded in 1603 by her Stuart cousin, James I. The new ruler was already king of Scotland. However, his experiences with his unruly Scottish subjects had taught him little. He began to quarrel with Parliament almost as soon as he was crowned king of England. James insisted that he was an all-powerful monarch, ruling by divine right, and that the people had only to obey his will. "Kings," he said, "are not only God's lieutenants upon earth, and sit upon God's throne, but even by God himself they are called gods." Parliament, in turn, reminded him of Magna Carta and of its traditional right to a voice in the government.

The dispute reached a climax when the King asked Parliament to vote new taxes. His request was largely justified by changing conditions, for the costs of government were growing as population increased and prices rose. The revenues which had been voted to earlier English rulers were no longer sufficient for James to meet his expenses. However, Parliament accused him of being extravagant and delayed action. James argued and scolded Parliament. Finally he

dismissed it. His high-handed action in treating the dignified members of Parliament like a group of schoolboys merely stiffened their resistance. James summoned other Parliaments later, and even sought to raise money without Parliament's approval. But he never succeeded in obtaining adequate new taxes for his needs.

Religious Controversies. James I's religious policies also gave rise to difficulties. The Anglican Church was the established church of England—that is, it was supported and controlled by the government. But many Anglicans, especially members of the important middle class, were influenced by Calvinist teachings. These came to be known as Puritans—because they wished to “purify” the Anglican Church by ridding it of all traces of Catholic ceremonies and ritual. Besides disliking the Puritans' strict religious doctrines, James also believed that they were trying to weaken his authority over the Church of England. He therefore rejected their proposed reforms and ordered them to accept the Anglican practices. “Conform,” he angrily warned them, “or I'll harry ye out of the land.”

There were also many Catholics and Dissenters (Protestants who were not Anglicans) in England. To escape persecution, some of the Dissenters, notably the Pilgrims, fled to other lands. The Catholic problem proved more serious. At the outset of his reign, James treated the Catholics leniently. He thought to win them over to the Anglican Church. However, when it became apparent that this policy was meeting with little success, he resorted to harsher treatment. To obtain revenge, a group of Catholics conspired in 1605 to blow up the King and Parliament. When the Gunpowder Plot was discovered, a wave of anti-Catholic feeling swept the country.

Strangely enough, this anti-Catholic feeling was soon directed against the King. James, who disliked war, was very anxious to establish good relations with Spain. Early in his reign, he completed a treaty with Spain, and planned to marry his son to a Spanish princess. To avoid offending Spain, he sent no support to the German Protestants who were then fighting the Thirty Years' War. All of these pro-Spanish actions aroused the fears and antagonism of the English people. Before his death, James I had succeeded in antagonizing Parliament, the Puritans, and many other influential members of the public.

Charles I's Experiment with Absolutism. Charles I (1625–1649), the son of James I, was more popular than his father at the outset of his reign. He was dignified and attractive in appearance and had been brought up in England. Moreover, he abandoned his father's pro-Spanish policy. He fought the Catholic nations, first Spain and then France, and sent help to the German Protestants. Yet he, too, claimed to rule as a divine-right monarch and proved unable to win the co-operation of his subjects.

The first disagreement arose when the King summoned Parliament to vote new taxes to pay for his wars. Parliament, angry because his military campaigns had been a miserable failure, refused. Charles then turned to other ways of solving his financial problems. He forced rich men to make him “loans” and imposed new taxes without Parliament's consent. To cut expenses, he lodged his troops in private homes against the will of the owners. Even so, Charles' money troubles continued, and he was soon forced to summon Parliament again. That body declared the King's acts illegal and would not vote any new funds until he had signed the Petition of Right, in 1628.



James I (above) was called by some "the wisest fool in Christendom." Oliver Cromwell (left) was named Lord Protector in 1653 and ruled England until his death five years later.

Charles signed this statement, promising not to repeat his illegal acts, but broke his pledge almost immediately. When Parliament protested, he ordered it dissolved and threw a number of its leaders into prison.

For the next eleven years, Charles ruled without Parliament. He continued to quarter his troops on the people; made forced loans and imposed new taxes on the merchants; and used special royal courts to punish anyone who dared to oppose him. Charles ordered particularly severe measures taken against the Puritans, many of whom now fled to America. Unrest grew in the country, but the English people seemed helpless against their ruler's tyranny.

The Outbreak of Civil War. Charles I went too far when he tried to impose the Anglican faith on his Presbyterian Kingdom

of Scotland. The Scots rose in arms to defend their religion. They ousted the King's officials and defeated the royal armies sent against them. Then they marched into northern England and demanded of the King a large sum of money before they would withdraw. Because of stiffening popular opposition, Charles was unable to raise enough money to pay off the Scots. He was forced at last to summon a new Parliament.

The "Long Parliament," which first met in 1640, was in session for many years. From the outset, the members were determined to take advantage of the King's troubles in order to limit his powers. They impeached his two chief advisers and later had them executed. They passed laws to prevent forced loans and the other illegal methods by which the King had raised money. The special

royal courts which had served to suppress opposition to the King were abolished. Parliament also demanded control of the army and the right to choose the King's ministers.

Rather than surrender his authority, Charles chose to fight. He led a group of armed followers into the House of Commons to arrest its leaders. The latter were warned in time and escaped. Fearing rebellion, Charles fled from London. Both King and Parliament now raised armies and prepared for hostilities.

THE VICTORY OF PARLIAMENT

The Puritan Victory. In the civil war which followed (1642–1646), men took sides according to their loyalty to monarchy and church. The supporters of the King were generally Anglicans or Catholics and included so many members of the aristocracy that they were known as the “Cavaliers.” The supporters of Parliament, on the other hand, were mainly the Puritan townspeople and small landowners, who had suffered most from the King's high-handed actions. They were called “Roundheads” because many of them cut their hair short as a protest against the elaborate hair styles of the time.

Early in the war, the Cavaliers inflicted several defeats on their inexperienced and poorly organized opponents. They even threatened to capture London, which was the center of resistance to the King. Later, however, the Roundheads found a very able commander, a devout country gentleman named Oliver Cromwell. His sternly disciplined “New Model Army” held regular prayer meetings and went into battle singing hymns. Thus inspired, they proved more than a match for the armies of the King. The

Cavaliers were finally routed, and the King himself was taken prisoner. In 1649 he was tried by Parliament as a traitor, found guilty, and executed. Charles I's attempt to be an absolute monarch had cost him his head, as well as his crown.

The Puritan Commonwealth, 1649–1660. The new republic, called the Commonwealth, was dominated by the commander of the army, Cromwell. Vigorous, intelligent, and practical, he proved a capable ruler. He restored order in England, suppressed revolts in Scotland and Ireland, and engaged in successful wars with Holland and Spain. Yet, for all his achievements, Cromwell's government was a failure.

What the Commonwealth lacked was popular support. Many people, even some who had been hostile to Charles I, were shocked by his execution. Others disliked Cromwell and felt that only a king should rule. An even larger number were antagonized by the measures which the Puritan Parliaments passed. Like Calvin in Geneva, the Puritans enacted numerous “blue laws.” These closed the theaters, prohibited cock-fighting and other popular sports of the time, and forbade any amusement on the Sabbath.

Aware of the growing dissatisfaction in the country, Cromwell forcibly dissolved Parliament. Then he took over direct control of the government. Unwilling to accept the title of “King,” he drew up a written constitution which named him “Lord Protector” for life. To guarantee order, he divided the country into military districts and placed a general in charge of each. England had escaped royal tyranny only to fall under a military dictatorship.

The Commonwealth hardly survived Cromwell's death in 1658. His son, who followed him as Lord Protector, was unable

to control the army. After a troubled year and a half, Parliament met again and invited the son of Charles I back from exile. England's only experiment with a republic had ended in failure. However, the Puritan Revolution had shown that the English people would fight rather than submit to a despotic king.

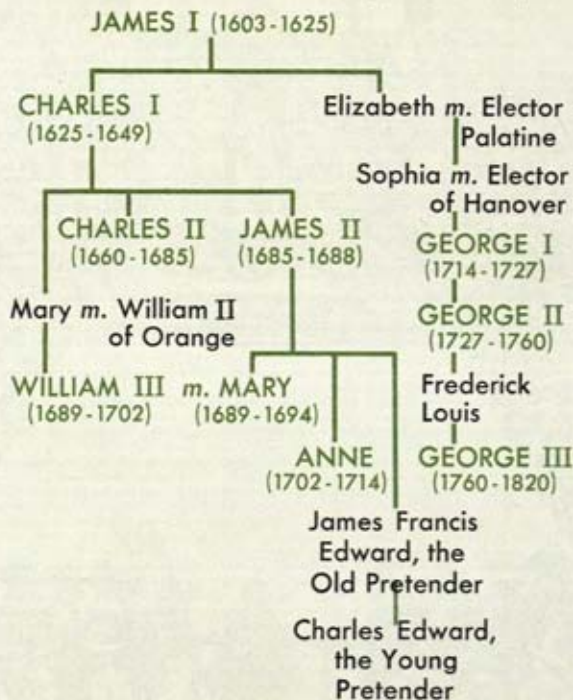
Restoration England. Joyous crowds welcomed the new ruler, Charles II (1660–1685). “Restore the good old days,” was their cry. A new Parliament, controlled by Cavaliers, led the way by restoring the Anglican Church and by persecuting the Puritans. Non-Anglicans were barred from holding any government positions and from worshiping in public places. Puritan blue laws were repealed. The Restoration soon became notorious as a period of immorality, gambling, and riotous living, with the King himself setting a scandalous example.

Charles II was a pleasure-loving and lazy monarch. He was also one of the shrewdest schemers ever to sit on the English throne. Privately, he favored Catholicism and a return to royal absolutism. To achieve his ends, he signed the Secret Treaty of Dover in 1670 with King Louis XIV of France. The English King agreed to help France in its wars and to grant special privileges to the Catholics in England. In return, he was to receive a very large sum of money each year and the support of several thousand French troops against his subjects.

However, when Charles II began to fulfill his part of the bargain, Parliament took alarm. To keep his throne, Charles had to give up most of his plans. Nevertheless, with the money he received from Louis XIV, he was able to rule without Parliament during the last four years of his reign.

Beginning of England's Political Parties. Charles II's behavior stirred up much con-

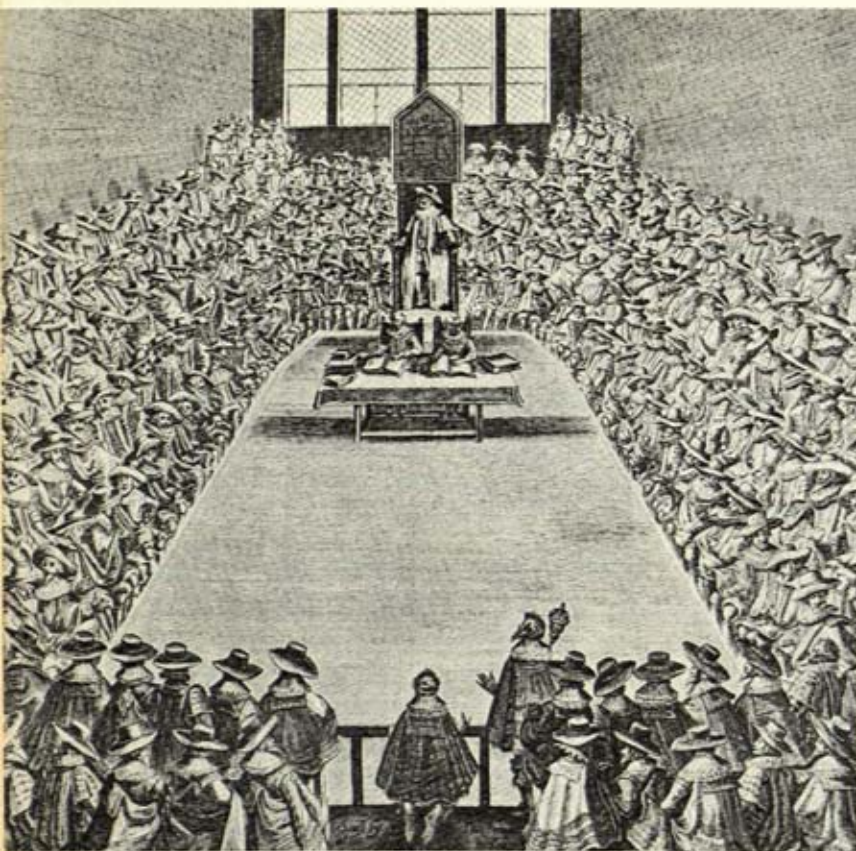
STUART AND EARLY HANOVERIAN RULERS OF ENGLAND (1603-1820)



trovery in the country. Eventually, there arose two great political parties. Under different names, they have continued to our own time.

The opponents of Charles' policies joined together to form the Whig party. Their program called for a strong Parliament and religious toleration for all Protestants. The Whigs were led by a few powerful noblemen but drew most of their support from the middle-class Dissenters in the towns. On the other hand, those Englishmen who favored a strong king and the supremacy of the Anglican Church formed the Tory party. Most of the Tories were large landowners, government officials, and members of the Anglican clergy.

During Charles II's reign, Tories and Whigs differed on many issues, but did agree on one. They were both strongly opposed to the spread of Catholicism in England.



In the time of the Stuarts, Commons met in this small, crowded chamber. Although they now meet in the Palace of Westminster (p. 419), their present chamber is likewise a small one. This is considered an advantage because, among other things, it keeps debate on an intimate level.

The “Glorious Revolution” of 1688. James II (1685–1688), like his brother, Charles II, was anxious to exercise absolute power. Moreover, he had been converted to Catholicism and openly practiced the Catholic faith. He suspended the laws against the non-Anglicans and appointed Catholics to high public office. When seven bishops of the Anglican Church dared to protest, he had them arrested. However, they were later acquitted by a jury, amidst widespread popular rejoicing. Only one thing prevented a revolt—the people were comforted by the thought that the aging monarch would be succeeded by his Protestant daughter, Mary.

Then James’ second wife bore him a son. The infant was immediately baptized a

Catholic. The prospect of another Catholic king was too much for most Englishmen. The Whig and Tory leaders of Parliament joined in inviting Mary and her husband, William of Orange (see p. 280), to come and take the throne. Fearing for his life, James fled to France. William and Mary became the new rulers of England. By this “Glorious Revolution” of 1688, Parliament clearly established its authority over the monarchy.

The Rights of Englishmen. Parliament followed up this victory with a number of laws designed to guarantee its supremacy. Most important was the Bill of Rights of 1689, which was signed by the new rulers and was accepted by them as binding. It included the following important provi-

sions: (1) that the king had no power to make or suspend laws, levy taxes, or maintain a standing army without the consent of Parliament; (2) that Parliament should meet frequently and its members should be allowed full freedom to express their opinions in debate; (3) that subjects had the right to petition the king; (4) that persons accused of crimes were entitled to jury trial and reasonable bail; and (5) that persons convicted of crimes were not to be subjected to excessive fines or cruel and unusual punishments. The Bill of Rights confirmed Parliament's control of the most important powers of government and guaranteed to Englishmen their liberty. Later other nations, among them the United States and France, used the document in drawing up their constitutions.

The Glorious Revolution resulted in many other important measures. Sickened by more than one hundred years of religious strife, the English people decided upon a policy of religious toleration. The Toleration Act, passed in 1689, granted freedom of worship to almost all Protestant groups. The Mutiny Act of 1689 authorized the king to use military courts to maintain discipline in the armed forces. However, to make certain that he would call it to meet annually, Parliament passed the law for only one year at a time. For the same reason, Parliament also began the practice of voting funds for the government on an annual basis. The Act of Settlement of 1701 fixed the succession to the crown in the Protestant branch of the royal family. Finally, the Act of Union of 1707 united England and Scotland into one nation, Great Britain, with one Parliament as well as one monarch.

The Rise of the English Cabinet System. Even after the Glorious Revolution, the English king remained the chief executive.

He had the right to choose his own ministers and was entrusted with the task of enforcing the laws passed by Parliament. Gradually, however, he lost even these powers.

William III, who became the sole ruler after his wife Mary's death, was interested mainly in checking the ambitions of Louis XIV. Anxious to win support for his policies, he asked the leaders of Parliament to advise and assist him. His successor, Queen Anne (1702-1714), followed the same practice. Because the royal advisers met in the monarch's private office or cabinet, they came to be known as the cabinet council, or later simply as the cabinet.

With the death of Queen Anne, the Stuart Dynasty came to an end in Great Britain. In accordance with the Act of Succession, the crown went to her Protestant cousin, the ruler of the small German state of Hanover. The new king, George I (1714-1727), did not even bother to learn English or to attend cabinet meetings. His son, George II (1727-1760), was also little concerned with British politics. During the reign of both these monarchs, the power and responsibility of governing the country was left in the hands of their cabinet ministers. The leader of the cabinet, the prime minister, acted as the real head of the British government. Eventually, it became customary for the prime minister and cabinet to hold office only as long as they had the support of a majority in Parliament.

The evolution of the cabinet system was the most important political development in England during the eighteenth century. It marked another significant step forward in that country's constitutional progress. Moreover, the cabinet system, like the Bill of Rights, was to serve as a model for many other peoples who wished to enjoy the advantages of self-government.



34 / Lesson Review

Checking the facts

1. Explain: limited monarchy; Stuart Dynasty; Long Parliament; Puritan Commonwealth; "blue laws"; the Restoration; Whig party; Tory party; Glorious Revolution; Bill of Rights; Act of Union; Hanoverian Dynasty; prime minister.
2. Identify: James I; Puritans; Dissenters; Charles I; Cromwell; Charles II; James II; William and Mary; Queen Anne; George I.
3. What were the main reasons for the growth of hostility between James I and Parliament?
4. How did Charles I meet his financial problems during his long period of absolute rule? Why was he compelled to summon the "Long Parliament"? Why did civil war finally break out?
5. Why were Cromwell and his Puritans able to defeat the royalist armies? What penalty did the king pay for his defeat?
6. Describe Cromwell's achievements during the period he ruled England. Why did his government lack popular support?
7. What rival political parties appeared during Charles II's reign? What were the major differences between them? On what issue did both agree?
8. What were the causes of the Glorious Revolution? the significant results?
9. Trace the rise of the English cabinet system of government during the eighteenth century.

Applying history

1. Prices and wages rose sharply in Europe during the late sixteenth and the seven-

teenth centuries. What were the basic causes of this inflation? Why was it an important factor in the quarrels between the early Stuart kings and Parliament?

2. Why did the Stuarts believe that they should rule as absolute monarchs? Why was the English Parliament more successful in resisting the royal claims than the French Estates-General?
3. During what period did England have a republican form of government? How did this experience affect the English people's attitude toward the monarchy?
4. What were the provisions of the Secret Treaty of Dover? How was Charles II able to rule without Parliament during the last years of his reign?
5. Why was the English revolution of 1688 called "glorious"? How did it change the basic pattern of English government?

Special activities

1. Draw a cartoon to illustrate the see-saw struggle between the Stuarts and Parliament during the seventeenth century.
2. Examine pictures or models of clothing styles in seventeenth-century England. Explain how the changes reflected political developments during the period.
3. After reading a detailed account, write a short biography of Oliver Cromwell or one of the later Stuart kings. Emphasize the reasons for the policies he followed as ruler of England.
4. Read passages from a contemporary work, such as the *Diary of Samuel Pepys*, describing life in Restoration England.

THE NEW POWERS OF EASTERN AND CENTRAL EUROPE



In every era certain countries have occupied positions of special importance and have been called great powers. What makes them more important than their neighbors is their superior military and economic strength. Obviously, if a power's strength diminishes, it may lose its position of leadership. Similarly, if a country gains in strength, a new great power may be born.

Early modern Europe witnessed numerous shifts of this sort. In the sixteenth century, the foremost European powers were Spain, Portugal, France, England, and the Ottoman Empire. A century later, largely because of long, exhausting wars, Spain and Portugal had declined in importance and their places were taken by Holland and Sweden. In the following century, Holland, Sweden, and the Ottoman Empire were also weakened by prolonged conflicts. Russia, Prussia, and Austria came to the fore. These three nations, along with France and England, which retained their leadership, constituted the great powers of eighteenth-century Europe. The story of the emergence of these three eastern and central European powers will now be told.

THE EMERGENCE OF RUSSIA

Russia's Isolation from the West. Look at the map of Europe in 1648 on page 276. Russia is by far the largest single land mass on the continent. Less than five hundred years ago it was a land of mystery, about which Westerners knew almost nothing. In fact, Russia remained isolated and did not become an important factor in European politics until the beginning of the eighteenth century. For this long isolation, geography and history were both responsible.

Geographic Influences. European Russia is part of a great plain stretching eastward from central Europe to the Ural Mountains and southward from the Arctic Sea to the Black Sea. The winds sweep unhindered over the plain, and the interior is far removed from the moderating influence of oceans. Consequently, Russia is a land of extremes in climate, with short, hot summers and long, icy winters.

Much of the Russian plain was long considered unsuitable for human habitation. The northern part was a barren land, called a tundra, which was frozen for most of the

year but became a vast mosquito-filled swamp in the summer. The central portion was a broad forest belt, which could not be cultivated until sharp axes and strong plows were invented. The main habitable areas were in the south, where the climate was milder and large areas were covered with a fertile black soil. In this region, the barbaric eastern Slavic tribes settled in the days of the late Roman Empire.

These eastern Slavs were the early ancestors of the Russian people. They lived in small village communities and supported themselves through agriculture. As their population increased, they formed larger political units and expanded in all directions. Easy transportation was provided by three great rivers—the Dnieper and Don, which flow into the Black Sea, and the Volga, which empties into the Caspian Sea. With all three rivers flowing southward, it was only natural that the early eastern Slavs should establish close contact with the peoples to the south, especially with those of Constantinople.

Russia's Early History. In the ninth century, however, the fierce Norsemen invaded the country. They established a kingdom at Novgorod, meaning "New Town." Gradually they extended their control over the Slavic states to the south and even threatened Constantinople for a time. After a few generations, the Norsemen were absorbed by their Slavic subjects. But the name "Russia," derived from *Rus*, a Slavic term for the Norsemen, has endured as a reminder of the early Norse conquest.

In the tenth century, Kiev, on the lower Dnieper River, was the leading town in Russia and the capital of a large principality. The ruler and his people, converted to Christianity by Orthodox missionaries, helped make Kiev a center for the spread

of Byzantine influence. For centuries, the Russians remained in close touch with Constantinople. They borrowed much from the advanced Byzantine culture, including its alphabet, calendar, and style of architecture.

Russia's close relations with Constantinople were suddenly broken off when the country was conquered by the Mongols. As we have seen (on pp. 163–164), the Mongols were fierce nomadic tribesmen who inhabited the steppes of central Asia. United early in the thirteenth century by an able chieftain, Jenghis Khan, they swept over China, Turkestan, Persia, and Mesopotamia, displaying little concern for either life or property. Another of their armies, the Golden Horde, overran Russia about 1240. For several centuries, the Russians were forced to pay heavy tribute to their Asiatic conquerors. During this long period, they acquired many of the Mongol ways and customs, including the Mongols' system of absolute government and their disregard for human life. The blend of Slavic, Scandinavian, Byzantine, and Mongol influences was to make the Russians quite unlike the other peoples of Europe.

The Rise of Moscow. During the Mongol period, the Moscow princes (map, p. 298) gradually came to the fore. Favored by the Mongols over other Russian princes because of their strength, they were entrusted with collection of the tribute. They were also granted the title "Grand Prince of All Russia." However, when the outbreak of internal wars greatly weakened the Mongols, the Prince of Moscow, Ivan the Great (1462–1505), seized the opportunity to throw off foreign rule and to annex Novgorod and other neighboring states. Ivan the Great, who may be regarded as the first czar of Russia, eventually brought most of the country under his control.



Peter the Great built St. Petersburg (now Leningrad) as his "window on the West."

Another important early czar was Ivan the Terrible (1533–1584). Strangely enough, this cruel despot started off his reign as a good ruler. He fought to subdue the unruly nobles, called boyars, and also helped the common people by granting them local self-government. He established trade relations with western Europe, defeated the Tartar kingdoms in the south, and began the conquest of Siberia.

Unfortunately, Ivan's later reign was very different. Grieved by the death of his beloved wife and then stricken with a serious illness, he probably became insane. Ivan destroyed the city of Novgorod and massacred most of its inhabitants—on the mere suspicion that they had plotted against him. His armies suffered shattering defeats when he waged war with Poland and Sweden for control of certain Baltic territories. At the very time when the peasants in the West were gaining their freedom, he reduced the Russian peasants to serfdom. To make tax collections easier, he forbade them to leave the land and gave the boyars more and more power over them. Despotism and serfdom, which characterized Ivan the Terrible's later reign, long remained the most evil features of Russian life.

Ivan the Terrible's successors were weak rulers. During the "Time of Troubles," the boyars fought among themselves for control of the throne. The peasants, suffering grievously from famine and cruel oppression, rose in revolt against their landlords.

Finally, in 1613, the boyars elected Michael Romanov, a grandnephew of Ivan the Terrible, as their new czar, and peace was gradually restored to the country. The Romanov Dynasty was destined to occupy the Russian throne for more than three centuries.

Peter the Great and the Westernization of Russia. In the late seventeenth century, the crown passed to a seventeen-year-old boy, Peter I (1689–1725). For a few years, the young Czar occupied himself mainly with his boats, mechanical devices, and other hobbies. Then, at the age of twenty-five, he left Russia to learn something about the outside world. Wherever he went on his European journey, crowds thronged to see him. For Peter was virtually a giant in size. With his big red face, fiery temper, and rude manners, he seemed a barbarian. The young Czar shocked the polished courtiers of the West when he went to work in a Dutch shipyard in order to learn how ships were built. However, what he lacked in dignity, he more than compensated for by his curiosity, energy, and will power.

Peter's tour of the West was interrupted by news of a revolt of his palace guards in Moscow. He hurried home and cruelly suppressed the rebels, executing more than a thousand of them. The Czar himself supervised the executions and performed many with his own hand. Thereafter no one dared to challenge his absolute power.

Peter, impressed by what he had seen on his travels, then began the tremendous task



of Westernizing his backward country. To encourage trade and industry, he brought in foreign engineers, shipbuilders, and other craftsmen. He adopted a uniform currency, simplified the Russian alphabet, and built the first modern-type schools and hospitals in Russia. The Czar also forced the nobles to wear European clothes and to cut off their beards. He even compelled them to smoke tobacco! Their wives had to discard their veils and appear in public. Peter was determined to remake his country on the Western model, but most of his reforms met with silent opposition from his subjects.

Peter the Great's Conquests. The Russian Czar was much more successful in strengthening Russia's military power. In imitation of the West, Peter organized a very large standing army and built a great war fleet. He fought three costly wars with the Turks and won from them an outlet on the Sea of

Azov (map, p. 298). As the result of a long and bloody war with Sweden, he also gained considerable territory on the Baltic Sea. From the first, Russia had the advantage of a large population, which meant more manpower for its armies.

To hasten the "Europeanization" of Russia, Peter erected a new capital, which he named St. Petersburg. The site he picked for the city was a swamp bordering on the Gulf of Finland, which opens out into the Baltic Sea. Two hundred thousand men, many of whom died of disease and overexposure, toiled for years to build it. The Czar's callous disregard for human life—in dealing with his enemies and in building his new capital—shocked many Westerners. Yet Peter I came to be known as Peter the Great. After all, he was an absolute ruler; he conquered considerable territory; and he made his country one of the leading powers of Europe. These were the qualities and actions which in the eighteenth century were regarded as making a ruler great.

THE RISE OF PRUSSIA AND THE REVIVAL OF AUSTRIA

The Origin of Prussia. Another great power which emerged in the eighteenth century was the Kingdom of Prussia, a state owing its origin to two separate frontier provinces—Brandenburg and Prussia (see map, p. 299). Both had been established by the Germans in their advance eastward against the Slavs during the Middle Ages.

In the fifteenth century, the throne of Brandenburg fell vacant. The Holy Roman Emperor chose one of his nobles, Frederick of Hohenzollern, to be its elector or ruler. In succeeding centuries, the Hohenzollerns boasted that each of them left his realm larger than he found it. When they acquired

the important Duchy of Prussia and some scattered territories on the Rhine in the early seventeenth century, Brandenburg-Prussia became one of the largest and most important states in Germany.

Frederick William, the Great Elector. Brandenburg-Prussia won considerable prestige as a leader of the German Protestants during the Thirty Years' War (see pp. 274-275). At the close of that conflict, it acquired some important new territories. Although much of the country was left in ruins, it recovered quickly under an able ruler, the Elector Frederick William (1640-1688).

"The Great Elector," as he came to be known, encouraged industry and agriculture, drained swamps, and built an important canal. He also sought to attract skilled craftsmen. For example, after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (see p. 279), twenty thousand Huguenot refugees accepted his invitation to settle in Brandenburg. They reclaimed the wastelands around Berlin and established prosperous farms and industries.

The Great Elector also built up a small but efficient standing army which gained him the respect of his neighbors and enabled him to win additional territory. For a small



power, Prussia under Frederick William played a remarkably important role in the affairs of Europe.

The New Kingdom of Prussia. The Great Elector's son, Frederick I (1688–1713), was granted the title of "King in Prussia"—as a reward for helping the Habsburg emperor against Louis XIV. Later, the Hohenzollern territories became known simply as the "Kingdom of Prussia." As a kingdom, Prussia gained in prestige, and a greater feeling of unity appeared among its people.

The grandson of the Great Elector, King Frederick William I (1713–1740), greatly strengthened the new kingdom. A firm believer in absolute monarchy, Frederick William on one occasion said, "Salvation belongs to the Lord; everything else is my affair." His views on absolutism were combined with a love of military life. He was called "the Drill Sergeant" because he treated his subjects like army recruits. The King would walk into their homes and would swear at, or even cane, anyone he caught loafing.

Despite his peculiarities, Frederick William I was an excellent ruler. He looked after his people's interests by encouraging industry and trade, and he made the Prussian government very efficient and economical. The well-filled treasury and the large, splendidly drilled army which he left to his successor provided the bases for Prussia's future greatness.

The Habsburg Empire in Central Europe. The third new power in Europe was the old Habsburg Empire in a new form. When the aging Holy Roman Emperor Charles V divided his vast holdings in 1556, he allotted Austria and the adjoining Habsburg territories to his brother Ferdinand. With these territories went the imposing but rather empty title of Holy Roman Emperor.

Since Ferdinand had earlier acquired the kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary, he now ruled over a sizable empire in central Europe. (See map, p. 299.)

Like their Spanish cousins, who had suffered defeat by the Dutch and English, the Austrian Habsburgs fared badly during the Wars of Religion. A generation or so later, in 1683, their fortunes reached a low ebb when the Turks conquered all of Hungary and advanced to the gates of Vienna. But several Christian powers united to meet the Moslem threat. Relief was brought to the besieged city by a heroic king of Poland, John Sobieski. After that, the tide of Turkish power receded. The Habsburgs liberated Hungary and pushed the Turks slowly back into the Balkan Peninsula.

A few years later, the Habsburgs also won some important territories in western Europe. They acquired the Spanish Netherlands (Belgium) and the Spanish territories in Italy as a result of the War of the Spanish Succession (see p. 281). In the early eighteenth century, the Habsburg Empire was one of the great powers of Europe.

The Question of the Austrian Succession. The Habsburg emperor, Charles VI (1711–1740), realized that his widespread and prosperous lands would be a tempting prize if a weak ruler succeeded to the throne. Yet his heir was his young daughter, Maria Theresa. In desperation, the Austrian monarch asked his nobles to promise that they would obey Maria Theresa. He also sought to bribe the other European rulers to recognize her rights. Before he died, most of the monarchs had signed a treaty agreeing to do so. Nevertheless, as we shall see, greed and self-interest led them to violate their pledges. The result was another great war which quickly engulfed most of the continent of Europe.

35 / Lesson Review



Checking the facts

1. Explain: tundra; Golden Horde; czar; boyars; Romanov Dynasty; Hohenzollern Dynasty.
2. Identify: Ivan the Great; Ivan the Terrible; Peter the Great; the Great Elector; Frederick William I; Maria Theresa.
3. Explain how each of these peoples influenced Russia's development: the Norsemen; the Byzantines; the Mongols.
4. Describe briefly the major developments during the reigns of Ivan the Great and Ivan the Terrible.
5. How did Peter the Great try to "Europeanize" Russia? What were his main accomplishments?
6. Tell what part each of these rulers played in Prussia's rise to power: the Great Elector; Frederick I; Frederick William I.
7. How did Charles VI seek to safeguard his daughter's inheritance?

Applying history

1. "Military strength and economic strength, more than any other factors, determine whether a nation is a great power." Explain why you agree or disagree.
2. After the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453, Moscow became known as the "Third Rome." Why was it given this title? Was it as important as the two earlier imperial capitals? Explain.
3. Why did Prussia become known during the reign of Frederick William I as "the Sparta of the North"? Why did the Hohenzollern rulers spend so much money to build up their nation's military strength?
4. An eighteenth-century French author described the Holy Roman Empire as "neither

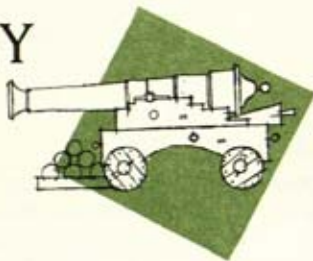
holy, nor Roman, nor an empire." Was he justified in saying this? If not, why did the Habsburgs rank as one of Europe's greatest ruling families?

History and geography

1. Locate (maps, pp. 298 and 299): Baltic Sea; Dnieper River; Don River; Volga River; Novgorod; Moscow; Kiev; St. Petersburg; Black Sea; Poland; Brandenburg; Prussia; Berlin; Austria; Bohemia; Hungary; Danube River; Rhine River.
2. Describe the main geographical features of European Russia (map, pp. 170-171).
3. Why were the czars eager to acquire sea-ports (map, p. 298)?
4. How does the geography of central Europe help explain the frequent boundary changes in that area (map, pp. 170-171)?
5. Why did the Hohenzollern territories require strong rulers if they were to remain united (map, p. 299)?
6. Why were the Habsburg holdings in central Europe called "the empire on the Danube"? Locate and list the territories ruled by the Habsburgs in the early eighteenth century (map, p. 299).

Special activities

1. Read to the class accounts of Czar Peter's tour of western Europe. Discuss his reactions to his experiences and the impressions he made on the Westerners.
2. Stage a debate on this question: Should Peter the Great have tried to "Europeanize" Russia so rapidly?
3. After outside reading, write a short biography of the Great Elector or one of the later Hohenzollern rulers.

EUROPEAN RIVALRIES IN THE
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Four great dynasties—the Bourbons of France, the Habsburgs of Austria, the Hohenzollerns of Prussia, and the Romanovs of Russia—strove for dominance in eighteenth-century Europe. Each tried desperately to increase its territories, trade, and prestige at the expense of its rivals. Overseas, the long contest for colonies narrowed down to a duel between two powerful antagonists, France and England. Whenever war broke out in Europe, fighting also took place between the two nations in their American colonies and in India.

In these struggles for supremacy, right and justice were forgotten. Alliances were made only to be broken. Weakness was considered an invitation to conquest. As long as countries regarded their neighbors as competitors and future enemies, it was almost inevitable that they would choose to settle their differences by force.

THE FIRST WORLD-WIDE WAR

The War of the Austrian Succession, 1740–1748. Europe's first great conflict of the eighteenth century was the War of the Spanish Succession (see p. 281). After a brief interlude of peace, hostilities broke out again following the death of the Habsburg Emperor Charles VI. This new war—the

War of the Austrian Succession—was started by King Frederick II of Prussia (1740–1786).

In his youth, Frederick had shown little inclination to be a ruler. He loved to read French poetry and to play the flute. The rough and soldierly King Frederick William I frequently expressed disgust with his “effeminate” son and sought to discipline him. On one occasion, the young prince and a friend tried to run away, but they were caught. The friend was executed and Frederick himself narrowly escaped death. Later, the prince was put to work as a clerk, so that he might learn the workings of government from the ground up. Frederick's early experiences and training changed his character. When he became king, he was eager to engage in any venture which might win him fame and increase Prussia's power.

Frederick's opportunity came when Maria Theresa ascended the throne of Austria. His father, it is true, had promised to respect the young Austrian Queen's rights. Nevertheless, the ambitious Prussian King found an excuse for invading the rich border province of Silesia (map, p. 299). Hoping also for spoils, France, Spain, and two large German states, Bavaria and Saxony, joined in the attack.

However, Maria Theresa was “a woman with the heart of a king.” Clever, beautiful,

and resourceful, she rallied her subjects to her cause. Great Britain joined Maria Theresa in order to maintain the balance of power in Europe. The British believed that a strong Austria was needed in Europe to keep France and Prussia from becoming too powerful. Later, Holland and several of the German states also allied themselves with Austria. The war lasted for eight years. It ended with Maria Theresa in control of all her possessions except Silesia, which Frederick kept.

"A Diplomatic Revolution." During the next few years, Maria Theresa carefully planned her revenge. Prussia's sudden rise to power had alarmed other states besides Austria. One by one, Maria Theresa gained new allies—Russia, Sweden, and, most important, the traditional Habsburg enemy, France. Thereupon Great Britain, which was already fighting France in America, shifted its position. It signed an alliance with Prussia. This

new grouping of the powers was "a diplomatic revolution," for old enemies became friends and former friends became enemies. Such a radical shift was possible because each government was concerned only with its own narrow interests.

The Seven Years' War, 1756–1763. At the outbreak of the Seven Years' War, the King of Prussia boldly took the offensive. Moving with remarkable speed, he attacked the powerful enemies encircling him and won some important successes. Yet each victory brought him closer to defeat as his armies were reduced in number by heavy casualties. When the allies invaded Prussia, the end seemed close at hand.

Then the situation suddenly took a favorable turn. The Russian ruler, the Czarina Elizabeth, who hated Frederick because he had made insulting remarks about her, died. Her successor, Peter III, was an admirer of Frederick and promptly became his ally.

Beautiful and resourceful, Maria Theresa has been described as "a woman with the heart of a king."





With Russian aid, the Prussians were able to restore peace with Sweden and to defeat the Austrians. However, by this time all of the nations were weary of fighting. Peace was finally restored in 1763.

After the long years of bloodshed, Europe was exhausted. Prussia, in particular, had suffered heavy losses. A large number of its young men were dead or crippled, its territory was devastated, and its treasury was empty. Still, that country was generally considered the victor—because it kept Silesia and gained recognition as a first-rate power. There was another important result. All four continental powers—France, Austria, Prussia, and Russia—had learned, at least temporarily, the horrible cost of war. An uneasy peace reigned among them for a generation.

Great Britain was the only country which really benefited from these wars. During the fighting, that power gave considerable finan-

cial help to its allies on the continent. However, its main concern was to build a powerful navy and to expand its trade and colonies. While France was deeply involved in the wars in Europe, Great Britain was able to win control of the seas. Then it was free to attack the French possessions in North America and in India.

British and French Policies in North America. Almost from the beginning, the two rival powers had pursued quite different policies in North America. The English government allowed the colonists religious toleration and almost complete self-government. Mercantilist regulations were not strictly enforced. Settlers could easily and quickly acquire land of their own, and colonial industry and commerce grew rapidly. As a result, thousands of people from England and other countries emigrated to America. By the middle of the eighteenth

century, the thirteen English colonies along the Atlantic coast had about one and a half million inhabitants.

While the English colonies revealed the benefits of freedom, those of France showed the retarding effects of control by an absolute monarch. The French king granted large tracts of land to a few nobles, who treated their tenants almost like serfs. He permitted only Catholics to settle in his overseas empire. His officials rigidly enforced the mercantilist regulations, with very little regard for the interests of the colonists. As a result, by the mid-eighteenth century there were only about sixty thousand white inhabitants in French North America.

The French and Indian War, 1754–1763. Conflict between the British and French colonists in America was almost inevitable. As the British colonists expanded westward, they came into contact with the vast but

thinly settled French empire. (See map, p. 304.) Rival claims to the Ohio River valley led to the outbreak of the decisive French and Indian War, which may be considered a phase of the Seven Years' War.

To prevent British settlers from moving in, the French built Fort Duquesne at the strategic fork of the Ohio River in western Pennsylvania. The British sent a force under General Braddock to drive them out. However, as the British Redcoats marched through the forest in regular columns, they were ambushed and cut to pieces by the French and their Indian allies. For three years, the French held the advantage. Indian war parties, led by French officers, constantly attacked the English frontier settlements, wiping out many of them. The colonists, however, could not agree on a plan of campaign, and the troops sent over from Great Britain were inexperienced in forest warfare.

The battle of Quebec was the decisive engagement of the French and Indian War because victory enabled the British to cut the French supply route to the interior.



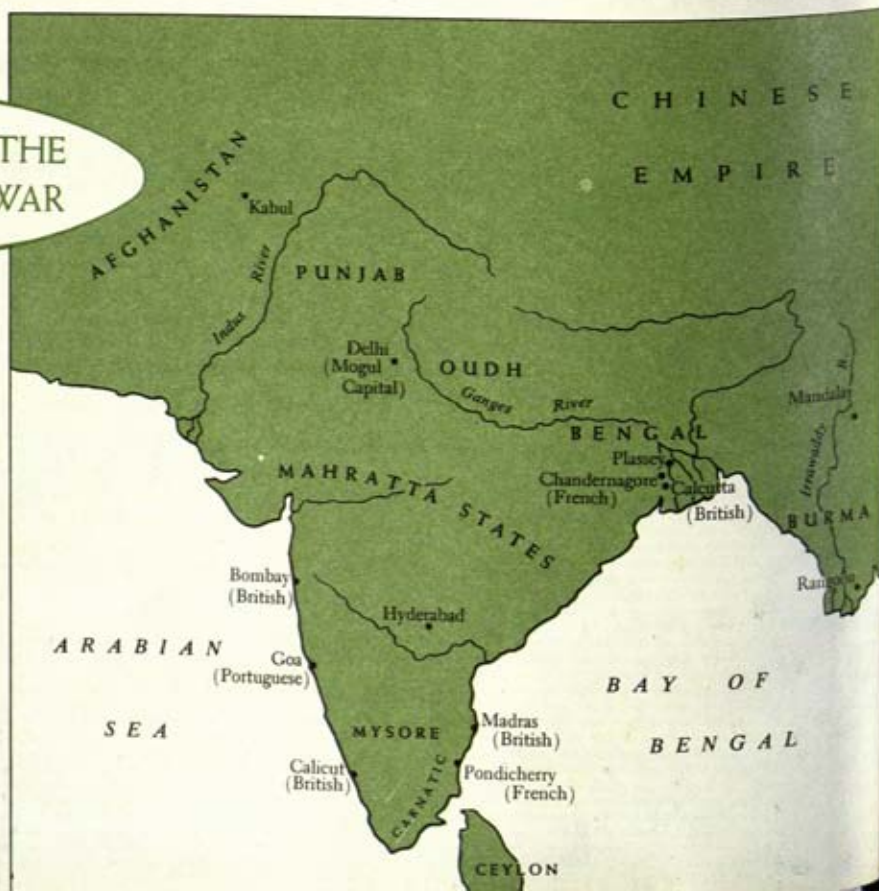
Gradually, Great Britain's control of the sea and the greater manpower and other superior resources of the British colonists began to tell. A vigorous new war minister, William Pitt, organized and equipped strong armies. These captured one French Canadian fortress after another, including the chief enemy citadels at Quebec and Montreal. At the close of the Seven Years' War, France was compelled to surrender Canada to Great Britain in the Treaty of Paris, 1763. France also turned over the Louisiana Territory to Spain to compensate its ally for its war losses. (See map, p. 304.)

Anglo-French Rivalry in India. Meanwhile, Great Britain and France were also engaged in a long struggle for control of India. After Emperor Aurangzeb's death in the early eighteenth century (see p. 157),

the great Mogul Empire began to fall apart. Wars broke out among the local princes and the country was plunged into disorder and misery. Europeans had earlier established trading stations in India. Now, with the collapse of Mogul power, the two strongest nations, Great Britain and France, seized the chance to extend their foothold. Their trading companies became instruments for the expansion of their political control.

An official of the French East India Company, Dupleix, rapidly built up French influence by organizing an army of native troops, called sepoys. Since his sepoys were led by French officers and equipped with cannon, they were far superior to the other native armies. Dupleix used his troops to protect the French trading posts and to interfere in the wars among the native princes,

INDIA DURING THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR

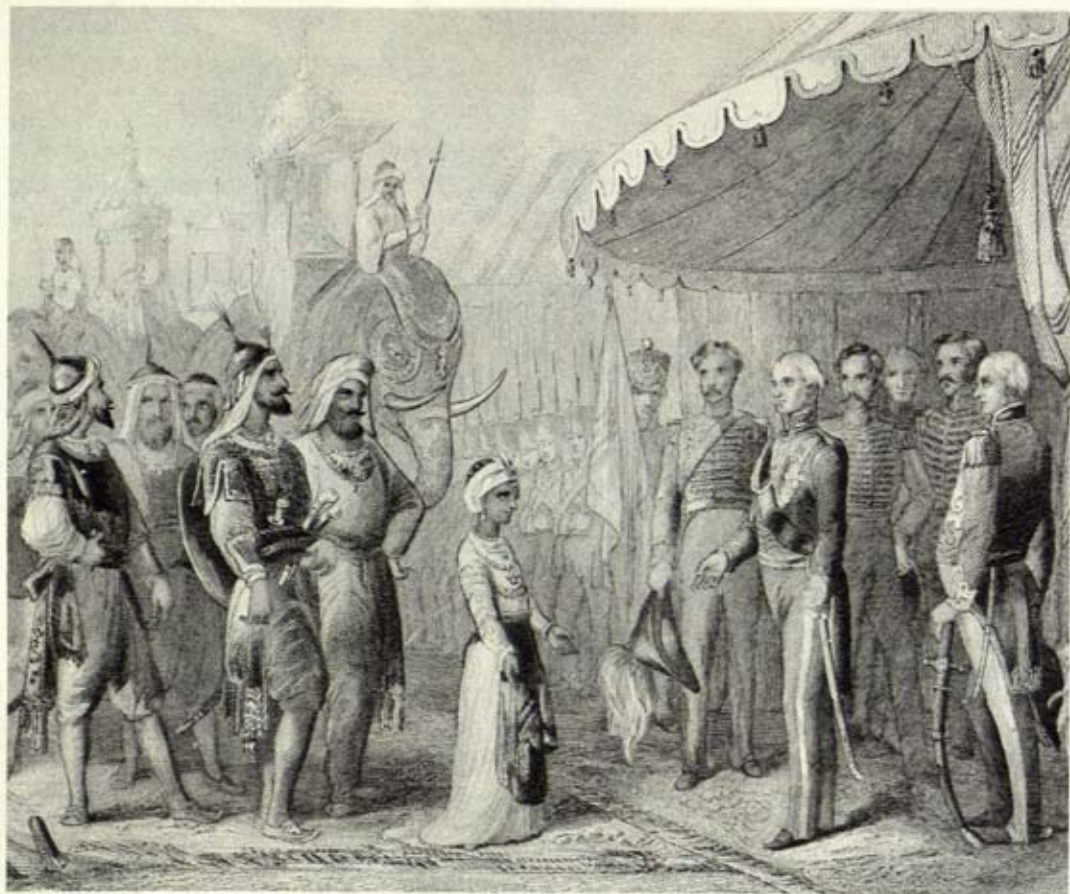




many of whom soon became French puppets. Dupleix also employed his troops against the British forces in India and won some important victories during the War of the Austrian Succession.

Even when peace was restored in Europe in 1748, the Anglo-French rivalry in India did not end. Dupleix continued to expand French trade and power until the British position in southern India was gravely en-

dangered. But the tables were suddenly turned by a daring young clerk of the British East India Company, Robert Clive. Young Clive had come to India in search of adventure and fortune. After years of boring clerical duties, he secured a commission in the company's army. Displaying great boldness and military genius, Clive was able to relieve the pressure from the French. With only a small force of Britons and sepoys, he sud-



Eighteenth-century victories in India, added to those in America, made Great Britain the world's greatest commercial and colonial empire.

denly seized and held the capital of a powerful pro-French native ruler. His exploit brought him fame and rapid promotion and won for the British company a much stronger position in southern India. After Clive had gained several other victories, Dupleix was recalled to France in disgrace.

The British Triumph in India. The final struggle between Great Britain and France for control of India was waged during the Seven Years' War. The new conflict began when the ruler of Bengal, where the important British trading post of Calcutta was located, seized 145 Britons and thrust them

into a small dungeon. When morning came, only twenty-three still remained alive.

News of the "Black Hole of Calcutta" aroused all England. Clive was sent up hurriedly from the south to avenge the atrocity. In the Battle of Plassey, in 1757, his army won a dramatic triumph over the much larger native forces, even though these were aided by the French. A new native prince was then installed in Bengal. However, the British East India Company became the actual ruler of this rich territory, which was several times the size of England. (See map, p. 306.)

While Clive was destroying French influence in Bengal, other British forces succeeded in defeating the French in the south. By the close of the Seven Years' War, French power in India had been completely broken. Victories in that country and in America made Great Britain the world's greatest commercial and colonial empire.

THE STATES OF EUROPE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

A Comparison with Modern Europe. By the second half of the eighteenth century, Europe had already begun to assume its modern form. In religion, northern Europe was mainly Protestant, central and southern Europe were Roman Catholic, and eastern Europe adhered to the Orthodox Church. In economics, capitalism had taken firm hold, though the old medieval manors and guilds still survived in large parts of the continent. In politics, a multitude of petty feudal states had united to form less than a dozen nations. The most important of these were Great Britain, France, Prussia, Austria, and Russia.

Germany and Italy, on the other hand, were still mere "geographical expressions." That is, they were shown on the map but they lacked political unity. Germany was still called the Holy Roman Empire, and a Holy Roman Emperor was solemnly elected from time to time. But the rulers of the three hundred-odd German states had long been recognized as independent sovereigns. Italy was somewhat better off than Germany since it consisted of only a dozen different states. However, there was not even the fiction of unity, and parts of the Italian peninsula had fallen under Austrian rule. (See map, p. 307.)

Another important difference was to be

found in southeastern Europe. This large region was part of the Ottoman Empire, which also included vast Asiatic territories. The Ottoman Empire in Europe was being steadily pushed back by the Austrians and Russians. In the Balkan Peninsula, an important new rivalry was already growing.

For a time after the Seven Years' War, Europe seemed stable and peaceful. Power was fairly evenly divided among the four great continental countries, France, Austria, Prussia, and Russia. If any combination of these countries threatened to gain too much strength, Great Britain would side against them to restore an even balance of power. However, the European powers' warlike policies had not really changed, as was shown by the tragic fate which befell the Kingdom of Poland.

The Partitions of Poland. In the eighteenth century, Poland was a large country. Its people were Slavic in language, Roman Catholic in religion, and Western in culture. Centuries earlier, Poland had been one of the important powers of Europe, strong enough to protect the West from the Mongol and Turkish invaders. Then it entered on a period of slow decline. In the late eighteenth century, it ceased to exist as an independent country.

Geography was one factor in Poland's downfall. The country was a level plain, open to attack from several directions. As a result, it was involved in many exhausting wars with the Turks, Swedes, and Russians, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. More important was the political chaos in Poland. The strength of the nobles was the country's fatal weakness. They oppressed the serfs, hindered the growth of trade, and prevented the development of a strong government. They elected the king and gave him little power. In the Diet

(parliament), a *single* noble could prevent any bill from passing and could even force the whole body to adjourn. In order to preserve their own privileges, the Polish nobles condemned the entire country to feudal disunity.

Poland's neighbors—Austria, Prussia, and Russia—found in that country's disorders an excuse for annexing parts of it (First Partition, 1772). Only then did the Poles awaken to the danger which threatened them. However, when they adopted a new constitution providing for a stronger government, the three neighboring powers moved in and completely partitioned the country, in 1792 and 1795. (See map, p. 307.) Poland, as an independent country, disappeared for more than a century from the map of Europe. Its fate served as a warning that a weak state was always in danger of destruction in a continent dominated by strong and greedy nations.



Advances in Early Modern Europe

Economic Developments. When the first bold European mariners sailed across uncharted oceans to America and the Far East, they opened a new era in history. For the first time, the entire world was tied together by the threads of trade. Europe experienced

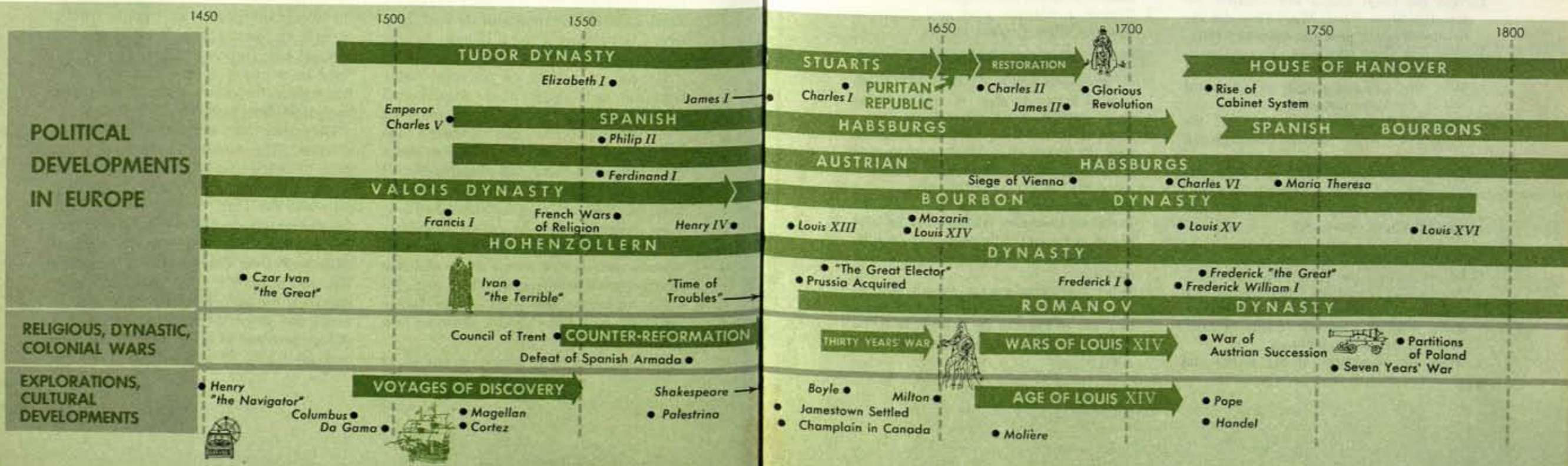
many changes as the result. A great variety of new products helped to raise the people's living standards. Merchants and craftsmen found new markets for their wares. Industry increased its production to meet the ever growing demand for manufactured goods. The opportunities for profit led businessmen to create a new economic system, capitalism.

Social and Political Changes. Though the common people gained some benefits from the Commercial Revolution, the upper classes profited most. Kings and nobles acquired great wealth and held a dominant position in society. But their leadership was being challenged by the rich merchants and other members of the growing middle class. Ambitious, shrewd, and self-confident, they demanded a voice in the shaping of government policy.

In Holland, the middle class played the key role in rebelling against the king of

Spain and in securing independence. In England, it was mainly this same group who defeated the Stuart kings and established a limited monarchy. However, in France and in most of the other continental nations, the members of the middle class had not yet attained so strong a position and were unable to stand on their own. Here control continued to be in the hands of the absolute monarchs and the aristocracy. Later, as we shall see, the middle class in these countries was also to make a bid for power.

Cultural Achievements. The patronage of rulers, aristocrats, and middle class aided progress in many fields of culture. Notable achievements by artists, musicians, writers, and scientists carried forward the creative ideas of the Renaissance. Western civilization would doubtless have made even greater advances had it not been for the many bloody wars waged by the European nations during this troubled period.





36 / Lesson Review

Checking the facts

1. Explain: War of the Austrian Succession; "diplomatic revolution"; Seven Years' War; French and Indian War; British East India Company; sepoy; partitions of Poland.
 2. Identify: Frederick II; Maria Theresa; William Pitt; Dupleix; Clive.
 3. Why did Frederick II of Prussia start the War of the Austrian Succession? What other powers became involved? What was the outcome of the war?
 4. What were the causes of the Seven Years' War? the results?
 5. Why are eighteenth-century Italy and Germany called "geographical expressions"?
 6. What weaknesses led to Poland's partition by its neighbors?
 7. Why did Europe's middle class grow in importance during the eighteenth century?
3. Locate and list the important trading posts of European powers in India during the Seven Years' War (map, p. 306). How were the British able to control so many holdings?
 4. Compare the maps on pp. 276 and 307. What important territorial gains were made by Russia and Prussia between 1648 and 1789?
 5. How does the geography of central Europe help explain why Poland was taken over by its neighbors (map, pp. 170-171)?
 6. What geographic advantage did Prussia obtain as a result of the first partition of Poland (map, p. 307)? Which nations eventually gained most of the Polish territory?

Applying history

1. Why were the numerous wars in eighteenth-century Europe called "dynastic wars"? What other important reasons were there for these wars?
2. Why did Great Britain shift alliances before the Seven Years' War? How did the balance-of-power principle encourage this?
3. Why were Great Britain and Prussia considered the victors in the Seven Years' War? Why might Prussia actually be considered one of the losers instead?
4. How did Great Britain's triumph in the Seven Years' War show the importance of sea power?
5. Compare the fate of India and Poland in the eighteenth century. What basic factors were the same in both cases? What important differences were there?

History and geography

1. Locate (maps, pp. 304, 306, and 307): Appalachian Mountains; Ohio River; Mississippi River; New France; Delhi; Plassey; Calcutta; Madras; Bombay; Silesia; Poland; Warsaw; Brandenburg-Prussia.
2. Trace the boundaries of the British and

Special activities

1. Draw a poster or a cartoon to show how alliances among the European powers kept changing during the eighteenth century.
2. Arrange an exhibit of eighteenth-century military costumes and weapons.
3. Consult a reference work and prepare a report on Clive, Dupleix, or Pitt.

Summarizing Unit 7

1. In your notebook, make an outline of the major events discussed in Unit 7.
2. Examine the time line for this unit. What were the important political developments in Europe during each of these centuries: sixteenth; seventeenth; eighteenth?
3. Refer to the map on p. 307. List the important European nations which had appeared by the end of the eighteenth century. What peoples had not yet formed unified countries?
4. What were the important overseas holdings of the European powers in North America in 1700? in India at the end of the Seven Years' War? (See the maps on pp 304 and 306.)

Books to Read

Specialized Accounts

- BELOFF, MAX. *The Age of Absolutism, 1660-1815*. Hutchinson, 1954. A brief but authoritative work recommended for the superior student.
- *BUFFINTON, ARTHUR H. *The Second Hundred Years' War*. Holt, 1929. A brief survey of international developments during the eighteenth century.
- BURTON, ELIZABETH. *The Pageant of Elizabethan England*. Scribner's, 1959. A varied picture of life and events in later sixteenth-century England.
- DIAZ DEL CASTILLO, BERNAL. *Cortez and the Conquest of Mexico*. Farrar, 1956. An eyewitness account by one of Cortez' soldiers of fortune.
- *FAY, SIDNEY B. *The Rise of Brandenburg-Prussia*. Holt, 1950. A useful brief introduction.
- HEWES, AGNES D. *Spice Ho!* Knopf, 1947. An engrossing story of the fierce struggle for control of the rich spice trade.
- *LAMB, HAROLD. *New Found World*. Doubleday, 1955. An excellent summary of the discovery and exploration of North America.
- LEWIS, W. H. *The Splendid Century*. Sloane, 1954. Social life in France during the Age of Louis XIV.
- *LUCAS, MARY S. *Vast Horizons*. Viking, 1943. Dramatic accounts of the great voyages of discovery.
- NOWAK, FRANK. *Medieval Slavdom and the Rise of Russia*. Holt, 1930. A valuable brief study.
- OGG, DAVID. *Europe in the Seventeenth Century*. Black, 1949. Long and somewhat difficult, but the best one-volume survey of the period.
- *PACKARD, LAURENCE B. *The Age of Louis XIV*. Holt, 1929.
- *———. *The Commercial Revolution*. Holt, 1927. Excellent brief treatments.
- PERRY, JOHN H. *Europe and a Wider World, 1415-1715*. Longmans, 1950. A readable account of the founding of the early Euro-

pean empires in America and the Far East.

WOODROOFE, THOMAS. *Vantage at Sea: England's Emergence As an Oceanic Power*. St. Martin's, 1959. A dramatic account of the defeat of the Spanish Armada and other naval developments in Elizabeth I's England.

Biographies and Historical Fiction

- *BAKER, NINA B. *Peter the Great*. Vanguard, 1943.
- *———. *William the Silent*. Vanguard, 1947. Brief biographies of two important rulers of early modern Europe.
- BUCHAN, JOHN. *Oliver Cromwell*. Hodder, 1949. A valuable study for the serious reader.
- CHIDSEY, DONALD B. *Elizabeth I*. Knopf, 1955. A lively account of Good Queen Bess and her courtiers.
- DE GRUNEWALD, CONSTANTIN. *Peter the Great*. Macmillan, 1956. Full of picturesque detail about the Russian ruler and his country.
- DE WOHL, LOUIS. *The Last Crusader*. Lippincott, 1956. A novel based on the dramatic life of Don John of Austria, half-brother of King Philip II of Spain.
- DUMAS, ALEXANDRE. *The Three Musketeers*. Various editions. High adventure in France during the period of Richelieu.
- JENKINS, ELIZABETH. *Elizabeth the Great*. Coward-McCann, 1959. A well-written, detailed biography of the English monarch.
- MAGNUS, PHILIP. *Sir Walter Raleigh*. Macmillan, 1957. An excellent biography for the mature student.
- *MARCUSE, LUDWIG. *Soldier of the Church*. Simon, 1939. An interesting biography of Ignatius Loyola, founder of the Jesuit order.
- *MORISON, SAMUEL E. *Christopher Columbus, Mariner*. Little, Brown, 1955. A brief account by a foremost American naval historian, condensed from his longer work, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*.
- PARR, CHARLES M. *So Noble a Captain*. Crowell, 1953. Interesting treatment of the life and times of Ferdinand Magellan.

UNIT 8

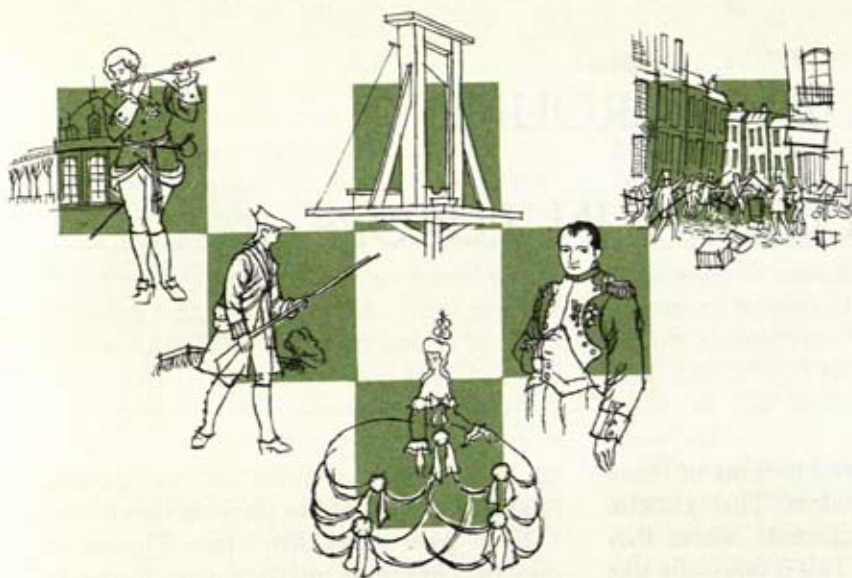
THE ERA OF REVOLUTIONS

Any deep and thoroughgoing change is called a revolution. We have seen how early modern Europe witnessed a number of such revolutions, especially in commerce, finance, religion, and science. However, the governments of Europe failed to keep pace with the changing conditions. By the eighteenth century, it was obvious that there was need for basic reforms if society was to adjust to the new state of affairs.

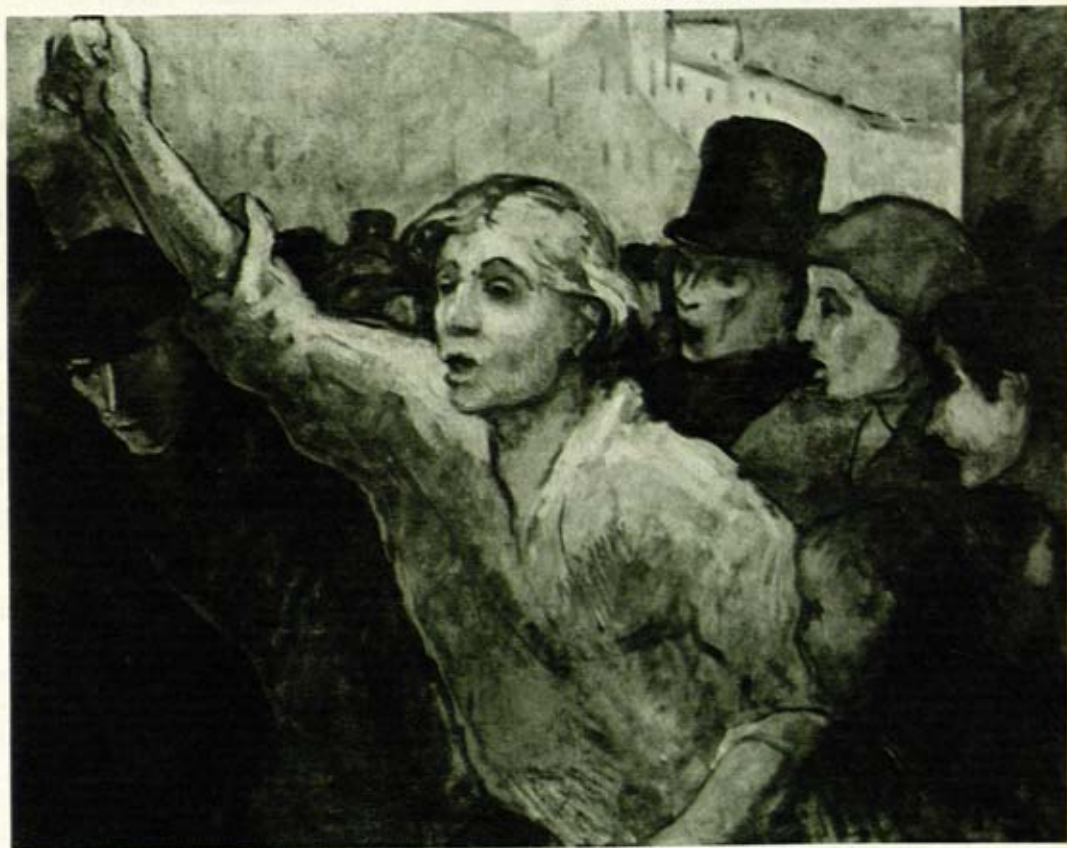
Unfortunately, Europe's monarchs and ruling classes were unwilling to make reforms which would lessen their own power and privileges. The result was ever-growing popular discontent. Since peaceful and orderly change did not seem possible, there occurred a series of violent revolutions. In America, in France, and in other countries, the people brought about by force the changes they felt necessary. The final result of this Era of Revolutions was the emergence of a new political and social order.

The important questions which will be considered in this unit are:

1. What were the main evils of the Old Regime?
2. What were the effects of the American Revolution on Europe?
3. Why did revolution break out in France?
4. What were the permanent achievements of the French Revolution?
5. How did Napoleon Bonaparte's rule affect France and Europe?
6. Why was the Vienna peace settlement followed by new waves of revolution?



The Philips Collection, Washington, D.C.



/ THE BACKGROUND
OF REVOLUTION IN EUROPE

People in every age tend to think of themselves as being very modern. They criticize their parents and grandparents, whom they consider old-fashioned. This is especially true during a period of rapid change, when new ideas emerge which differ markedly from the old.

The eighteenth century was a period of change of this sort. People in Europe became more and more dissatisfied with the way of life which had been created by their ancestors. They felt that the political and social system of their day was an outmoded survival from feudal times. Many later historians agreed with these criticisms. They referred to European society before the French Revolution as the "Old Regime"—that is, the "Old Order." In discussing the problems of the period, they made frequent use of the expression "the evils of the Old Regime."

GRIEVANCES OF THE COMMON PEOPLE

Absolute Monarchy. One of the main evils of the Old Regime was the system of government. Absolute monarchs, in France and other countries, had once served their people. They had destroyed most of the power of the feudal nobles and had united their nations. However, time had shown the danger

of depending too much on one person, whom fate happened to place on the throne.

Even good rulers, like Maria Theresa of Austria, put family interests above their subjects' welfare. They hesitated to make reforms which would endanger their power or would anger the nobles. Under a wicked, incompetent ruler like Louis XV of France, as we shall soon see, conditions were of course much worse. The country suffered terribly from misgovernment, extravagance, and wars. It is hardly surprising that absolute monarchy met with growing popular opposition during the eighteenth century.

Privileged Classes. Another evil of the Old Regime was the division of society into three classes—clergy, nobility, and common people. In most countries of Europe, the two upper classes, the clergy and the nobility, still retained many of the privileges which they had possessed during the Middle Ages. As a class, the nobility had long ceased to perform any important public duties. Yet its members owned rich estates, collected rents and manorial dues from the peasants, and enjoyed other rights. They were excused from paying the most burdensome taxes. They held the highest and best-paid positions in the government, the army, and the Church.

The clergy were also a privileged group, especially in France and other Catholic

countries. They had vast revenues from the Church's great properties and from the tithe. Nevertheless, like the nobility, they were exempt from paying taxes. In practice, the privileges of the clergy were enjoyed only by the higher Church officials, such as the archbishops, bishops, and abbots. Most of these higher Church officials were nobles by birth. They enjoyed princely incomes, often neglecting their responsibilities and spending their time at the royal court. On the other hand, the ordinary parish priests served their flocks faithfully. Yet they frequently earned so little that they could barely support themselves. When trouble came, many of the lower clergy chose to side with the common people.

Economic Evils. Together, absolutism and privilege meant a heavy burden of taxation for the common people. The average French peasant, for example, had to pay rents or manorial dues to his lord, the tithe and other fees to the Church, and a dozen or more taxes to the king. When he had discharged these obligations, he had only a small fraction of his earnings left to support his family. The townspeople did not pay manorial dues or the tithe. Many were prosperous and could well afford the royal taxes. However, they protested that they were paying more than their fair share because of the tax exemption of the two privileged classes.

Unfair taxation was only one of many economic evils of the Old Regime. Numerous guilds still survived from medieval days. They clung to centuries-old practices and fought the introduction of new methods of production. Governments were also responsible for many business restrictions. Under the mercantile system, they imposed thousands of detailed regulations on commerce and industry. (In the French textile industry alone, these regulations filled seven vol-

umes!) Moreover, courtiers or other favored groups were granted monopolies of the profitable trade in salt, tobacco, and other important commodities. Finally, most countries were still divided into different provinces, each with its own tariff duties and its own system of weights and measures. The bourgeoisie strongly resented these interferences with business. This group was to furnish many of the leaders of the revolutionary movements.

Effects of Population Growth. These economic problems were made worse by the steady increase of population. As generation after generation of peasants divided their land among their sons, farm plots grew steadily smaller. Many of the peasants fell into debt and lost their holdings. Some became farm laborers, working on the estates of the nobles. Many others went to the cities in search of better-paid jobs. The influx of people into the cities created an oversupply of labor there. As a result, wages were very low and unemployment was widespread. The poverty-stricken town laborers and the landless peasants formed large and dissatisfied groups in both city and countryside.

The Problem of Crime. Still another of the evils of the Old Regime was the widespread lawlessness and cruelty. Poverty and slums provided a fertile breeding ground for crime. Since there was no regular police, robbers made the city streets unsafe at night—and sometimes even in the daytime. On the country roads, highwaymen were so common that drivers and passengers on the stagecoaches had to carry arms. Inns were often dens of thieves, from which a traveler was lucky to escape with his life.

Governments tried to meet the problem of crime by imposing harsh punishments. There were hundreds of offenses for which the penalty was death or hard labor for life



The treadmill was originally designed to use manpower for driving heavy machinery. It was soon replaced in industry by the water wheel and steam engine, but continued to be used in prisons during the nineteenth century as a form of punishment.

in distant colonies. Even minor violations of the law were punished by branding, maiming, or brutal flogging. The jails of the period were such pestholes that many inmates died of disease. Nevertheless, the number of criminals failed to decrease. For no attempt was made to eliminate the bad conditions which caused crime.

The Rise of Social Discontent. It would be a mistake to think that the evils described in the preceding paragraphs were to be found only under the Old Regime. Such conditions were typical of many earlier civilizations and had existed in Europe for centuries. People in the past had generally accepted them without much protest. However, in eight-

eenth-century Europe, popular discontent was fanned by a group of radical writers, the "Philosophers." Just as the humanists of the Renaissance sowed the seeds of the Reformation, so the Philosophers of this period prepared the way for the Era of Revolutions.

THE PHILOSOPHERS OF THE ENLIGHTENMENT

"The Age of Reason." The ideas of the Philosophers were inspired by the work of Sir Isaac Newton and the other great scientists of the seventeenth century (see p. 285). Through reason, these scientists had succeeded in discovering laws of nature which

governed the physical universe. The Philosophers believed that reason could also reveal the natural laws which governed the "social universe" (human institutions). In fact, they were so optimistic about the power of reason to enlighten mankind that historians generally call the eighteenth century "the Age of Reason" or "the Age of Enlightenment."

The Philosophers began by criticizing everything which seemed to them contrary to reason. Although disagreeing on the best form of government, they insisted that all governments, regardless of type, existed to serve the interests of the people. They attacked the privileges of the clergy and nobility and demanded equal rights for all classes. They pleaded for more humane criminal laws. In economics, they favored the end of guild restrictions and of government interference with business. In religion, they struck out against intolerance and superstition. Many, opposing any formal creed, became deists. They believed that a Supreme Being had created the universe, instituted natural laws to govern it, then left it to its fate. According to the deists, miracles were impossible and prayer a waste of time.

John Locke. The first important Philosopher of the Enlightenment was a bold and original English thinker, John Locke (1632–1704). Locke wrote numerous essays—on government, on religious toleration, and on human understanding. In his political writings, he argued that all men have natural rights to "life, liberty, and property"; that it is to protect these rights that people create governments; and that people are entitled to overthrow their government if it deprives them of these rights.

Locke's ideas quickly became very popular in England. They were used to justify the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688 (see p. 292). They may also be found in the writings of

many of the eighteenth-century Philosophers and in the American Declaration of Independence.

Voltaire. The most famous of the eighteenth-century Philosophers was a clever Frenchman, Voltaire (1694–1778). Voltaire was not an original or profound thinker. He derived most of his ideas from Newton and Locke. His main importance was as a writer of pamphlets and other popular works.

Early in his career, Voltaire insulted a powerful noble, was thrown into prison, and then was exiled to England. There he wrote his *Letters on the English*, in which he contrasted the evils of absolute monarchy in France with the liberties which Englishmen enjoyed under a limited monarchy. When the French censors burned his book, Voltaire immediately became famous.

Voltaire also criticized the privileged classes. He mercilessly attacked the clergy, whom he accused of intolerance and bigotry. About the aristocracy he wrote, "The merchant who enriches his country is more useful than the thickly bepowdered lord who gives himself airs of greatness while he plays the part of a slave in the anteroom of the king's minister." Even the king of France, thinly disguised as a character in one of his plays, was a target of his ridicule.

Before his death at the ripe old age of eighty-four, Voltaire had written enough pamphlets, plays, essays, novels, and histories to fill almost a hundred volumes. Witty and entertaining, his works won a wide audience all over Europe. They played an important part in weakening the Old Regime.

Diderot. Another very important Philosopher was the French man of letters Denis Diderot (1713–1784). Diderot wrote a number of learned books. However, his outstanding achievement was the editing of a great encyclopedia to which Voltaire and many

of the other Philosophers contributed. The encyclopedia, a work of seventeen volumes, contained "all the new ideas, the new science, and the new knowledge." Its language was simple, direct, and vigorous. It described government as "a handful of knaves, imposing their yoke upon mankind." Of kings it said, "We see on the face of the earth only unjust sovereigns, enervated by luxury, corrupted by flattery, depraved by unpunished license, and without ability, talent, or morals."

Diderot's encyclopedia was banned as soon as the first volume appeared. However, as is often the case, it became more popular because it was forbidden. Even the court nobles openly read it, despite the fact that it was bound to arouse the people against the privileges on which their own wealth and position depended.

Montesquieu. Less sensational, but probably even more influential in the long run, were the writings of another Philosopher, Charles de Montesquieu (1689–1755). Montesquieu, a French nobleman, spent many years in study, travel, and writing. His most important work was a treatise on government entitled *The Spirit of the Laws*. Montesquieu believed that there is no one perfect system of government. Each nation should develop the institutions which best suit its needs and conditions. For France he favored a limited monarchy like that of England.

Montesquieu believed that England enjoyed liberty because power in that country was divided among three equal branches of government—the king (the executive), Parliament (the legislature), and the courts (the judiciary). Each of these maintained a jealous watch on the others, thereby preventing them from violating the rights of the citizens. Actually, Montesquieu's theory of the separation of powers, with its checks and balances, shows misunderstanding of

political developments in mid-eighteenth-century England (see p. 293). Nevertheless his views greatly influenced other students of government, including the men who later drafted the Constitution of the United States.

Rousseau. The most daring of the eighteenth-century thinkers was the Swiss-French Philosopher Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778). After an unhappy childhood, Rousseau ran away from home. He became a vagrant and wandered from job to job. His own misery proved his inspiration. As a writer, he won fame for his burning denunciations of existing government and society.

Rousseau's most important book is his study of government, *The Social Contract*. Like Locke, Rousseau argued that government had originated as a contract between the king and society (the social contract). The people had given the ruler his authority in return for his services. It is, therefore, the people's right to depose an unjust or incompetent monarch. The people, according to Rousseau, are the true sovereigns (rulers). In an age of absolute monarchy, Rousseau was preaching a philosophy which prepared the way for modern democracy.

Hardly less revolutionary was Rousseau's appeal for a return to a natural existence. "Nature made man happy and good," he wrote, "but society depraves him and makes him miserable." His novel *Émile* is the story of a young man who grew up pure and good because he was raised far from civilization. The book became a best seller and started a movement toward simpler and more natural clothing and manners. It also led parents and teachers to allow their children more freedom. Rousseau's ideas have continued to influence education even to the present day.

New Ideas in Economics. The critical spirit of the Enlightenment led some thinkers

to turn their attention to economic problems. One group of French Philosophers, the Physiocrats, believed that there are natural laws which govern economic life. Regarding any interference with these laws as bad, they attacked the guilds, the business monopolies, and the mercantilist restrictions which governments placed on trade. "*Laissez faire*"—"Leave business alone"—was their advice to rulers.

Many of the Physiocrats' ideas were taken over and popularized by a Scottish professor, Adam Smith. In his famous work, *The Wealth of Nations*, published in 1776, Smith argued against the mercantilist theory that a nation was made rich by its supply of gold and silver. He showed that its wealth lay in the goods produced by the labors of its people. To increase production, governments had only to allow freedom to their businessmen. Like the Physiocrats, Adam Smith was a strong champion of *laissez faire*.

THE ENLIGHTENED DESPOTS

The "Enlightened Despots." The theories of the Enlightenment impressed many of the monarchs of Europe. They became patrons of the Philosophers and sought to put some of their theories into practice. These absolute rulers who tried to help their people are known as the "Enlightened Despots."

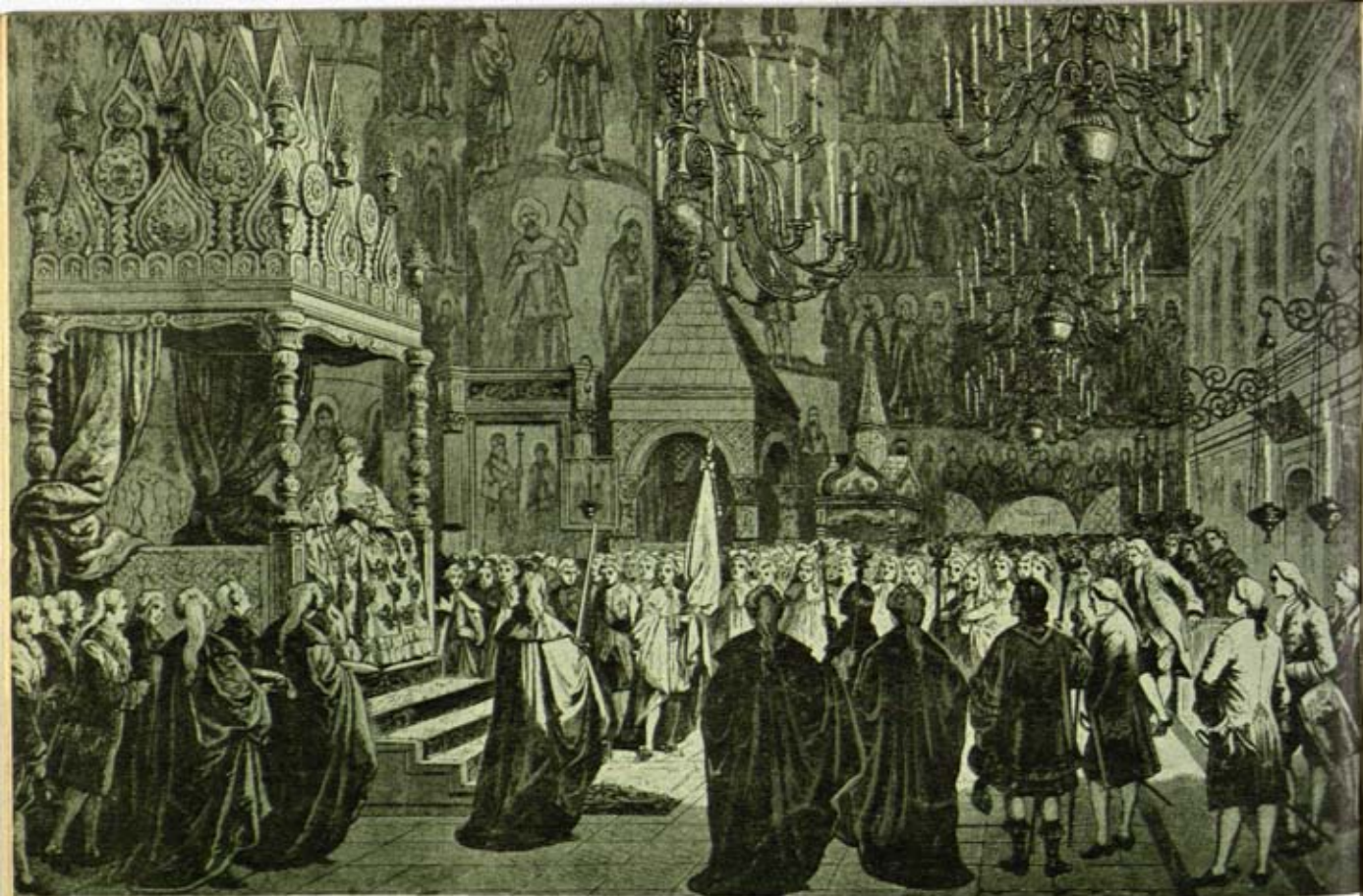
The Achievements of Frederick the Great. The most famous of the Enlightened Despots was Frederick II of Prussia, the hero of the Seven Years' War (see pp. 303-304). "The monarch is . . . only the first servant of the state," he said. Frederick devoted many hours a day to government affairs. He rebuilt his war-torn country and encouraged agriculture and industry.

Frederick was also a great admirer of French culture. He himself wrote histories

and verses in French. He corresponded with Voltaire and other French Philosophers and invited them to live at his court. With their encouragement, he established some elementary schools for the common people. He also proclaimed religious toleration, codified and simplified the laws, and abolished the use of torture. His accomplishments, both in war and in peace, won him the title of Frederick "the Great."

Criticisms of Frederick's Rule. Despite his achievements, Frederick the Great had the defects of an absolute ruler. He refused to share his power with anyone. He treated his ministers like mere clerks. Even his Philosopher friends felt the lash of his tongue if they dared to disagree with him. Voltaire, for example, had suddenly to end his visit when he criticized his host's poems. Moreover, the Prussian despot levied heavy taxes on his subjects to pay for his large army, which he kept in constant readiness for war. As for the peasants, he cynically referred to them as "the beasts of burden of society." It is doubtful whether the average person in Prussia was really very much better off under the "enlightened" Frederick than under his "unenlightened" father.

Catherine the Great of Russia. A second Enlightened Despot was Catherine the Great of Russia (1762-1796). Like Frederick, Catherine corresponded and exchanged ideas with the Philosophers. She insisted on the use of the French language and manners at her court. She also built some hospitals, orphanages, and schools. However, the Russian Empress was not sincerely interested in reform. "If I establish schools," she wrote to one of her officials, "it is not for us. It is for Europe, where we must keep our position in public opinion." Catherine's reputation as a great ruler really rests on her territorial conquests rather than on her reforms.



Catherine the Great was a German princess who had been forced into an unhappy marriage with the eccentric heir to the Russian throne. Shortly after he became czar, her husband was deposed by a group of discontented nobles and Catherine was recognized as the new ruler of Russia.

Joseph II of Austria. One of the most interesting of the Enlightened Despots was Maria Theresa's son and successor, Joseph II (1780–1790). Joseph sincerely wanted to help his people. "I shall make philosophy the law-maker of my kingdom," he announced. In rapid succession, he freed the serfs, reduced the nobles' privileges, introduced a new system of local government, and proclaimed complete religious equality. However, by initiating reforms too fast, the Austrian ruler aroused such a storm of opposition that he later had to repeal most of them. He himself said that the inscription

on his tombstone should read, "Here lies a man who, with the best of intentions, never succeeded in anything." Nevertheless, the people mourned Joseph after he died.

Failure of the Enlightened Despots. The failure of the Enlightened Despots to deal with fundamental problems proved that there was no short cut to reform. Only if the people themselves gained control of the government would they be able to sweep away the evils of the Old Regime. The Philosophers had awakened in them a realization of bondage. They now began to stir in the desire to throw off their chains.

37 / Lesson Review



Checking the facts

1. Explain: Old Regime; privileged classes; Philosophers of the Enlightenment; Age of Reason; natural law; deists; Physiocrats; laissez faire; Enlightened Despots.
2. Identify: Locke; Voltaire; Diderot; Montesquieu; Rousseau; Adam Smith; Frederick the Great; Catherine the Great; Joseph II.
3. Why was each of these considered an evil of the Old Regime: absolute monarchy; privileged classes; system of taxation; restrictions on business; treatment of criminals?
4. What were the basic ideas of the eighteenth-century Philosophers? How did their writings weaken the Old Regime?
5. From what Englishmen did Voltaire draw most of his ideas? Why did his writings reach such a wide audience?
6. Explain Montesquieu's theory of the separation of powers. How was the United States particularly influenced by this theory?
7. Explain the economic ideas of the French Physiocrats. In what way were the writings of Adam Smith particularly important in popularizing their ideas?
8. Who were the Enlightened Despots? What were their major achievements and weaknesses?

Applying history

1. Voltaire is supposed to have said, "I disapprove of what you say, but I will defend to

the death your right to say it." Discuss this statement. What does it indicate about Voltaire's character?

2. Belief in natural law was basic in the thinking of the Philosophers of the Enlightenment. Explain how this was reflected in their political, economic, and social theories.
3. Compare the Philosophers of the Enlightenment with the Renaissance humanists. For what important revolution was each group responsible? Explain.
4. Why were Frederick and Catherine called "the Great"? Why is Joseph II regarded as a failure? Which of these rulers do you consider the most enlightened? Explain.
5. Explain: "The pen is mightier than the sword." How do the achievements of the eighteenth-century Philosophers justify this saying?

Special activities

1. Read passages from the works of Voltaire or from the writings of other Philosophers of the Enlightenment to show how these men attacked the evils of the Old Regime.
2. On the basis of your outside reading, write a short biography of one of the Philosophers of the Enlightenment. (Voltaire and Rousseau led the most interesting lives.)
3. Prepare a report on the career of either Frederick the Great, Catherine the Great, or Joseph II.

/ THE AMERICAN
REVOLUTION

The British colonies in North America suffered from almost none of the evils of the Old Regime. They were not ruled by an absolute monarch. There were no powerful classes of nobles and clergy, as in Europe. There were no serfs or feudal dues. Nevertheless, it was here that the first great upheaval of the Era of Revolutions took place. The reasons will be found by studying America's early history.

A NEW LAND AND A NEW PEOPLE

Reasons for America's Settlement. America was a vast new continent, blessed by nature with a healthful and bracing climate and almost limitless resources. At first its opportunities attracted only a few adventurers and treasure seekers. Later it became a haven for those who suffered from religious intolerance or government oppression. Thousands of people sailed from seventeenth-century England, and from other countries as well, to seek a safer, happier life in the new land.

Gradually, the stream of emigration further broadened. Convicts were shipped off to the colonies—to provide needed labor and to save the English government the expense of keeping them in jail. Paupers and debtors, seeking a fresh start in life, came over as indentured servants. The passage money of these indentured servants was paid by a master or a contractor. In return, they were obliged to work without pay, usually for five

years, before they were free to start out on their own. Most numerous of all, however, were the sturdy peasants and artisans, who left crowded Europe to find farms and employment in the New World. Here they had much greater opportunity to obtain good land or to practice their crafts. In general, it was the hope of building a better existence for themselves and their children that attracted the swelling tide of immigrants to America.

Hardships of Pioneer Life. The early immigrants had to brave the perils of rough seas and unsettled wilderness. Through unceasing toil, they cleared the land, built homes, and started farms. Often they lacked even the simplest necessities of life. Cold, disease, and starvation killed off many. But the survivors, inspired by their dreams for the future, continued to struggle on.

At the outset, the Indians supplied valuable aid. They gave the colonists food. They also taught them how to plant new crops and how to survive in the forests. Too often, however, the settlers returned evil for good. Considering themselves a superior people, they treated the natives harshly and frequently took the Indians' lands without payment. Then the terrors of Indian warfare, with its sudden and savage attacks, were added to the hardships of frontier life.

Growing Economic Prosperity. The colonists refused to be discouraged by these difficulties. They expanded steadily, first in the

regions along the coast and then inland along the rivers. Hunters and fur trappers led the way, and the farmers followed. By the mid-eighteenth century, there were thirteen thriving British colonies along the Atlantic seaboard, with about one and a half million people. Only twenty-five years later, the population of the colonies had doubled.

In New England, the cold climate and rocky soil hindered farming. However, the settlers found ways to increase their incomes by fishing, shipbuilding, and trading. In the southern colonies, the warm climate and fertile soil encouraged the growth of large tobacco and rice plantations. These were worked by indentured servants and Negro slaves. The middle colonies combined farming, generally on a moderate scale, with commercial and industrial activities. Everywhere, the colonists profited from the rich resources of the virgin continent to develop a prosperous economy.

Political Achievements. In government, the colonists reaped the benefits of centuries of English progress. Most of the colonies were established by commercial companies or by proprietors, under a charter granted by the king. In order to attract settlers to the colonies, the royal charters guaranteed them "the same liberties, as if they had been abiding and born within this our realm of England." This meant that the colonists enjoyed the protection of the common law, jury trial, and other traditional rights of Englishmen. They were also authorized to elect their own representative assemblies. The earliest of these was the House of Burgesses in Virginia, which met for the first time in 1619.

The colonists soon made several important advances of their own. The Pilgrims, who were originally supposed to settle in Virginia, had no charter from the king to found a colony in New England. Before landing at

Plymouth in 1620, therefore, they drew up the Mayflower Compact as their basis of government. Organizing themselves into "a civill body politick," they agreed to frame just and equal laws for the general good of the colony, "unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. . . ." Similarly, to regulate their affairs, the settlers of Connecticut in 1639 drew up their own constitution, the "Fundamental Orders of Connecticut." Written constitutions later became an important feature of government in the United States.

The practice also began of electing officials by secret ballot. This started in Massachusetts and slowly spread to other colonies. In New England, it also became customary to hold town meetings, at which citizens had a direct voice in the making of local laws. This was an example of direct democracy, of the sort once practiced by the ancient Greeks (see pp. 72-73).

Social Advances. Socially, too, the colonists made notable advances. It is true that there were some class distinctions. For example, only property owners could vote or hold office. However, class lines were far less rigid than in the Old World. Few freemen were affected by the voting restrictions since most of them owned land. Moreover, it was quite easy for an American to rise through his own efforts. This was especially true on the frontier, where a man was respected for his own abilities, not for his family name or wealth. The variety of settlers—from England, Scotland, Ireland, Germany, Holland, France, Sweden, and even other countries—also helped to break down traditional barriers. Thus life in the New World bred a spirit of social equality completely unknown in early modern Europe.

Religious tolerance also developed early under American conditions. The Puritans,

North America is half the size of Asia. Ranges of high mountains extend down the western portion from Alaska to the Isthmus of Panama. Many of the mountain areas contain rich mineral deposits. In the north the mountains are cool and rainy, mostly covered with forests. The volcanic region south from Mexico has fertile soils. Here the Mayas lived, one of the two ancient peoples who developed major civilizations in the Western Hemisphere.

Lowlands cover a quarter of North America, from the Arctic islands to the Gulf of Mexico. The broad grasslands of southern Canada and

the United States are among the world's great agricultural areas. They also contain important deposits of oil, coal, and metal ores. The St. Lawrence, Great Lakes, and Mississippi River system together form the greatest inland waterway system in the world.

Eastern North America consists largely of two highland areas: the Laurentian Upland and the Appalachian Highlands. The Appalachians extend from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico and are cut by passes that provide easy access from the Atlantic to the interior.



who left England in order to worship as they chose, were intolerant of all other churches. When Roger Williams protested against the harsh Puritan policies in Massachusetts, he was driven into the wilderness. With the help of the Indians, he established the new colony of Rhode Island, where all men could "walk as their conscience persuaded them, every one in the name of his God." In Maryland, under a Roman Catholic proprietor, religious toleration was granted to all Christians. In Pennsylvania, the Quaker William Penn established religious freedom and introduced other important reforms. Religious tolerance spread rapidly through the other colonies. In time, even the Puritan church in Massachusetts lost its control over the religion of the settlers.

Public support of elementary education, begun in Massachusetts in 1647, was another advanced feature of colonial life. Schools were also founded to provide higher learning. From the beginning of their history, the people of America were pioneers in developing free political and social institutions.

THE COMING OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Colonial Conflicts with the English Government. As the colonies grew in importance, two conflicting trends became apparent. On the one hand, the English government wished to strengthen its hold on them. Colony after colony lost its original charter and fell under the control of the king. He appointed a royal governor to administer each as his representative. On the other hand, the colonists became more self-confident. They demanded an ever larger share in the management of their affairs. The result was a long series of contests between the colonial assemblies and the royal governors.

These were much like the struggle between king and Parliament in the mother country.

The issues were mainly economic in nature. The assemblies tried to limit spending by the royal governors and to keep down taxes. They were also opposed to some of the mercantilist regulations passed by the English Parliament. For example, the colonists were required to sell their products only to English merchants, to buy foreign goods only if they had first paid a duty at an English port, and to manufacture only such goods as did not compete with English industry.

These mercantilist measures would have raised the prices of many articles which the colonists purchased abroad. They would also have cut the colonies off from some of their most profitable foreign markets. But opposition was so widespread that little was done to enforce them. Respectable colonial merchants openly smuggled goods into the colonies, and royal officials closed their eyes to the violations.

Effects of the French and Indian War. Affairs took a very different turn after the close of the French and Indian War in 1763 (see pp. 305-306). When the French menace was removed, the colonists became less dependent on Great Britain for protection. The fighting had provided them with valuable military experience. It had also shown the weaknesses of the famed British Redcoats in forest warfare.

The British government, on the contrary, found itself burdened with a heavy war debt. Its leaders reasoned that the American colonists had benefited from the war and should help pay for it. Parliament therefore voted new taxes on the colonists. Moreover, the royal officials in the colonies were ordered to enforce strictly the old mercantilist trade regulations.

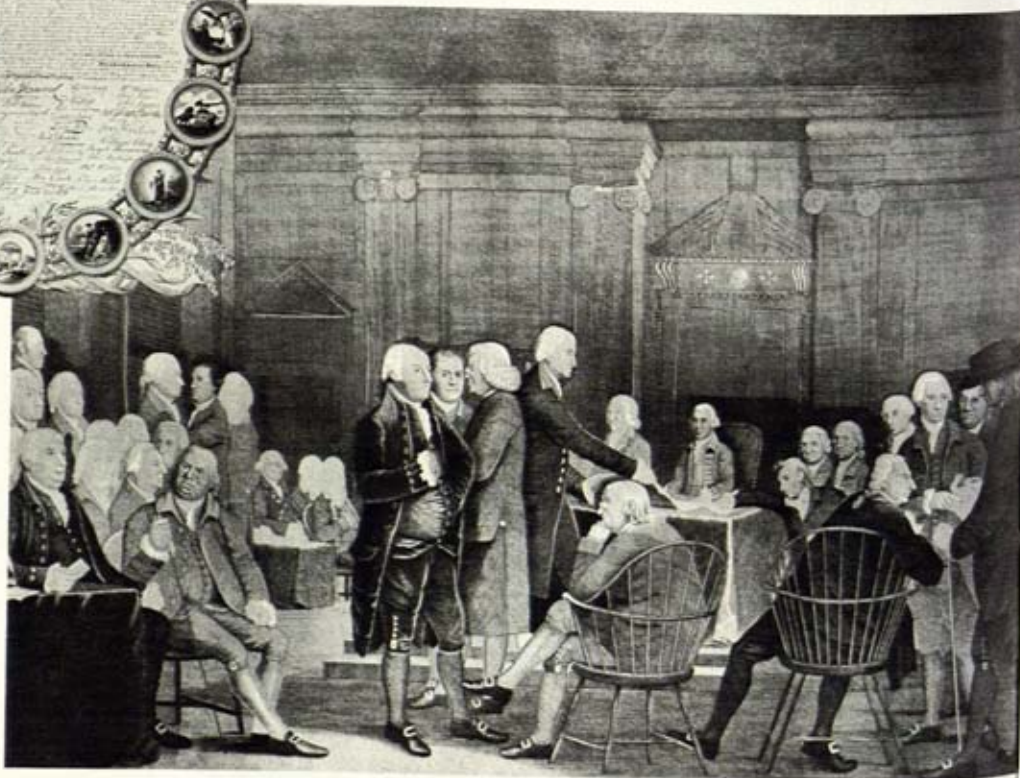
Two Opposing Points of View. These policies aroused a storm of protest in America. Many businessmen faced the prospect of complete ruin. Leaders of the colonists accused the British government of ignoring their rights as Englishmen. They insisted that only the colonial assemblies, which they themselves elected, had the right to tax

them. "Taxation without representation is tyranny," became their battle cry. Borrowing from the theories of John Locke and other thinkers of the Enlightenment, they also charged the British with violating their "natural rights."

A few members of Parliament favored caution and compromise. Among them were



This copy of the Declaration of Independence (left), decorated with portraits of John Hancock, George Washington, and Thomas Jefferson as well as the seals of the original thirteen states, is on display in the Library of Congress. The Declaration was adopted in Philadelphia by the Second Continental Congress (below), which conducted the young nation's victorious war for independence.



the influential former minister William Pitt and other leading Whigs. But the new king of England, George III (1760–1820), was determined to assert his authority. Through bribery and other means, he had organized his own party, the “King’s Friends,” and had obtained a majority in Parliament. George III and his supporters insisted that Parliament represented the entire Empire and had the right to make laws for the colonies. They were resolved to secure obedience from the colonists, by force if necessary.

Outbreak of the American Revolution. To enforce the mercantilist regulations, the British government sent troops to America. Many of these were quartered in the colonists’ homes. British officials were authorized to search any private residence without a warrant. Persons charged with smuggling could be sent to England for trial. Against similar tyrannical measures, the English people themselves had rebelled a century earlier.

Events now moved rapidly toward a climax. In 1765, Parliament placed a Stamp Tax on newspapers and official documents. Such a strong wave of protest swept the colonies that the tax was quickly repealed. Two years later, Parliament placed duties on glass, lead, tea, and various other colonial imports. The Americans forced repeal of the duties by boycotting (refusing to buy) British goods. However, the duty on tea was retained by Parliament. In protest, the colonists sought to prevent the ships carrying the tea from being unloaded. In Boston, a group of citizens disguised as Indians dumped almost one hundred thousand dollars’ worth into the harbor.

Parliament angrily retaliated for the “Boston Tea Party” by closing the port of Boston. It also forbade all public meetings in the city. The colonists replied by electing dele-

gates to the First Continental Congress, which met in Philadelphia in 1774. The Congress drew up a declaration of rights and grievances and agreed on a new boycott of British goods. The colonists also began to train and equip themselves for possible trouble.

A few months later, in April, 1775, fighting between British troops and the colonists broke out at Lexington and Concord. The Second Continental Congress met, authorized the formation of a Continental Army, and chose George Washington as its commander. The Congress declared, “We are reduced to the alternative of choosing an unconditional submission to the tyranny of irritable ministers or resistance by force. The latter is our choice.”

THE FOUNDING OF A NEW NATION

The Declaration of Independence. The American Revolution began as a protest of the colonists against the tyranny of George III and his ministers. However, it soon became a struggle for complete separation from Great Britain. On July 4, 1776, the Continental Congress proclaimed the Declaration of Independence, written by young Thomas Jefferson. Jefferson stated the noble principles on which the new nation was founded:

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these rights are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute new governments. . . .

It is obvious that Jefferson drew many of his ideas from Locke and other Philosophers of the Enlightenment.

The Revolutionary War, 1775–1783. It was much easier for the colonists to declare their freedom than to win it. To defeat the powerful British forces, General Washington had only a small, untrained army, recruited for only a few months at a time. The Continental Congress was so weak that it could not supply the men with adequate arms and clothing or pay them regularly. Many Americans were indifferent to the war. Others, the Loyalists or Tories, opposed the Revolution. Some of these even fought on the side of the British.

Fighting against seemingly impossible odds, Washington was forced to retreat almost constantly. He lost New York in 1776 and Philadelphia in 1777. During the following winter at Valley Forge, his troops suffered terribly from lack of food, fuel, and other necessities of life. The American cause seemed doomed. Yet Washington never faltered. With indomitable spirit, he rejected all proposals for surrender.

Meantime, nature was proving a powerful ally of the Americans. The British had the problems of conquering a vast territory and of carrying their supplies thousands of miles across the Atlantic Ocean. As a result, they found it difficult to extend their control beyond a few coastal areas. When a large British force under General Burgoyne moved down from Canada into New York, it was surrounded at Saratoga and forced to surrender.

This battle proved the turning point of the war. France, the traditional enemy of Great Britain, was convinced at last that the Americans had a chance of victory and signed an alliance with them. It sent them troops, ships, money, and supplies. Spain and Hol-

land, long envious of British power and anxious to share in American trade, also entered the war on the side of the Americans. For similar reasons, Russia, Sweden, and Prussia formed a "League of Armed Neutrality" hostile to Great Britain. In England itself, the Whig opponents of George III increased their attacks on the government's policies.

The long conflict finally drew near its close when Washington trapped the main British forces on the peninsula of Yorktown in 1781. A strong French fleet arrived in time to prevent their escape by sea. With the British surrender at Yorktown, America's victory was assured.

Results of the Revolutionary War. By the Treaty of Paris, signed in 1783, the United States was recognized as an independent nation. Its territory stretched from Canada to Florida, from the Atlantic Ocean to the Mississippi River (map, p. 440). The American people gained other important benefits from the war. Most of the states drew up new liberal constitutions. The estates of rich Loyalists, driven out during the war, were sold to small farmers. In some states, the small farmers actually gained control of the government. Because of its far-reaching effects, the Revolutionary War was indeed a revolution as well as a war for independence.

The American victory also had important effects on other countries. The British king, George III, was blamed for the American Revolution. He suffered a severe setback in his attempt to restore the royal power. The French monarchy was undermined by the heavy financial drain of fighting the war and by the spread of revolutionary ideas from America. In western Europe generally, absolutism was weakened as people were inspired with the hope that they, too, might triumph over injustice and tyranny.

38 / Lesson Review



Checking the facts

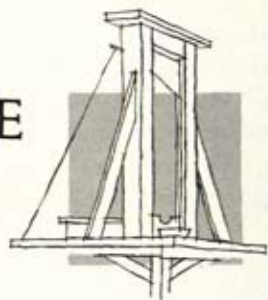
1. Explain: indentured servant; House of Burgesses; Mayflower Compact; Fundamental Orders of Connecticut; town meeting; stamp tax; boycott; "Boston Tea Party"; Continental Congress; Declaration of Independence; Loyalists (Tories).
2. Identify: Roger Williams; William Penn; George III; George Washington; Thomas Jefferson.
3. List the various major reasons why immigrants came to America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.
4. What hardships did the settlers encounter in their new homeland?
5. Describe briefly the economic, political, social, and religious advances made by the colonists in America.
6. What were the main reasons for conflict between the colonists and the mother country? Why did these conflicts grow much worse after the end of the French and Indian War?
7. What events led to the outbreak of armed conflict between the American colonists and the British?
8. Explain how each of these contributed to the American victory in the Revolutionary War: the leadership of George Washington; geography; aid from France and other European powers.
9. What were the results of the Revolutionary War in America? its effects on Europe?

Applying history

1. Which features of American democracy were derived from the settlers' British heritage? In what way did the frontier lead the settlers to make new advances of their own?
2. Why did the British feel justified in levying taxes on the colonists after the French and Indian War? Why did the colonists object?
3. "The American Revolution, to some British statesmen, was a continuation of England's Glorious Revolution." Explain.
4. The words *E Pluribus Unum* are found on American coins. What do they mean? How has our country benefited because it is a union of many states?

Special activities

1. Arrange a class exhibit on the French and Indian War or the American Revolution.
2. After reading about the settlement of the colonies, imagine that you had arrived there a few months earlier. Write to your relatives in England describing your experiences.
3. Write a short biography of George Washington. Be sure to include his many important services to the American people before, during, and after the Revolutionary War. Discuss the reasons why he is entitled to be called the "Father of His Country."
4. Have a group of pupils recite important portions of the Declaration of Independence. Discuss the meaning and significance of each.

/ THE OVERTHROW
OF ABSOLUTISM IN FRANCE

Of all the uprisings which marked the Era of Revolutions, certainly the most far-reaching was that which began in France in 1789. It continued for fully ten years. During that time, the revolutionaries swept away the Old Regime and made a large number of radical reforms. From France, the new ideas spread rapidly, endangering absolute monarchs and privileged classes in many other countries. So important was this upheaval that it is often referred to as the *great* French Revolution, or simply as *the* Revolution.

THE UNDERLYING CAUSES OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

Misgovernment Under Louis XV. One reason for the explosion was the pressure built up by a century of misgovernment. As we have seen (on pp. 279–281), the French people had suffered a great deal from Louis XIV's aggressive wars. However, conditions became much worse under his great-grandson, Louis XV (1715–1774). The new King filled public offices with his favorites and their friends. He was recklessly extravagant and sadly neglected the affairs of government. When he did attend a council meeting, it was reported that he "opened his mouth, said little, and thought not at all." Under such an incompetent ruler, it is hardly

surprising that France suffered military defeat in both the War of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' War (see pp. 302–309). By the conclusion of the second conflict, Louis had lost most of his colonial empire, and his treasury was nearly empty.

To quell the growing discontent among his subjects, Louis XV's ministers advised him to adopt a policy of repression. He imposed a strict censorship on all writings. He imprisoned thousands of persons without trial, merely by issuing secret orders (*lettres de cachet*) for their arrest. The King was warned that his harsh measures might stir up revolt against the monarchy. "It will hold together as long as I live," he replied. "Let my successor take care of himself."

Unfair Taxation. To pay for the King's extravagance and wars, the government collected many different taxes. Three of these were especially unpopular. The salt tax (*gabelle*) required the people to buy a large quantity of salt from the government each year at very high prices. The labor tax (*corvée*) obliged the peasants to work without pay on roads, bridges, and other public works. Heaviest of all was the property tax (*taille*). This tax was collected by businessmen known as tax farmers, who paid the government a fixed sum for the privilege of collecting it. The tax farmers squeezed every

possible cent out of the people in order to increase their own profits. The nobility and clergy were exempt from this property tax, even though they owned almost half of the land in France.

Complaints Against the Privileged Classes. The merchants, professional people, artisans, and peasants complained that their burden of taxes was so heavy because the nobility and clergy did not pay their fair share. However, they also had many other grievances against the privileged classes. They resented the haughty airs of the aristocrats, their luxurious way of life, and their unwillingness to surrender their remaining feudal privileges.

Particularly disliked by the peasants were the hunting rights of the nobles. When engaged in the chase, the latter often rode

through the planted fields, heedless of the damage to the crops. They also maintained large game preserves and pigeon houses. A peasant was forbidden to harm the birds or animals, even when they ate the food on which his family's existence depended.

Conditions in France Compared with Those in Other Countries. Despotic government, heavy and unjust taxes, and the privileges of the upper classes—these were the underlying causes of the French Revolution. But practically every country on the continent suffered from such evils. And they were certainly typical of the Old Regime. Why then did the Revolution occur in France?

Historians generally agree that France led the way just because it was more advanced than most other countries. After the Black



This sympathetic portrait of the French royal family was painted a few months before the Revolution. It is in sharp contrast with the eyewitness pen drawing by Jacques-Louis David (below) of Marie Antoinette on her way to the guillotine.



Death (see p. 215), serfdom declined in France. In the eighteenth century, the great majority of the villagers were free peasants, who realized that they were entitled to some rights. France also had many large cities, where people could get together easily to discuss their grievances. Above all, France had a large and prosperous bourgeoisie. These were thoroughly familiar with the teachings of the Philosophers and could serve as leaders in the struggle for reform. In short, the French people were ripe for revolution and eager to rid themselves of their outworn institutions.

THE OUTBREAK OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

Weakness of Louis XVI. Conditions seemed to take a favorable turn when Louis XV died and his grandson, Louis XVI (1774-1792), came to the throne. The new King was a well-meaning young man. He appointed a courageous reformer, named

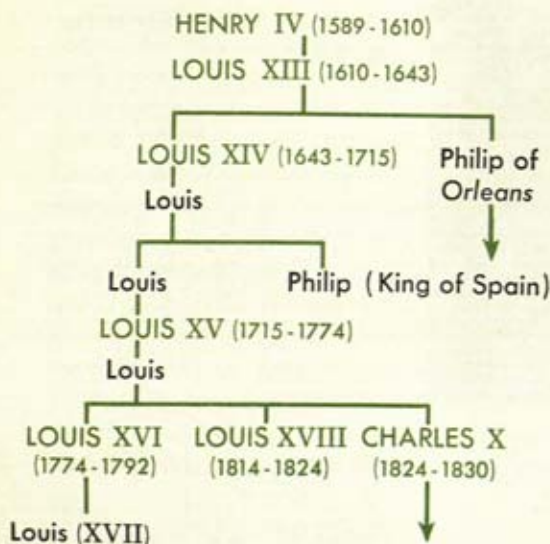
Turgot, as his finance minister. However, trouble developed when the latter attempted to cut the expenses of the court and to tax the privileged classes. The courtiers complained to the Queen and she persuaded her weak-willed husband to dismiss Turgot. The same fate befell his successor, the Swiss banker Necker, who also favored economy. Thereafter the King shelved all of his reform projects. He appointed finance ministers who did not complain about the court's expenditures. Year after year, France plunged more deeply into debt. It was clear that Louis XVI lacked the strength of character to solve France's problems.

The Financial Crisis. One decision made by Louis XVI—to aid the Americans in their war for independence—was warmly applauded by his subjects. The war ended in a triumph over France's old rival, Great Britain. Nevertheless, it proved a serious mistake for the French monarchy. America's success aroused in the French people a dangerous enthusiasm for liberty and reform. Moreover, the cost of the war aggravated France's financial problems.

Within a few years, the public debt approached the tremendous total for that time of \$5,000,000,000. Financiers took alarm and refused to make any new loans. The government, unable to meet its expenses, was virtually bankrupt. It could not even pay the army, on which it depended to maintain order. To add to its troubles, a bad harvest, followed by an unusually severe winter, caused widespread suffering and misery. An extravagant court, a bankrupt treasury, and a starving people formed a very dangerous combination.

Calling of the Estates-General. In a desperate effort to solve the financial crisis, Louis XVI summoned an Assembly of Notables, consisting of the leaders of the clergy

BOURBON RULERS OF FRANCE (1589-1830)



and nobility. He asked that the privileged classes give up their tax exemption. The Assembly of Notables refused. The King then sought to impose new taxes on the common people, but a high court in Paris refused to register them. In defiance of the King, the court declared that "the nation alone, in Estates-General assembled, can give the necessary consent to a new permanent tax." Reluctantly, Louis XVI summoned the Estates-General. It was to be the first meeting of that body in 175 years.

France buzzed with excitement at the news. The voters drew up lists of grievances (*cahiers*) for their representatives to present to the King. They believed that somehow the Estates-General would quickly usher in an era of reform. Actually they had little reason to expect important reforms from that body. A typical assembly of the Middle Ages, it consisted of deputies from each of the three estates or classes—the clergy, the nobility, and the commoners. Each estate met in a separate chamber and cast its own ballot. Thus the two privileged classes could outvote the commoners two to one. This was true even though Louis XVI permitted the Third Estate to have as many deputies as the other two combined.

A storm of protest quickly arose. One writer expressed the people's attitude in these words, "What is the Third Estate? It is everything. What has it been heretofore? Nothing! What does it desire? To be something!" It was evident that the members of the Third Estate would no longer accept the inferior position which they had occupied in the past.

Formation of the National Assembly. The Estates-General met at Versailles in the spring of 1789. The King immediately asked it to approve new taxes. But the Third Estate insisted that all three estates should

first be combined into one body and that the voting should be by individuals, not by classes. After weeks of deadlock, the King finally yielded. The three estates were instructed to meet together.

The Estates-General now became the National Assembly. Although it still had the same membership, it was actually a very different body. For the representatives of three separate classes of society had merged to become the representatives of the entire French nation. The commoners, supported by the parish priests and a few liberal nobles, were now in control. Together, they began to make laws and prepared to draw up a constitution. In effect, France had become a limited monarchy.

FRANCE UNDER THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

Moderate Aims of the National Assembly. For the next two years, 1789–1791, the burden of government was borne by the National Assembly. This inexperienced body was confronted with three very difficult problems. First of all, it had to protect itself against enemies at the royal court. Secondly, it had to find a solution for the government's financial problems. Finally, it had to enact the constitutional reforms which were long overdue.

The Assembly plunged into its work with confidence. Its leaders, reflecting the ideas of the Enlightenment, wanted to remake the nation according to the rules of reason. At the same time, they were determined to protect property rights and to avoid extreme measures. Many, including the popular hero Lafayette, expected only to establish a limited monarchy like that of England. In short, the National Assembly was a middle-of-the-road legislative body. It was anxious

to make changes but to do so slowly and in moderation.

Breakdown of Royal Authority. However, the Assembly met with many difficulties in carrying out its program. Trouble began when Louis XVI dismissed a popular minister and gathered loyal troops around him in Versailles. The rumor spread that he meant to dissolve the National Assembly by force. In Paris, excited crowds gathered to save the Revolution. Wild rioting soon broke out. The Parisians stormed the Bastille, a medieval fortress which French kings had used as a jail for political prisoners. The rioters massacred the defenders and leveled it to the ground. Bastille Day (July 14) is still celebrated as France's national holiday. For on that day the French people destroyed the very symbol of royal absolutism. Their action frightened the King into postponing his plans to crush the Revolution.

During the excitement in Paris, the inhabitants drove out the royal officials. They organized their own city government, the Paris Commune. They also formed a citizen militia, the National Guard. This served the double purpose of defending the city from royal attack and of protecting property from looters. Other cities soon followed the lead of Paris. They created their own municipal governments and National Guard units. These actions represented a further weakening of the royal power.

Transfer of the Capital to Paris. A few months later, word reached Paris that the King had again gathered troops in Versailles. He had given their officers a lavish banquet. The Parisians were aroused—both by the threat to the Revolution and by the news that Versailles feasted while they starved. An angry crowd, composed mainly of women, marched the dozen dusty miles to

the King's palace. By a show of violence, they forced the King and Queen to come back with them to Paris. There the royal family were kept almost as prisoners.

The National Assembly quickly followed the King. Once in Paris, it also came under the influence of the common people. They filled the galleries and loudly expressed their approval or disapproval of the members' actions. The Assembly was often forced by this popular pressure to adopt more extreme measures than the majority really desired.

Abolition of the Old Regime. Meanwhile, revolutionary outbreaks had also spread to the country districts. In many places, the oppressed peasants attacked the castles of the hated nobles and destroyed the records of their manorial dues. A few of the landlords were killed; others were forced to flee. The National Assembly realized that fundamental reforms were necessary if order was to be restored. Representatives of the nobility and clergy led the way by freeing their serfs. They renounced the manorial dues and tithes. They surrendered their tax exemption, hunting rights, and many other special privileges. In one emotion-packed night, August 4-5, 1789, the National Assembly swept away the centuries-old remains of feudalism, including the worst evils of the Old Regime.

Later, the Assembly voted reforms to remove the special grievances of the bourgeoisie. It abolished the guilds, the monopolies, and other irritating restrictions on business. It rid France of the old historic provinces—Britanny, Normandy, Gascony, and so on—which had long been obstacles to national unity. In their stead were created smaller local units, the departments. The Assembly also decreed that the whole nation was to have the same money, the same weights and measures, and the same laws.

At last, commerce and industry were free to expand without interference.

Financial Measures. Less easily dealt with were the nation's financial problems. The Assembly found it impossible to collect the old taxes and was afraid to impose new ones. To secure necessary funds, it decided finally to confiscate (take without payment) the rich lands of the Church. Using them as security, it issued a new paper money (the *assignats*). Later, as we shall see, so much of this money was printed that it became worthless. However, for the time being, the financial crisis seemed solved.

The Church Laws. The confiscation of Church property was only the first of several important measures directed against the Church. Most of the members of the Assembly were greatly influenced by the skeptical religious ideas of the Enlightenment (see pp. 319-321). The Assembly therefore suppressed the monasteries, established complete religious freedom, and enacted the Civil Constitution of the Clergy.

The Civil Constitution was a basic law which regulated the position of the Catholic Church in France. Under its provisions, French bishops and priests were elected by the voters. Their salaries were fixed by the government and were paid out of the public treasury. Their ties with Rome were much weaker than in the past. In effect, the Civil Constitution of the Clergy made the Catholic Church in France a branch of the French government.

The Declaration of the Rights of Man. Meanwhile, the National Assembly was also preparing to draw up a new constitution for France. The principles were set forth in a very famous document, the Declaration of the Rights of Man. The most important are:

- I. Men are born and remain free and equal in rights. . . .

- II. These rights are liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression.

- VI. Law is the expression of the general will. All citizens have the right to assist personally, or by their representatives, in its formation. . . .

The Declaration of the Rights of Man was later made part of the French constitution. It ranks with Magna Carta and the English and American Bills of Rights as one of the great charters of human freedom and has served as a model for many other peoples.

The New Constitution of 1791. Like the Declaration of the Rights of Man, the constitution drawn up by the National Assembly reflected the ideas of the Philosophers. It was especially influenced by the political theories of Montesquieu (see p. 320). Thus the powers of government were divided among three different branches—the executive, the legislative, and the judiciary. The king was made the chief executive, although his authority was quite limited. The right to make laws was entrusted to a one-chamber parliament, the Legislative Assembly. A new system of courts was established, headed by a supreme court in Paris. The lawmakers, judges, and various local officials were all to be elected by the voters. However, contrary to Article VI of the Declaration of the Rights of Man, only property owners were permitted to vote or hold office.

After holding elections, the National Assembly adjourned for the last time. In little more than two years (1789-1791), it had eliminated royal absolutism, most class privileges, and numerous other evils of the Old Regime. It had framed a constitution and brought about other fundamental reforms. All of this had been accomplished with so little bloodshed that the period of the National Assembly has often been called "the honeymoon of the French Revolution."



39 / Lesson Review

Checking the facts

1. Explain: tax farmer; hunting rights; Third Estate; National Assembly; Bastille Day; Paris Commune; National Guard; department; Civil Constitution of the Clergy; Declaration of the Rights of Man; Legislative Assembly.
2. Identify: Louis XV; Louis XVI; Marie Antoinette; Lafayette.
3. What were the underlying causes of the French Revolution?
4. How did conditions in eighteenth-century France compare with those in other European countries during the same period?
5. Why did Louis XVI summon the Estates-General in 1789? Why were the representatives of the Third Estate dissatisfied with the system of voting? How was the Estates-General transformed into the National Assembly?
6. What was the significance of the storming of the Bastille? of the removal of the king from Versailles to Paris?
7. Explain how the National Assembly sought to help the peasants and the bourgeoisie; solve France's financial problems; reorganize the Church; give France a better system of government.

Applying history

1. Louis XVI wished to be considered an Enlightened Despot. Did he deserve the title? What might a more competent ruler have done to avert the Revolution?
2. Compare the policies of Louis XVI with those of Charles I of England (p. 288).

Why was neither ruler able to prevent a revolution?

3. Why did the parish priests generally side with the commoners during the early Revolution? Why did the higher clergy side with the nobles?
4. Compare the French constitution of 1791 with the United States constitution of 1789. Explain how each was influenced by the political theories of Montesquieu.
5. The period of the National Assembly has often been called "the honeymoon of the French Revolution." Explain why. How did the Assembly eliminate many evils of the Old Regime?

Special activities

1. Read to the class descriptions of life in pre-revolutionary France from a contemporary source (such as Arthur Young's *Travels in France*). Discuss how the conditions described were important in leading to the outbreak of the Revolution.
2. On the basis of your outside reading, write a short account of the lives of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette before the Revolution.
3. Stage a simple dramatization of one of the important episodes in the early Revolution, such as the storming of the Bastille or the march of the women to Versailles. Show how this event helped change the course of French history.
4. Find and read to the class important passages from the Declaration of the Rights of Man. Compare these passages with the American Declaration of Independence.

/ THE REVOLUTIONARY
FRENCH REPUBLIC

For two years the National Assembly had labored to rid France of the old system of privilege and to draft a constitution. Most Frenchmen approved of its achievements. They hoped for a long period of stability, in which they might quietly enjoy their gains. Yet, after only a few months France entered on a new era of even greater strain and turmoil.

Responsibility for this turn of affairs rested primarily with two dissatisfied groups. The first group, the reactionaries, were completely opposed to the Revolution or believed that it had gone too far. Most of them wished to restore conditions as they had existed before 1789. The second group, the radicals, favored the Revolution but believed that more basic reforms were needed. Between them, the reactionaries and the radicals succeeded in destroying the new constitutional monarchy. However, it was the radicals, rather than their opponents, who were able to seize control.

FAILURE OF THE LIMITED MONARCHY, 1791-1792

Enemies of the Revolution. The reactionaries included most of the nobility and higher clergy. These bitterly resented the loss of their privileges. Many chose to become *émigrés* (emigrants) and fled from

France to the courts of neighboring rulers. There they sought to secure aid in suppressing the Revolution. Among the leaders of the *émigrés* were Louis XIV's own brothers.

Many of the lower clergy became enemies of the Revolution because of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy (see p. 337). The pope condemned it as a violation of Church law. The government then required all clergymen to take an oath that they would accept its provisions. A majority of the priests refused. The government replied by discharging, fining, and even imprisoning the "nonjuring" clergy (those who refused to take the oath). Churches stood empty, while nonjuring priests hid from the authorities and conducted their services in secret. As a consequence of this religious conflict, large numbers of peasants also turned against the Revolution.

The King and Queen were also hostile to the Revolution. Secretly, they sent frantic pleas for help to the Queen's brother, the Holy Roman Emperor (Leopold II of Austria). When he failed to act promptly, the royal family tried to flee from France and join the *émigrés* in Germany. However, they were recognized in a small village near the border and were brought back to Paris. The King was restored to his throne after swearing to support the constitution. Nevertheless, he continued to correspond secretly with

the Emperor and with other foreign rulers.

Discontent of the Radicals. Even more dangerous to the existing government were the radicals. Most of the leaders of this group were idealistic lawyers, journalists, and merchants. A few were even members of the nobility. Believing in the revolutionary doctrines of Rousseau (see p. 320), they favored much more sweeping changes than those the National Assembly had voted. They wished to depose the "traitor," Louis XVI, and to substitute a democratic republic for the limited monarchy. They also wished to end all remaining class privileges and to improve economic conditions for the poor workers in the cities.

The radicals spread their ideas by means of newspapers, pamphlets, and speeches. They also organized political clubs, where they could meet to talk over their problems and agree on a common program. The most powerful of these organizations was the Jacobin Club, formed in 1789. Its headquarters were in Paris and it had branches in many other cities. The Jacobins played a very important role during the Revolution.

As might be expected, the radicals won a large following in Paris and the other big cities, where a great deal of dissatisfaction existed. The Revolution had removed most of the grievances of the peasants and bourgeoisie. However, it had brought the poor city workers little but hunger and suffering. Some lost their jobs as a result of the disturbed conditions. Many found it harder to buy food, clothing, and other necessities because of the higher prices which resulted from the government's printing of too much paper money. All were angry because, owning no property, they were barred by the new constitution from voting and holding office.

The Outbreak of Foreign War, April, 1792. By the time the Legislative Assembly

met in October, 1791, it was already clear that the government would have trouble with both groups of extremists. The new Assembly was a weak and inexperienced body. In order to avoid charges that they were seeking power, the deputies in the National Assembly had unselfishly but unwisely barred themselves from seeking re-election. The new members held many different viewpoints and were unable to agree on a common program. They accomplished almost nothing. After a few months, the Legislative Assembly sought to find an escape from France's difficult domestic problems by diverting public attention to foreign affairs.

Considerable resentment already existed against Austria and Prussia. Both countries had offered a cordial welcome to the émigrés. Moreover, the Austrian and Prussian monarchs had met at Pillnitz in 1791 and issued a threatening declaration concerning affairs in France. They had asserted that the restoration of Louis XVI's authority in that country was a matter of "common interest to all the sovereigns of Europe." Using these and other unfriendly acts as excuses, the Legislative Assembly voted to declare war against both powers.

The French armies were handicapped by untrustworthy royalist officers, poor equipment, and inadequate supplies. Moreover, the King betrayed their campaign plans to the enemy. A French army sent to invade the Austrian Netherlands (Belgium) was easily routed. Other forces guarding the eastern frontier were driven back. Soon the Austrians and Prussians invaded France. In a proclamation to the French people, the allied commander announced that he intended to restore "security and liberty" to Louis XVI. He warned the revolutionaries to lay down their arms and threatened Paris with destruction if harm befell the royal family.

Fall of the Monarchy, August 10, 1792. This allied proclamation was intended to save the French monarchy. Actually, the proclamation had exactly the opposite effect. It seemed clear proof that Louis XVI was a traitor to the Revolution. The Jacobins and their working-class followers rose up in arms and seized control of the Paris city government, or Commune. They stormed the King's palace and massacred his Swiss guards. The royal family fled to the Legislative Assembly for protection. But the deputies, fearful for their own lives, voted to suspend the King and ordered him arrested. They also announced immediate elections for a National Convention to decide on a new government for France. Thus, after less than a year, the experiment with constitutional monarchy came to a tragic end.

THE RADICALS IN CONTROL, 1792-1794

Leadership of Danton. Until the Convention met, supreme authority was exercised by the new revolutionary Paris Commune. One of the leaders of the Commune, a radical young lawyer named Danton, now became virtual head of the government. Danton was faced with critical problems. The French commander-in-chief, Lafayette, protested against the overthrow of the King and deserted to the enemy. The combined Austrian and Prussian armies advanced rapidly on Paris. The city itself contained many nobles and other disloyal elements. These eagerly awaited the arrival of the allies to avenge themselves on the revolutionaries.

Danton believed that the Revolution could be saved only by drastic measures. ". . . The way to stop the enemy is to terrify the royalists," he warned. "Audacity, more audacity, and still more audacity, and France will be

saved." Acting on Danton's advice, the Parisians rounded up large numbers of aristocrats, nonjuring priests, and other counter-revolutionaries. More than a thousand of these were murdered, after mock trials, in the September Massacres of 1792. The radicals carried out similar bloody massacres in other cities.

Meanwhile, Danton was also busy reorganizing and strengthening the French armies. An able radical general was appointed to fill Lafayette's post as supreme commander. Recruits and supplies were hastily sent off to reinforce the front. The French forces finally succeeded in checking the enemy advance at the Battle of Valmy. Paris was saved, and the allies retreated toward the Rhine. To the revolutionaries, it seemed that the use of terror was responsible for their victory.

Establishment of the First French Republic, September 21, 1792. The newly elected National Convention met a day later amidst scenes of great rejoicing. One of its first acts was to proclaim France a republic. By another act, it barred the émigrés from ever returning to France. A few months later, the Convention tried the King for treason. It found him guilty and sent him to the guillotine in 1793. Later that same year, Queen Marie Antoinette was also executed.

During this period, the French armies continued their advance. Led by competent, loyal officers and inspired by a stirring new song of liberty, the "Marseillaise," they won many victories. Crossing their frontiers, they conquered the Austrian Netherlands and invaded Germany. Almost everywhere, the people welcomed them as liberators from the tyranny and abuses of the Old Regime.

A New Period of Crisis. Excited by French successes, the Convention boldly announced that it would help all peoples "to recover their liberty." This call to revolu-



Louis XVI and his family lived in the Tuileries palace in Paris during the period of the limited monarchy. The storming of the palace by the radicals in August, 1792, was followed by the king's suspension and the establishment of a republic.

tion, followed shortly by the execution of Louis XVI, aroused the fear of Europe's rulers. Within a few months, France found itself at war with a powerful enemy coalition which included Austria, Prussia, Great Britain, Holland, and Spain. The French armies were driven out of the Austrian Netherlands and Germany. The allies made ready for a new invasion of France.

In the meantime, new critical problems also developed within France. The peasants of certain districts, loyal to the Church and monarchy, began large-scale revolts against the government. Prices rose rapidly. The city workers, finding it more and more difficult to buy food for their families, again became restless. In the Convention, the members fell to quarreling among themselves. A group of

deputies from the provinces, the Girondins, denounced the violent policies of the Paris Jacobins. The latter replied by expelling the Girondins from the Convention and by guillotining their leaders. These actions provoked bloody uprisings in a number of large cities. Beset by enemies at home and abroad, the new republic seemed doomed.

"The Reign of Terror." To meet the ever deepening crisis, the radicals again resorted to terror. The Convention granted emergency powers to a small group of Jacobin members. The Committee of Public Safety, as this group was known, was authorized to conduct foreign relations, to direct the armies, and to run the whole country—subject to general supervision by the Convention. To help the Committee maintain or-

der, the Convention also created a secret police force and a special revolutionary court. A Law of Suspects allowed officials to arrest any noble or former royal official, any person who had any connection with an émigré, or any person who could not produce a loyalty card signed by the local revolutionary committee. In the name of liberty, the revolutionaries established a regime more despotic than any absolute monarchy.

The year which followed—from the summer of 1793 to the summer of 1794—has gone down in history as “the Reign of Terror.” Aristocrats, priests, and other persons accused of conspiring against the government were sent to the guillotine. Businessmen who violated the laws to keep down prices were condemned to death as “enemies of the people.” Large numbers of rebel prisoners were executed in terrible atrocities. In all, about 20,000 Frenchmen were killed during the Reign of Terror.

Meanwhile, the Committee of Public Safety built up France’s military strength. Large armies were raised by drafting all able-bodied young men for military service. The production of armaments was greatly expanded. Deputies of the Convention accompanied the troops in order to assure the loyalty of their officers.

The French “citizen armies” fought with an enthusiasm unknown to hired soldiers. They succeeded in suppressing most of the internal rebellions. They also drove the enemy out of France and again carried the war to foreign soil. For the second time, terror and victory seemed to go hand in hand.

The Role of Robespierre. The leading member of the Committee of Public Safety was Maximilien Robespierre. As a result of factional disputes and intrigues, his influence had grown while Danton’s had declined. During the Reign of Terror, he was

virtual dictator of France. Robespierre was a fanatical disciple of Rousseau. In his zeal to create an ideal society, he became a ruthless tyrant. Even the members of the Convention feared to disagree openly with his policies.

Robespierre sent one group of deputies to the guillotine because he disapproved of their radical antireligious views. He executed another group, including Danton, because they were too moderate and favored an end to the Terror. The Revolution was truly “devouring its children.” Fearing for their own heads, a majority of the Convention finally revolted against Robespierre and sent him to the guillotine in July, 1794.

Achievements of the National Convention. The vivid story of the Terror has tended to obscure the many reforms which the Convention made in its efforts to create a new France. Sympathizing with the poor and oppressed, the leaders of that body set up equality as their ideal. All male citizens were allowed to vote. Negro slavery in the French colonies, imprisonment for debt, and the barbarous treatment of criminals were all abolished. The large estates of the nobles were seized by the government, broken up into small plots, and sold to the peasants on easy terms. With more than a million new landowners, France became a nation of prosperous small farmers.

Several other important measures were also voted by the Convention. The close ties which had long existed between Church and state were severed. Effective military conscription and price control laws were passed. A simple decimal system of weights and measures, the metric system, was introduced. The metric system has since been adopted by most countries and is used by scientists everywhere.

However, the achievements of the Convention came at the cost of much bloodshed.



The Jacobin Club, to which many radical leaders of the Revolution belonged, derived its name from its meeting place in Paris, formerly a Jacobin monastery. The Jacobin leader Robespierre (above) was a quiet-spoken, prim little man. He was so anxious to make people good, it has been said, that he was willing to kill them in the process.

The Jacobins may actually have delayed progress in their eagerness to rush reforms. For more than a generation afterwards, governments quivered in fear at the very word "Jacobinism." They refused to make even moderate reforms lest they lead to radical revolution. In France itself, the Terror set class against class and established an evil tradition of settling political controversies by force. In the end, the Jacobins left to their successors a disastrous heritage of disunity, violence, financial troubles, and war.

THE MODERATES AGAIN IN CONTROL, 1794-1799

End of the Terror. After Robespierre's execution, the moderate revolutionaries regained control of the French government. The Reign of Terror came to an end, and most political prisoners were released. The Jacobin Club was closed. The price control policy was abandoned. The fanatic zeal and



fervor of the Terror was followed by a wave of gaiety, extravagance, and pleasure seeking. The complaints of the dissatisfied workingmen were ignored and their uprisings were suppressed by force. After drawing up a new constitution and holding elections, the Convention in 1795 finally passed out of existence.

The Period of the Directory, 1795–1799. The new constitution, drawn up by the moderate leaders of the Convention, vested power in the rich propertied groups. It provided for a legislature of two houses and a five-man executive board, the Directory. However, this new government proved unable to solve France's financial and other problems. Each of the Directors was jealous of the others and shifted the blame when anything went wrong. They were more concerned with building up their own fortunes than with fostering their country's welfare.

Conditions went rapidly from bad to worse. So much paper money was printed that it became almost worthless. The poorer classes in the cities went hungry while the peasants allowed their crops to rot in the fields. Only in its military policies did the Directory win important successes. But even the army was not loyal to the new government. After four years, in 1799, a victorious general, Napoleon Bonaparte, overthrew the Directory and seized power for himself.

Results of the French Revolution. During the ten years of the Revolution, France had numerous different forms of government. First was the absolute monarchy, which was run in the interest of the privileged classes. This gave way to a limited monarchy, in which the leading role was played by the liberal nobles and the moderate bourgeoisie. The limited monarchy, in turn, was replaced by a radical republic, dominated by the Jacobins, who were responsible for the Reign of

Terror. Then came the Directory, which was controlled by the bourgeoisie. The Directory was overthrown by a military dictator, Napoleon Bonaparte.

Almost all of the important reforms of the Revolution were voted by the National Assembly, 1789–1791, and the Convention, 1792–1795. Their achievements were symbolized by the revolutionary slogan, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity." Liberty, to the revolutionaries, meant the end of absolute monarchy. It meant that freedom of speech, press, and religion were protected by law. For businessmen, it also meant freedom from government and guild restrictions, so that trade and industry could expand unhindered.

Equality meant that privilege was abolished and that all men became equal in the eyes of the law. On the other hand, it did not mean that land or income was divided equally. Radicals though they were, Robespierre and his followers were strong defenders of the rights of private property. The group which benefited most from the Revolution was the bourgeoisie. They acquired so much wealth and influence that they became, in effect, a new ruling class.

Fraternity had two distinct meanings. First, it meant a new sense of national unity among Frenchmen, which replaced older loyalties to class or province. In this new-felt sense of unity may be found the origin of modern nationalism. Second, fraternity meant a feeling by Frenchmen of brotherhood with the common people of other lands. This was shown in the desire to free them also from despotic rule. Liberty, Equality, Fraternity—these revolutionary ideas were soon to spread beyond the land of their origin. They were to destroy the Old Regime in many other European countries, just as they had in France.



40 / Lesson Review

Checking the facts

1. Explain: reactionaries; radicals; émigrés; non-juring clergy; Jacobin Club; National Convention; coalition; Committee of Public Safety; Law of Suspects; Reign of Terror; military conscription; metric system; Directory.
2. Identify: Danton; Robespierre; Napoleon Bonaparte.
3. Explain why the limited monarchy was opposed by the upper classes; by many of the lower clergy and peasants; by the radicals and the poor city workers.
4. Why did the Legislative Assembly declare war on Austria and Prussia? How did the war lead to the downfall of the French monarchy?
5. Why did the leaders of the Convention inaugurate the Reign of Terror?
6. What were the major achievements of the Convention? What price did Frenchmen pay for these achievements?
7. Describe the government of France during the period of the Directory. Why was it a failure?
8. Discuss the permanently significant results of the French Revolution.

Applying history

1. Why has the French limited monarchy been called a "middle-of-the-road government"? Why did this government meet so much opposition? What present-day revolutionary governments are facing similar problems?
2. Explain: "Wars generally create more problems than they solve." How is the correctness of this statement illustrated by the experience of the Legislative Assembly?
3. Why were the Jacobins unable to carry out their radical policies without the use of

terrorism? Why were many of their reforms repealed after Robespierre's downfall?

4. How did the Reign of Terror illustrate the saying "The Revolution devoured its own children"? Why do revolutionary leaders often quarrel among themselves? What examples can you give of similar developments in recent history?
5. Complete this chart for the four main periods of the French Revolution, 1789–1799:

Government:

Name;	form	Dates	Achievements	Failures
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6. Explain what the French revolutionary leaders meant by their slogan "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity." Why were these ideas opposed by the monarchs of other countries?

Special activities

1. Arrange a class exhibit showing the major events and leaders of the French Revolution.
2. Read to the class eyewitness accounts of dramatic episodes during the Reign of Terror. Discuss this question: Is a government ever justified in employing terroristic methods against its people?
3. Write a short biography of either Danton or Robespierre. Emphasize the reasons why he became a radical and the role he played in the Revolution.
4. Study an English translation of the *Marseillaise*. Discuss the reasons why the words aroused the patriotism of the French people.
5. Pretend that you are a deputy of the National Convention who has been sent out to quiet unrest in the country districts. Make a speech designed to win the peasants over. Or pretend that you are a peasant and explain why you are hostile to the government.

THE DICTATORSHIP OF NAPOLEON BONAPARTE



Like a shooting star, Napoleon Bonaparte streaked across the pages of history, burned brightly for a few moments, and then suddenly fell. At the age of twenty, he was an obscure lieutenant in the French army. At thirty, he was dictator of France. Ten years later, he was "Emperor of the French" and conqueror of half of Europe. In another five years, he was a lonely exile and a few years later he was dead. It is no wonder that his dramatic career has captured the imagination of mankind.

BONAPARTE'S RISE TO POWER

Bonaparte's Early Background. Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821) was born on the rocky little island of Corsica, off the coast of Italy. His father, though of noble descent, was so poor that he could barely support his large family. At the age of ten, Napoleon was sent on a scholarship to a military school in France. There the boy suffered from loneliness and the ridicule of his classmates. They poked fun at him because of his poverty, awkward manners, and Italian accent. These humiliating early experiences helped to arouse in him a burning thirst for power and glory.

Young Bonaparte's opportunity came during the Revolution, when France found

itself ringed by enemies and in desperate need of competent officers. Through ability and good fortune, he won unusually rapid promotion. He first distinguished himself by helping to drive the British fleet from the important French port of Toulon. Two years later, in 1795, he saved the Convention from an attacking mob. At the age of twenty-seven, he was given command of an army fighting the Austrians in Italy.

The Italian and Egyptian Campaigns. Arriving at army headquarters, General Bonaparte found his troops a ragged, ill-fed, and dispirited lot. He quickly restored discipline and raised his men's morale. Then, in a series of brilliantly fought battles, he led his army to victory over the Austrian forces. As a result of his Italian campaign in 1796–1797, the triumphant young general found himself master of northern Italy. He shipped home large quantities of gold and other booty. Without even consulting the Directory, he proceeded to negotiate a peace treaty with Austria. It became clear that Bonaparte would not be content to remain a mere general for long.

News of Bonaparte's triumphs aroused great public excitement. When the victorious general returned to Paris, he was given a hero's welcome. Possibly he might even then have taken over the government. How-

ever, believing that France was not yet ready to accept him as its ruler, Bonaparte preferred not to risk his popularity by openly attacking the Directors. Instead, he began a spectacular expedition. His plan was to conquer Egypt and to use it as a base for an attack on British power in India.

Despite some early victories, the Egyptian campaign of 1798–1799 proved an almost fatal blunder. The British navy destroyed Bonaparte's fleet, making it difficult for him to secure supplies for his army. When his troops marched northward from Egypt into Syria, the Turks succeeded in blocking his advance. The chance for spectacular victories in the East now vanished completely. Eventually, the French army in Egypt was compelled to surrender. Meanwhile, however, news of troubles at home gave Bonaparte the opportunity to escape from his dangerous situation.

Bonaparte's Seizure of Power, 1799. While the ambitious general was away in Egypt, new party conflicts had broken out in France. Jacobins and royalists alike were organizing plots against the government. Business conditions were bad and the national treasury was again empty. Most important of all, a Second Coalition of European powers had been formed by Great Britain, Austria, and Russia. It had defeated several French armies in Italy and Germany and threatened to invade France itself. The Directors, who seemed unable to meet the nation's problems, were blamed for all that had gone wrong.

At this moment, Bonaparte returned to Paris, leaving his army to its fate. Despite his setbacks in Egypt, which were not yet known to the public, he boasted of his "triumphs" in the East. The great conqueror was hailed as the savior of France. Influential

politicians came flocking to him. Others were won over by promises of high positions. Then, with the aid of some troops, he overthrew the Directors and assumed control of the government. The term *coup d'état*—literally, "a blow at the state"—is commonly used to describe such a seizure of power by a few men.

Government of the Consulate, 1799–1804. Although really dictator of France, Bonaparte wanted to make it appear that he had secured power by legal methods. He quickly drew up a new constitution. This provided for four legislative bodies and three executives, called consuls. However, the elaborate machinery was only a disguise. First Consul Bonaparte, through his army, dominated every branch of the national government.

Bonaparte also took over control of local government. He appointed the prefects of the departments and other district officials, who had formerly been chosen by the voters. He carefully directed and supervised the local officials' activities. More than ever in the past, Paris became the center from which all France was governed. This extreme centralization of government gave the First Consul more power over the people of France than any absolute monarch had ever had before him.

Breakup of the Second Coalition. Bonaparte strengthened his position at home by acting vigorously and speedily against France's foreign enemies. Through shrewd diplomacy, he persuaded Czar Paul I of Russia to withdraw from the Second Coalition. Then he led an army over the Alps into Italy and gained a decisive victory over Austria. Finally, in 1802, even Great Britain agreed to end hostilities.

The French had annexed Belgium, the German area west of the Rhine River, and

a portion of northern Italy. Along their newly expanded frontiers, they had set up republics in Holland, Switzerland, and Italy. These border states were completely dependent upon France. For the first time in ten years, the French were at peace with all of their neighbors. However, as we shall soon see, peace was to last for only about a year with Great Britain, and for only a short time longer with the other powers.

Establishment of the Empire (1804). Riding on the crest of his victories, Napoleon Bonaparte in 1802 had himself appointed Consul for life. He granted a general pardon to the émigrés and invited them to return from exile. He established an elaborate court, abolishing the use of the title "Citizen," the revolutionary calendar, and most of the other republican customs. The climax came when he crowned himself Emperor Napoleon I in 1804.

After each of his changes of government, Napoleon held a special election called a plebiscite. In these plebiscites, the people were asked to vote whether or not they approved of his actions. Each time millions of Frenchmen voted "Yes" while only a handful voted "No." Why, it should be asked, did the French accept a dictator when they had so recently fought to overthrow an absolute monarch?

Several reasons may be suggested. First, the French people were tired of the disturbances created by Jacobins and royalists. They were willing to give up their freedom in the hope of obtaining order and security. Second, Napoleon was a popular hero who had won great victories and glory for France. Finally, like the Enlightened Despots, Napoleon lived simply and worked hard to improve conditions in the country. He was successful in bringing prosperity to the French people

and efficiency to the government during most of his reign.

DOMESTIC ACHIEVEMENTS OF NAPOLEON BONAPARTE

The Revolution Continued. Many reforms had been achieved by the Revolution before Napoleon seized power in 1799. The privileges of the nobles and clergy had been swept away. A constitutional republic had replaced the old absolute monarchy. The local government of the country had been reorganized into departments and communes. The metric system and numerous important economic measures had been introduced. But Napoleon, who frequently boasted that he was "a son of the Revolution," felt that much remained to be done. He now launched a series of reform programs to complete the constructive work of the Revolution.

Financial Reforms. The first need of the country was improvement of its finances. Napoleon's ministers devised a new system of taxes which brought money into the treasury. The dictator himself insisted on efficient work from all government employees. He cut waste and extravagance and reduced the normal peacetime expenses of the government. He also created the Bank of France, which issued a stable new currency, the franc. These sound financial measures helped business. Moreover, by levying tribute from the countries he defeated, he brought enough additional money into the treasury to make it possible to keep taxes on the French people low.

Public Works Program. Another factor in France's growing prosperity was Napoleon's tremendous program of public works. His engineers beautified the city of Paris, built

many fine highways, and improved harbors and canals. These projects created jobs for the workers. They also opened new markets for the peasants and provided new opportunities for making money for the bourgeoisie. Moreover, the new highways were of considerable military value. It is noteworthy that thirty of them led straight from Paris to the borders of neighboring countries. The roads of peaceful trade were soon to be the paths of marching armies.

The Religious Settlement. As still another accomplishment, Bonaparte healed the old religious conflict (see p. 339) by negotiating a treaty with the Church, the so-called Concordat of 1801. He acknowledged the pope as head of the Catholic Church in France, again allowed Catholics to worship in public, and agreed to pay the salaries of the Catholic clergy. The pope, in turn, surrendered all claims to the confiscated Church lands and recognized Napoleon as ruler of France. Napoleon was allowed to name the French bishops, but the bishops were to choose the parish priests.

The treaty aroused considerable protest because it gave the Catholic Church a preferred position as "the religion of the majority of Frenchmen." However, Napoleon granted freedom of worship to Protestants, as well as Catholics, and the government also paid the salaries of their ministers. So loyally did the clergy—Catholic and Protestant alike—support his regime that Napoleon referred to them as his "priestly police."

The Napoleonic Code. With his usual driving energy, Napoleon successfully tackled another difficult problem. The mixture of the laws of the Old Regime and of the revolutionary governments had created a great deal of confusion. Both the Convention and the Directory had approved projects to re-

form the law, but little progress had been made. Napoleon called in a group of prominent lawyers and prodded them into creating a simple and uniform legal system. The resulting Napoleonic Code made permanent the reforms of the Revolution, such as legal equality for all classes, religious toleration, and the abolition of feudalism. Napoleon himself thought it would be his most enduring achievement. "I shall go down to posterity," he said, "with my code in my hand."

The Napoleonic Code was applied not only to France but to every other country where French power extended. It is still the basis of the legal system of most nations of western Europe and even of the American state of Louisiana. Because many people were attracted to the kind of government it provided, it helped to open the way for Napoleon's foreign conquests.

A System of Public Education. Still another of Napoleon's important achievements was his creation of a modern system of public education. He built elementary schools, secondary schools, and colleges for the training of teachers and engineers. To supervise all institutions of learning in France, public and private alike, he created a national department of education called the University of France. Through this body, he sought to control teaching in the schools and to shape the minds of the new generation along lines favorable to his rule.

On the whole, Napoleon's reforms helped to make France a prosperous and progressive country. They also gave him such complete and dictatorial control of the nation that it had to follow wherever he led. Unfortunately, he chose to lead it along the perilous path of military conquest. In the end, his ambition brought France defeat and near-ruin.



The pope came to Paris especially for Napoleon's coronation. But the French ruler took the crown from the pope's hands, placed it on his head himself, then crowned his empress, Josephine. The painting is by Jacques-Louis David (see page 333).

NAPOLEON'S WARS TO CONTROL EUROPE

Reasons for War. Napoleon Bonaparte ruled France for fifteen years, 1799–1814. For Europe, this was a period of almost continual warfare. Some historians regard the Napoleonic Wars merely as a renewal of the eighteenth-century struggles for supremacy among the great powers. Others attribute these wars to the revolutionary spirit in France and the desire of Frenchmen to liberate other peoples of Europe. But none deny the heavy burden of responsibility which must be placed on Napoleon. Not content to be ruler of France, he sought to bring more and more territory under his sway. He was also driven on by the need to maintain his prestige as a military hero. As he himself said, "If I give the people glory, they will forget about liberty."

The War of the Third Coalition, 1805–1807. For about a year, an uneasy truce existed between Great Britain and France

(see p. 348). Then, in 1803, war between the two powers broke out anew. Napoleon gathered barges and troops at the Channel ports for an invasion of England. However, while he was busy with these preparations, the British succeeded in forming a Third Coalition with Austria and Russia.

Compelled to change his plans, the French ruler took the offensive against his foes on the continent. He defeated the Austrians in two hard-fought battles and forced them to sue for peace. Alarmed by the French victories, Prussia now entered the war. Napoleon speedily crushed the Prussian armies and occupied Berlin. Next he defeated a large Russian army, which had been sent to help Prussia. Then he invited the impressionable young Czar Alexander I to a conference and won him over as an ally. By 1807, the Third Coalition was completely shattered.

The alliance with Russia marked the high tide of Napoleon's power. (See map, p. 354.) He ruled a greatly enlarged French Empire, which included Belgium, Holland, Switzer-

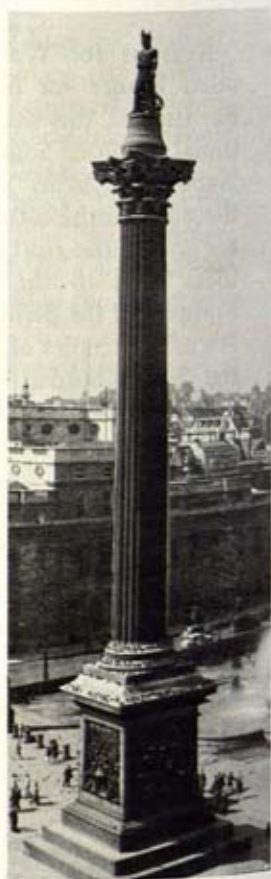
land, and parts of Italy. Central Europe was also reorganized along lines dictated by the French Emperor. The ancient Holy Roman Empire was abolished, and the Habsburg ruler now changed his title to "Emperor of Austria." The small west German states were organized into a new union, the Confederation of the Rhine, with Napoleon at its head. Prussia was deprived of almost half of its territory. From Prussia's former Polish provinces Napoleon created a new vassal Polish state, the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. Only Great Britain still challenged French leadership in Europe.

Failure to Defeat Great Britain. Early in the war, in 1805, the British fleet destroyed most of Napoleon's navy off Cape Trafalgar. The French conqueror finally had to give up his invasion plans. However, he devised a

system of economic warfare to attack "the nation of shopkeepers," as he contemptuously called the English. The Continental System, which Napoleon inaugurated with his Berlin Decree of 1806, called for the whole continent of Europe to stop buying British goods. British ships, and neutral ships which stopped at British ports, were forbidden to enter any European harbor. By ruining British trade, Napoleon thought he could compel his enemy to sue for peace. He hoped also to enrich French merchants and manufacturers by reducing other European countries to dependence on France.

Great Britain, hurt by Napoleon's economic measures, replied a few months later with a blockade of its own. British fleets roamed the seas, seizing ships bound for France or for countries allied with or con-

1814, a painting by the French artist Meissonier sometimes called "Napoleon's Retreat from Moscow," conveys a false impression. Actually, Napoleon left his shattered army and hurried back to France to raise new forces. Earlier, he had planned to invade England. Horatio, Lord Nelson was the British admiral who was killed in the naval battle that prevented the invasion. The Nelson Monument (right) in London's Trafalgar Square is a memorial to him.



trolled by France. As a result, most of Europe was cut off from foreign imports. It began to suffer from shortages of cotton, sugar, coffee, tea, and many other important articles. Napoleon's attempts to provide substitutes were only partly successful. People, especially in the French-occupied countries, began to complain about scarcities and high prices. Merchants, facing ruin, defied Napoleon's orders by engaging in wholesale smuggling. Thus the French Emperor's economic war against Great Britain proved a two-edged sword. It inflicted deep wounds on the enemy but even deeper ones on his allies, his people, and himself.

The Peninsular War, 1808–1814. In his efforts to plug up the leaks in the Continental System, Napoleon was drawn into long, bitter conflicts with other countries. When Portugal continued to trade with Great Britain, he sent an army across Spain to conquer it. Later, he also occupied Spain, deposed the king, and placed one of his own brothers on the throne. These high-handed actions aroused the national feeling of the proud Spaniards. Members of all classes co-operated in organizing revolutionary committees to drive out the foreigners. Their armed bands, engaging in guerrilla warfare ("little wars"), swooped down from the mountains to attack the French garrisons and their supply columns.

The British seized the opportunity to land an army in Portugal. Aided by popular uprisings, they advanced into Spain. Long and bloody fighting followed. Eventually, the combined British and Spanish forces, led by the able British commander, the Duke of Wellington, succeeded in driving the French back toward the Pyrenees. As the war in the Spanish peninsula dragged on year after year, Napoleon complained bitterly, "Spain is my ulcer, my running sore."

The Russian Campaign, 1812. Meanwhile, differences were also developing between the French Emperor and his Russian ally, Alexander I. The Russian people were dependent on the cheap manufactured goods of the British and were hard hit by the Continental System. The Czar, moved by the sufferings of his people, decided to throw open his ports to British traders. Napoleon replied with a declaration of war. He invaded Russia with an army of more than half a million men, the very flower of Europe's youth.

For six hundred miles, Napoleon's "Grand Army" advanced, taking Moscow after a single bloody battle. They remained there for about a month, while Napoleon waited for a peace offer from the Czar. However, instead of surrendering, the Russians set fire to their one-time capital. Since most of the food supplies in the city were destroyed, Napoleon was compelled to order a withdrawal. The Grand Army began the long retreat—pursued by the Russian army, attacked by swarms of peasant guerrillas, and then caught suddenly by the icy Russian winter. Only a hundred thousand ragged, starved, and frost-bitten survivors straggled back into Germany. Hard on their heels came the triumphant Russians.

The War of Liberation, 1813–1814. Napoleon rushed back to France. He hurriedly raised a new army, composed largely of youths and of middle-aged men, to defend his empire. Against him was arrayed the powerful Fourth Coalition, consisting of Russia, Great Britain, Prussia, Austria, and a number of smaller countries. This time the odds were all against the French Emperor. He was unable to divide the allies, as on previous occasions. Moreover, his trade restrictions, his heavy taxes, his constant drafting of young men for his armies, and other features of his despotic rule had aroused the peoples

of Europe against him. Even the French were weary of his endless wars.

The decisive battle was fought at Leipzig, in Germany. The French Emperor was defeated and was forced to withdraw west of the Rhine. Five allied armies then invaded France. After a series of desperate delaying actions, Napoleon was finally compelled to surrender. He abdicated his throne and was sent into exile on the tiny island of Elba off the northwestern coast of Italy.

The "Hundred Days," March–June, 1815. Even now, Napoleon's career was not ended. When the victorious allies began quarreling over the spoils of victory (see p. 356), he slipped away from Elba. He landed on the southern coast of France and marched triumphantly back to Paris. The allies quickly patched up their differences and again declared war.

As usual, Napoleon seized the offensive. He invaded Belgium, hoping to catch his enemies by surprise. However, he met with final defeat on the field of Waterloo at the hands of the allied commander, the Duke of Wellington. Napoleon surrendered to the British and was sent by them to the lonely

little island of St. Helena in the south Atlantic. There he spent the remaining six years of his life, meditating on his past glories and fatal mistakes.

Effects of Napoleon's Rule. Before his death, Napoleon wrote an account of his career for the French people. In it, he once again proclaimed himself the "son of the Revolution." He explained that he had become a dictator only to restore order and to save the revolutionary reforms. All of his wars, he claimed, had been made necessary by the plots of the wicked tyrants of Europe. How well the French conqueror understood his people! The legend of Napoleon lived on in France. His weaknesses and faults were soon forgotten. He was remembered only as a great hero, whose personal brilliance and military genius had brought unforgettable glory to his people.

Actually, Napoleon did serve as an instrument of progress in some ways. At the outset of his career, he saved France from its enemies and introduced many important reforms. When he conquered other countries, he swept away the Old Regime and made his enlightened code the law of the land. Whether intentionally or not, Napoleon preserved the Revolution in France and spread its ideas throughout western Europe.

However, Europe paid a terrible price for these benefits. Some three or four million men died in battle. Millions of the survivors were left crippled or maimed. Returning soldiers found it difficult to secure employment. Every one of the warring countries was left heavily in debt. Trade and industry had been completely upset by the Continental System. For more than a generation, as we shall see, Europe was compelled to grapple with many difficult problems stemming from the French Revolution and Napoleon's wars of conquest.





41 / Lesson Review

Checking the facts

1. Explain: Italian Campaign; Egyptian Campaign; *coup d'état*; First Consul; centralized government; plebiscite; Bank of France; Concordat of 1801; Napoleonic Code; University of France; Battle of Trafalgar; Continental System; the "Hundred Days."
2. Identify: Alexander I; Wellington.
3. Trace the steps in Napoleon Bonaparte's rise to power.
4. How did Napoleon Bonaparte reorganize the French government after his seizure of control? Why did most of the French people approve his actions?
5. List and discuss four important reforms introduced by Napoleon during the Consulate and the Empire.
6. Why was Napoleon's reign a period of almost constant warfare? Why was he unable to defeat Great Britain?
7. Explain how each of these contributed to Napoleon's downfall: the Continental System; the Peninsular War; the Russian campaign.
8. What were the lasting effects on France of Napoleon's rule? What were the lasting effects on other countries?

Applying history

1. If you had been a Frenchman in 1799, would you have favored Napoleon Bonaparte's seizure of power? Explain. Under what conditions do people generally support dictators?
2. As First Consul, Napoleon Bonaparte promised the French people "order, liberty, security, and prosperity." How well did he keep his promises? What was the real source of his power?
3. Napoleon once said, "My aim in establishing a national school system is to have a means of directing personal and moral

opinions." What did he mean? Show how other of Napoleon's reforms were likewise intended to benefit him as well as France.

4. Was Napoleon justified in claiming that he was a "son of the Revolution"? Consider evidence for and against his claim before reaching your conclusion.
5. Why did Napoleon blame his defeat in Russia on "General Winter"? Why might he have blamed himself instead? Why was it almost inevitable that sooner or later he would be defeated?
6. Compare Napoleon with at least one other famous conqueror we have studied. Do Frenchmen today regard him as one of their great national heroes? Should they? Explain.

History and geography

1. Locate (map, p. 354): English Channel; Confederation of the Rhine; Austrian Empire; Grand Duchy of Warsaw.
2. What were the main territories included in the French Empire in 1812 (map, p. 354)? the main satellite territories? the major countries allied with Napoleon?
3. How did Napoleon's territorial holdings and foreign alliances lead him to believe that he could cut off Great Britain's trade with Europe (map, p. 354)?

Special activities

1. Arrange class exhibits on the Old Regime, the French Revolution, and the Napoleonic period.
2. Read to the class famous sayings of Napoleon or eyewitness descriptions of his behavior. What do these reveal about the man and his character?
3. Debate: Napoleon Bonaparte owed his downfall mainly to the influence of British sea power.

REVOLUTIONS, 1815-1848



"Making peace," it has been said, "is more difficult than waging war." So it probably seemed to the European diplomats who gathered in the gay Austrian capital of Vienna after Napoleon's downfall. First, they had to redraw the map of Europe, which the French had so thoroughly scrambled. Next, they had to decide on the claims of the rulers whom Napoleon had ousted from their thrones. Finally, they had to settle the many claims arising from war losses and damages. In short, the Congress of Vienna had the responsibility of solving the multitude of complex problems created by the French Revolution and a quarter-century of conflict.

THE PEACE SETTLEMENT OF VIENNA

Leaders of the Congress of Vienna. All important decisions were made by the "Big Four"—the representatives of Austria, Great Britain, Russia, and Prussia. Austria's foreign minister, Prince Metternich, was a shrewd and experienced diplomat. Member of a distinguished aristocratic family, he was the bitter enemy of all revolutionary ideas. His mission, he believed, was to prop up or conserve "the decaying structure of Euro-

pean society." Great Britain was represented by its able foreign secretary, Lord Castlereagh. Like Metternich, Lord Castlereagh favored the cause of conservatism and was anxious to re-establish the balance of power in Europe. Czar Alexander I, who headed the Russian delegation, was a strange, contradictory figure. He professed the ideals of the Enlightenment and sympathized with popular causes. However, he was unwilling to sacrifice any of his own power. Least impressive was the timid but stubborn King Frederick William III of Prussia. He followed Alexander I's lead so closely that he was called "the tail to the czar's kite."

The Big Four began quarreling almost as soon as they met. Russia and Prussia demanded large territorial gains in Poland and Saxony as a reward for their services in defeating Napoleon. But Austria and Great Britain distrusted their wartime allies. In particular, they were unwilling to see the Czar of Russia, the former partner of Napoleon, become too strong. Tension became so great that a new war seemed imminent. This disagreement among the victors opened the way for the wily French foreign minister, Talleyrand. He signed a secret alliance with Austria and Great Britain, then helped the powers to work out a peaceful solution of

their difficulty. From that time on, France played an important role in the treaty discussions, even though it was the defeated nation.

Principles Underlying the Peace. The final peace settlement was a series of compromises based on three principles—legitimacy, compensation, and guarantee. *Legitimacy* meant that the legitimate (rightful) rulers would be returned to their thrones and that Europe's boundaries of 1789 would be restored wherever possible. Thus Spain, Portugal, Holland, Sardinia, Naples, and the Papal States were all returned to their former rulers. Switzerland again became an independent country. In France, Louis XVI's brother, Louis XVIII, was placed on the throne. Rather than weaken the shaky Bourbon Dynasty, the victors deprived France of only a little territory and required it to pay a relatively small war indemnity. This leniency was a triumph for Talleyrand, who first proposed the principle of legitimacy.

If the peace had been based strictly on legitimacy, the Europe of 1815 would have looked exactly like the Europe of 1789. However, the powers proclaimed their right to annex territory as *compensation* (payment) for the losses they had suffered. Russia took Finland and a large part of Poland. Prussia received almost half of Saxony and important new possessions in the Rhineland. Austria gained various valuable territories in Germany and northern Italy. Great Britain acquired formal title to the valuable colonies and bases it had conquered during the fighting. These included Cape Colony, Ceylon, Trinidad, Honduras, part of Dutch Guiana, and Malta. Thus the "new" principle of compensation allowed the great powers, as usual, to divide up the spoils of victory. (See maps, pp. 307 and 358.)

Finally, the Congress sought to *guarantee* that France would not rise again as a threat to Europe's peace. Key French fortresses were occupied for several years by allied troops. The states along France's eastern frontier—Prussia, the Netherlands, and Sardinia—were considerably strengthened. Most important of all was the Quadruple Alliance, which was proposed by the Austrian statesman Metternich. The four great powers bound themselves to suppress any revolution which might break out in France. They also agreed to hold meetings "at fixed periods" in order to consider measures "for the maintenance of peace in Europe."

Popular Opposition to the Peace Terms. By juggling about rulers and territories, the Congress of Vienna created widespread opposition to the peace settlement. For one thing, it showed little regard for the spirit of nationalism, which had been kindled by the French. Germany, despite widespread demands for national unification, was left divided as thirty-eight separate states. Though all became members of a newly created German Confederation, the new union was a very loose one and was dominated by Austria. Italy remained, as earlier, a mere "geographical expression." It consisted of a dozen separate states and also fell under Austrian domination. Belgium (formerly the Austrian Netherlands) was placed under Dutch rule. The Finns and most of the Poles were given to Russia, the Norwegians to Sweden.

There was still another reason for popular opposition to the Vienna peace settlement. Most of the rulers who recovered their thrones were bitter reactionaries. They claimed absolute power, swept away the reforms introduced by the French, and restored the old system of privilege. They



sought to turn back the clock to the eighteenth century, as though the French Revolution had never occurred.

"The Metternich System." Metternich realized that many people still favored the "French ideas." Following his advice, the monarchs of Europe created a harsh system of repression to prevent any revolutionary outbreaks. They stationed secret police agents and spies throughout their domains. Intellectuals, particularly writers, professors, and university students, were closely watched. Books and newspapers were care-

fully censored. Guards were stationed at frontiers to search travelers' baggage for literature containing radical ideas. It has been said that the policeman was the most important official in Europe after the Congress of Vienna.

Behind the individual rulers was Metternich's Quadruple Alliance. The revolutionaries in a single country might succeed in overthrowing their legitimate monarch. However, if they did, they could still be dealt with by the armies of the great powers, acting as an international police force.

Thanks to “the Metternich System,” the reactionaries seemed once again firmly in control of Europe’s destiny.

WEAKENING OF THE METTERNICH SYSTEM

The Revolutions of 1820. One of the most extreme reactionaries in Europe after Waterloo was King Ferdinand VII of Spain. He restored to the nobility and clergy their lands and privileges. To keep out revolutionary ideas, he allowed only two carefully censored newspapers in the entire country. He revived the old Church tribunal, the Inquisition, to hunt down and punish “political heretics.” Its victims included even some of the leaders of the fight against Napoleon!

The King’s harsh policies soon led to a series of rebellions in the Spanish colonies in America. Earlier, following Napoleon’s occupation of Spain, the Spanish colonists had refused to recognize the ruler installed by the French. Protected by the British fleet, the colonists had enjoyed several years of freedom. When Ferdinand VII regained his throne and sought to restore the Old Order, they drove out his officials and proclaimed their independence. Revolutionary standards were raised from Mexico to Argentina.

Year after year, the Spanish King sent troops to the New World in a vain effort to subdue the rebels. Finally, some of the regiments awaiting embarkation at a Spanish port mutinied rather than go overseas. Their act set off a general revolt in Spain itself. To save his throne, the King had to promise to rule as a constitutional monarch.

Fishermen quickly brought the news to Sicily and southern Italy, whose ruler (the king of the Two Sicilies) was as reactionary as his Spanish cousin. Here, too, the troops

mutinied, the people rioted, and the King was forced to grant a constitution. In other parts of the Italian peninsula also, the people staged demonstrations against their rulers and against the hated Austrian overlords.

Suppression of the Revolutions. Metternich promptly called a meeting of the powers. He persuaded them to intervene against these revolutions because they disturbed the peace of Europe. This time he had the complete support of Czar Alexander I, who was now unsympathetic to the radical ideas he once had held. An Austrian army was sent in to restore order in Italy. France, which earlier had been admitted to the Quadruple (now the Quintuple) Alliance, was authorized to send an army into Spain. The revolutionaries were defeated and harshly punished. The despotic rulers were restored to control.

First Setbacks of the Metternich System. One important power, Great Britain, refused to support Metternich’s policy. The British objected to French intervention in Spain. They were even more opposed to plans for the reconquest of Spain’s American colonies, with which they had built up a profitable trade. The United States also was hostile to European intervention in the Western Hemisphere (for the Monroe Doctrine, see pp. 520–521). With British and American encouragement, the rebels succeeded in winning their independence from Spain. The Metternich System had suffered its first important setback.

Meanwhile, the new spirit of nationalism had also reached eastern Europe. After many centuries under the Turkish yoke, the Greeks rose suddenly against their oppressors. The Turks replied with large-scale massacres. The Russians wished to help their fellow Christians against the Moslem

Turks. But Metternich advised Alexander I against intervention, urging him to let "the fire of revolt . . . burn itself out beyond the pale of civilization." The fighting raged for years. Finally, when a new czar, Nicholas I, came to the throne, three of the European powers—Russia, Great Britain, and France—did intervene to defeat the Turks. Greece became an independent nation in 1829. The Metternich System had suffered its second great defeat.

Growth of the Liberal Movement. By 1830, the tide of public opinion was turning against the reactionaries. The evil memories of the French Revolution had faded. The new generation which had grown up since that time had never experienced the horrors of Jacobinism. More and more people came to believe that it was time to abandon the policy of repression. In many countries of Europe, powerful reform organizations appeared, led by members of the influential middle class.

The middle-class reformers called their movement *liberalism* because they sought to liberate themselves from the restrictions of oppressive governments. "Freedom for the individual" was their battle cry. The liberals' program was moderate. They wanted a limited monarchy with a legislature elected by men of property; a written constitution which would guarantee freedom of speech, press, religion, and assembly; and a policy of *laissez faire* for business (see pp. 320–321).

In many countries, liberalism gained supporters by linking the cause of national freedom with that of individual freedom. Patriots of all classes worked together to unify their homeland or to free it from foreign rule. Nationalism, like liberalism, became a powerful force for change in early nineteenth-century Europe.

The "July Revolution" in France, 1830. Liberalism became especially strong in France, the original home of the Revolution. King Louis XVIII (1814–1824), who ascended the throne after Napoleon's downfall, was careful to avoid trouble with his subjects. He granted a written constitution which made France a limited monarchy. Despite the clamorous demands of the nobles and clergy, he refused to restore their lands and privileges. But his brother, Charles X (1824–1830), followed completely different policies. He tried to bring back the Old Regime. When his policies aroused strong complaints, he dismissed the legislature. He also issued decrees reducing the number of voters and clamping a censorship on all newspapers. These despotic decrees, known as the July Ordinances, provoked a revolution.

In Paris, the people tore up the cobblestone paving and built high barricades across the narrow streets. The army was unable to suppress the rebels. After several days of fighting, Charles X fled to England. The revolutionary leaders chose as his successor Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans. The latter, a royal prince who had served under Lafayette during the French Revolution, promised to give France a liberal government. Louis Philippe was crowned king of the French "by the grace of God *and by the will of the people*."

The Other Revolutions of 1830. The July Revolution in France encouraged uprisings in other countries. A few weeks later, the Belgians rose in revolt against the hated Dutch ruler. The rebels drew up a liberal constitution and chose a German prince as their king. Great Britain and France quickly recognized the new kingdom and prevented the Dutch from reconquering it. After cen-

turies of foreign rule, the Belgians were at last free to govern themselves.

Revolts also broke out in Poland, in parts of Italy, and in some of the smaller German states. However, all of these were soon suppressed. An Austrian army easily crushed the Italians. The German princes took severe measures against the German liberals. The Russian czar crushed the rebellion in Poland and deprived the Poles of all their former rights.

Effects of the Revolutions of 1830. Nevertheless, the success of the revolutions in France and Belgium inspired liberals with new hope. In Great Britain, the ruling class was encouraged to make reforms (see pp. 417–418). After 1830, western Europe was no longer part of the Metternich System. On the other hand, the rulers of Austria, Prussia, and Russia drew closer together. They signed a new alliance and increased their repressive measures. East of the Rhine River, Metternich's policies prevailed for almost a generation longer.

THE YEAR OF REVOLUTIONS—1848

New Reasons for Revolution. Europe after the Napoleonic Wars resembled a huge pot of boiling water. Several times, the lid was blown off and some steam escaped. Each time the rulers replaced the lid and pressed it down tightly. Eventually, the pressure mounted until an explosion became inevitable.

Fundamental economic changes were taking place during this period. (For the Industrial Revolution, see Unit IX.) These changes supplied additional fuel for the fires of revolt. Especially in the years after 1830, there was rapid expansion of industry and trade. The number, wealth, and influence of

businessmen grew amazingly. It became more and more difficult to refuse them a major role in government. The workers also increased greatly in numbers. To remedy their evil conditions, they too demanded a voice in the government. New explosions finally came in 1848.

Revolution Again in France. As usual, it was France which led the way. Louis Philippe had made a favorable impression when he first ascended the throne in 1830. However, he soon proved a disappointment to the great majority of his subjects. A "bourgeois king," he concerned himself almost entirely with the interests of the wealthy factory owners and merchants. Moreover, he showed himself as greedy for power as any of the Bourbons. By maintaining high property qualifications for voting and by interfering in elections, he was able to gain control of the legislature. Still another cause of popular opposition was his peaceful foreign policy, which was denounced as weak by many patriotic Frenchmen. By 1848, Louis Philippe's government rested on a single slender prop, the support of the rich bourgeoisie. The first hard push was enough to overturn it.

Since the government censored the press and prohibited political meetings, Louis Philippe's opponents spread their views through a series of "reform banquets." When the government sought to halt one of these banquets in Paris, crowds began to riot. They threw up barricades to block the streets. The National Guard joined the rebels with cries of "Long live reform!" Louis Philippe was forced to abdicate. A provisional government was formed and proclaimed the Second French Republic.

Collapse of the Metternich System in Austria. "When France sneezes," Metter-



The French Revolution of 1830 lasted only a few days. This engraving, titled "The Thirtieth of July," has several dramatic elements—a barricade of cobblestones, revolutionaries with a variety of weapons, soldiers who went over to the revolutionary side, and bystanders.

nich once remarked, "the rest of Europe catches cold." In 1848, just as in 1830, the revolution in France set off a wave of revolutions throughout the continent. The most spectacular developments occurred in the Austrian Empire. Popular rioting started in Vienna and quickly spread to Hungary and Bohemia. The aged Metternich resigned and fled in disguise to England. The Emperor, Ferdinand I, had to promise Austria a constitution and allow Hungary and Bohemia to have their own governments. The Metternich System had collapsed in its very stronghold.

Revolutions in Germany. Street fighting next broke out in Berlin. King Frederick William IV of Prussia quickly yielded to the popular demands. He appointed liberal middle-class ministers, promised a constitution, and agreed to work for a united Germany.

Similar uprisings occurred in many of the smaller German states.

With Austria and Prussia in the midst of revolution, patriotic German liberals felt that a favorable moment had arrived to unite their country. They held elections for a national assembly at Frankfort to draft a constitution for a unified Germany. The old German Confederation ceased to exist. All Germany looked on anxiously as the Frankfort Assembly began its fateful discussions.

Revolutions in Italy and Other Countries. The revolutionary disturbances, especially in Austria, also gave Italian liberals a chance to achieve their goals. Revolts broke out against the Austrians in Milan and Venice. The king of the Two Sicilies was forced to become a constitutional monarch. The pope fled and a republic was set up in Rome. The king of Sardinia not only granted his people

a liberal constitution but also declared war on Austria. He announced his intention of driving that power from Italian soil.

There were also revolts in Denmark, Holland, and Ireland. Even in England, there was danger for a time of a popular revolt against the government (see p. 418). The year 1848 was truly a year of revolutions.

Divisions Among the Revolutionaries. Despite their early success, the revolutions of 1848 generally ended in failure. In almost every country, the revolutionaries soon began quarreling among themselves. In some places, as in France, the middle-class liberals and the radical workingmen had united to overthrow the reactionaries. But they could not agree on the kind of government to be established afterwards. In other places, especially in the Austrian Empire, disagreements set in among members of rival nationalities. The reactionaries took advantage of their opponents' disunity to gather strength for the counterattack.

Failure of the Second French Republic. In France, the workers had been promised "national workshops"—that is, factories owned by the government and run by the workers. Instead, middle-class officials set the unemployed to work digging ditches. After three months, even this makeshift program was ended. Rallying to the cry of "Bread or lead," the radicals in Paris raised new barricades and tried to seize control. The government called out the troops. The revolt was crushed after three days of bitter fighting. As a result of the "Terrible June Days," thousands of rebels were executed or deported to distant penal colonies.

From that time on, the Second Republic was doomed. The workers had lost faith in the "bourgeois government"; the people who owned property were very fearful of the lower classes. The nation looked for a leader

to reunite it and restore order. When the nephew and heir of Napoleon I, Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, ran for president, he was elected by an overwhelming vote. Three years later, he overthrew the republic by a military *coup d'état* and established himself as dictator. Shortly afterwards, in 1852, he made himself emperor. The final result of the 1848 revolution in France was the overthrow of the Second Republic and the creation of the Second Empire.

Suppression of the Revolutions in Austria and Italy. Reaction also set in shortly in central Europe. In Austria, the army leaders remained loyal to the Habsburgs. They soon found an excuse to bombard the city of Prague and suppress the rebellion in Bohemia. Next they reoccupied Vienna and crushed the liberals there. A new emperor, Francis Joseph I (1848–1916), ascended the throne and restored the old conservative regime.

When the Emperor's forces attacked Budapest, they were repulsed by the Hungarians. However, the czar of Russia sent an army to help his fellow monarch. The Hungarian revolution was drowned in the blood of its defenders. Meantime, order had also been restored in Italy. The Austrians suppressed the revolts in Milan and Venice and defeated the Sardinians. Thanks to his army, the Austrian Emperor now exercised complete control over all of his realms.

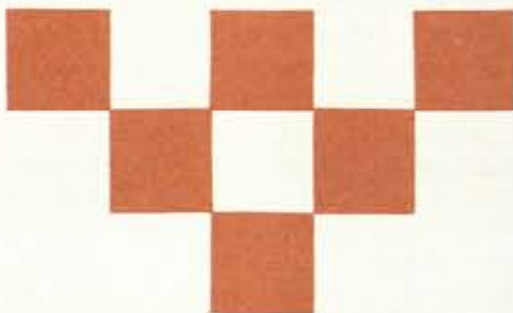
Reaction in Germany. By the time the Frankfurt Assembly completed its constitution for a united Germany, reaction there had also set in. The Assembly offered the German crown to the king of Prussia. However, he scornfully rejected it, declaring that an absolute monarch could not accept "a crown from the gutter." Soon afterwards, the Austrian Emperor forced the Assembly to disband and revived the old Confedera-

tion. The German rulers began a campaign of terror which forced thousands of liberals to flee from their homeland.

Results of the 1848 Revolutions. The Revolutions of 1848, which had begun so hopefully, ended in what seemed almost complete failure. Despite their heavy sacrifices, the revolutionaries had achieved only a few gains. Constitutions were granted to Prussia, Sardinia, Holland, Denmark, and Switzerland. The serfs were emancipated in Austria. A few short-lived republics were established in France and elsewhere.

In the long run, however, the revolutions of 1848 proved very important in shaping Europe's destiny. The second half of the nineteenth century was to be an era of great progress, largely because Europe's rulers now realized that repression alone could not keep alive the Old Order. They recognized the need for concessions to the increasingly powerful forces of liberalism and nationalism. Their changed attitude was probably the greatest achievement of "the year of revolutions."

The Era of Revolutions



Analysis of the Era of Revolutions

The Causes of Revolution. In the half-century after 1789, Europe was shaken by a series of violent political revolutions. Their basic cause was widespread dissatisfaction with the existing order, the Old Regime. The ideas of the Enlightenment and the American War for Independence helped to stir up the people's feeling. The first great

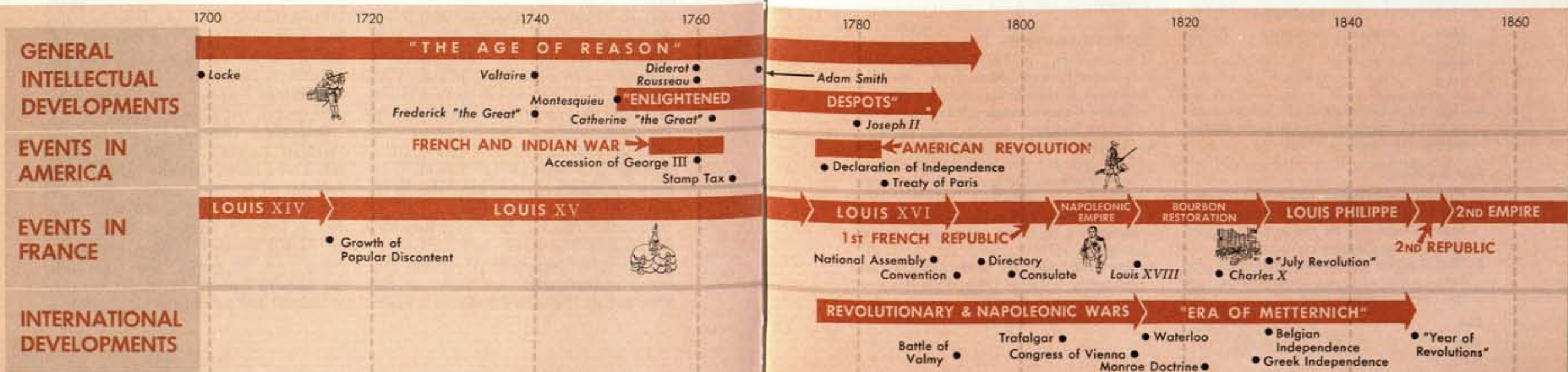
upheaval came in France, an advanced nation which suffered from a century of misgovernment.

Summary of Events. Under the National Assembly, France became a limited monarchy. Most of the evils of the Old Regime were swept away. Then France plunged into war with its neighbors, and the limited monarchy was overthrown. Under the Convention, the radical Jacobins gained power. They tried to create a new order based on the principles of "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity." Beset by internal enemies and foreign foes, they launched the Reign of Terror which ended only when the Jacobin leaders themselves were destroyed.

The Directory, established by their successors, proved incompetent and corrupt. It was overthrown by Napoleon Bonaparte. The latter preserved many of the reforms of the Revolution but ruled France as a military dictator. When he tried to gain dominion over Europe by force of arms, he was defeated by a coalition of the other great powers.

At the Congress of Vienna, the aristocratic leaders of the victorious powers tried to restore the Old Order. However, the dissatisfied people rallied under the banner of liberalism and nationalism. They rose in revolt against their rulers in the early 1820's, in 1830, and again in 1848. Though most of these revolutions were suppressed by force, they prepared the way for Europe's rapid progress in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Growing Political Stability. During the half-century of revolutions, the political pendulum swung violently from one extreme to the other. The Old Order had outlived its time. Yet the privileged classes sought to stop the clock of progress. To overcome their resistance, the advocates of change had to push so hard that the pendulum swung to the other extreme. Violent revolution was the result. The excesses of the revolutionaries led to a swing back to reaction. Political conditions became somewhat more stable only when governments finally accepted a middle-of-the-road policy of gradual reform.





42 / Lesson Review

Checking the facts

1. Explain: Congress of Vienna; legitimacy; compensation; guarantee; Quadruple Alliance; German Confederation; Metternich system; liberalism; July Revolution; the "Year of Revolutions"; Second French Republic; national workshops; "Terrible June Days"; Second Empire; Frankfort Assembly.
2. Identify: Metternich; Castlereagh; Alexander I; Frederick William III; Talleyrand; Louis XVIII; Charles X; Louis Philippe; Louis Napoleon; Francis Joseph.
3. Describe briefly the major problems facing the leaders of the Congress of Vienna. Why was Talleyrand able to play one group of statesmen against the other?
4. Explain the three principles of the Vienna peace settlement and give examples of each. Why were many people dissatisfied with the peace terms?
5. Complete this chart:

Date	Country	Reasons for revolution	Results
1820's			
1830			
1848			

6. Why did the revolutions of 1848 prove tremendously important despite their seeming failure?

Applying history

1. How was the balance-of-power idea (p. 280) illustrated by the numerous coalitions formed against Napoleon? By the split among the victors at the Congress of Vienna?
2. The Austrian statesman Metternich has been accused of having tried to "turn back the clock." Explain what is meant by this

phrase. Why did the Metternich system eventually fail?

3. The Quadruple Alliance had two purposes, to prevent France from engaging in new revolutions and to preserve peace in Europe. Do you believe that these were proper subjects for international action? Explain.
4. Why did Frenchmen welcome Louis Philippe as their ruler in 1830? Why did they overthrow him in 1848? How does this illustrate the saying "He who stands still goes backwards"?
5. "The Frankfort Assembly failed because of the divine-right theory of government held by the king of Prussia." Explain. Why was the failure of the Frankfort Assembly a severe blow to liberalism in Germany?
6. Why was Emperor Francis Joseph able to suppress the revolutions of 1848 in the Habsburg Empire? Why did the Czar of Russia help in suppressing the Hungarian revolt?

History and geography

1. Locate (map, p. 358): Vienna; Poland; Saxony; Finland; Netherlands; Sardinia; German Confederation; Norway; the Two Sicilies; Greece; Hungary; Bohemia; Venice; Ireland; Budapest.
2. Compare the maps of Europe in 1815 and 1789 (pp. 358 and 307). List the important territorial changes which had taken place.
3. List and locate the five great European powers in 1815 and the capital of each (map, p. 358).
4. Trace the boundaries of the German Confederation (map, p. 358). What two great powers were members?

Special activities

1. Prepare a class report on any one of the following: Metternich; Czar Alexander I; Castlereagh.
2. Read to the class detailed accounts of at least one of the revolutions described in this unit. Discuss the factors that made it easier to stage a successful revolution in nineteenth-century Europe than it is today.
3. On an outline map of Europe, indicate the countries that witnessed revolutions in 1848.

Summarizing Unit 8

1. "The Era of Revolutions resulted in the liquidation of the old feudal order in Europe." Discuss, with reference to the events treated in this unit.
2. Prepare a list of the most important political figures mentioned in Unit 8. Tell why each was important.
3. In your notebook, outline the major political developments which occurred during the Era of Revolutions.

Books to Read

Specialized Accounts

- BECKER, CARL L. *The Eve of the Revolution*. Yale, 1920. An excellent brief account of the American colonists' breach with England.
- *BRUUN, GEOFFREY. *The Enlightened Despots*. Holt, 1929. An excellent brief introduction to the Enlightenment.
- *FOSTER, GENEVIEVE. *George Washington's World*. Scribner's, 1957. A popular study that deals mainly with the period of the American Revolution.
- GERSHOY, LEO. *The French Revolution 1789-1799*. Holt, 1932. A clear, detailed study.
- KISSINGER, HENRY A. *A World Restored*. Houghton Mifflin, 1958. A description of the Congress of Vienna, its background, and its aftermath.
- LEFEBVRE, G. *The Coming of the French Revolution*. Princeton, 1947. An outstanding study of the Revolution's background and early development.
- MAY, ARTHUR J. *The Age of Metternich, 1814-1848*. Holt, 1933.
- . *The Habsburg Monarchy, 1867-1914*. Harvard, 1951. Scholarly accounts, most suitable for the advanced student.
- MORGAN, EDMUND S. *The Birth of the Republic, 1763-1789*. Chicago, 1956. A highly readable account of the American Revolution.
- POSTGATE, RAYMOND. *The Story of a Year: 1848*. Oxford, 1957. A detailed study of the Revolutions of 1848 and their aftermath.

- THOMPSON, J. M. *Robespierre and the French Revolution*. Macmillan, 1953. A good short account of the Jacobin leader and his influence.

Biographies and Historical Fiction

- BELLAMY, FRANCIS R. *The Private Life of George Washington*. Crowell, 1951. An interesting portrait of the great American leader, as man and statesman.
- DICKENS, CHARLES. *A Tale of Two Cities*. Various editions. An exciting novel and an unglamorous picture of the French Revolution.
- *EATON, JEANNETTE. *Leader by Destiny*. Harcourt, Brace, 1938. An interesting biography of George Washington.
- KIELTY, BERNARDINE. *Marie Antoinette*. Random House, 1955. An interesting biography of the ill-starred Queen of France.
- KOMROFF, MANUEL. *Napoleon*. Messner, 1956. A brief, clearly written biography of the French military genius.
- *MAUROIS, ANDRÉ. *Voltaire*. Saunders, 1952. A brilliant pen-portrait by a noted French biographer.
- *PADOVER, SAUL K. *The Revolutionary Emperor, Joseph the Second*. Cape, 1934. A sound, well-written account of the Austrian enlightened despot who failed in his reform program.

UNIT 9

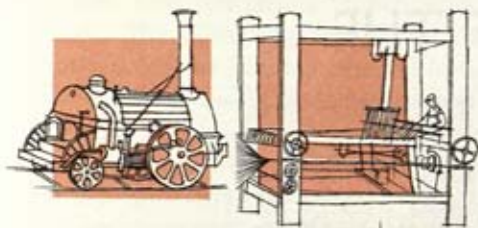
THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

While the dramatic events of the Era of Revolutions held the world's attention, extraordinary changes in Europe's economic life were taking place almost unnoticed. The heroes of this silent revolution were not ambitious politicians or bold conquerors but peaceful scientists and inventors. Building on the advances of preceding centuries, they invented powerful new machines and developed efficient new methods for use in industry. Their achievements helped bring about a complete change in the way manufactured goods were produced. This change, which began in the middle of the eighteenth century and is still going on, is known as the Industrial Revolution.

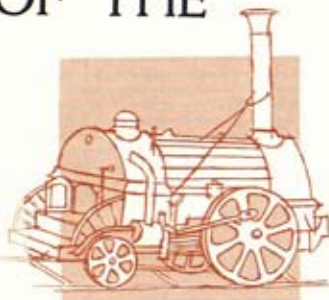
During this same period, revolutionary developments also took place in many other fields—notably in agriculture, transportation and communication, medicine, and other branches of science. The results of the Industrial Revolution and the other new developments were immensely important. On the one hand, millions of people were enabled to lead far richer and healthier lives than ever before. On the other hand, society was confronted with difficult problems of adjustment, some of which still perplex us today.

In this unit, we shall examine in detail the changes made in industry, agriculture, and science during the past two hundred years and their far-reaching effects on society and culture. The basic questions are these:

1. How did the invention of complex machines and the discovery of new sources of power revolutionize manufacturing?
2. How were the evil conditions of the early industrial workers gradually improved?
3. In what ways has science contributed to advances in agriculture and other fields during the past two centuries?
4. In what ways was this period one of great social and cultural progress?



THE COMING OF THE MACHINE AGE



To manufacture means, literally, *to make by hand*. For thousands of years, manufactured goods were actually made by craftsmen using simple hand tools. Since such goods were expensive and were sold mainly to the upper classes, only a small percentage of the population was engaged in industry. However, conditions changed fundamentally when the Industrial Revolution began in Europe. Inventors built power-driven machines which turned out large quantities of goods at prices the average person could afford. As the demand for cheap manufactured goods grew, more and more people left the country districts and found employment in the new factories. Eventually, in advanced industrial countries, a majority of the people became city dwellers and earned their livelihood from industry or related occupations. Since machines were directly responsible for this transformation, the era of the Industrial Revolution is often referred to as the Machine Age.

The Machine Age may be divided into two or even three distinct phases. For a century, from about 1750 to 1850, the changes took place at a relatively slow rate and were confined mainly to Great Britain. This preliminary stage has been termed the Early Industrial Revolution. After 1850, industrialization spread to many other countries and

new developments occurred at a much faster pace. This more recent period is known as the New, or Second, Industrial Revolution. Some historians, noting the incredibly rapid expansion of science and industry in recent years, believe that we have now entered upon a third phase of the Machine Age.

THE EARLY INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Reasons for the Beginning of the Industrial Revolution. Why did the Industrial Revolution begin in eighteenth-century Europe, rather than in some other period or place? One reason is suggested by the old saying, "Necessity is the mother of invention." During the Commercial Revolution (see pp. 246-247), the growth of trade and population led to a steadily increasing demand for Europe's products. Businessmen searched constantly for ways to expand production in order to supply their markets. At the same time, scientists, who were making great advances in astronomy and other theoretical studies, also became interested in practical inventions which might aid industry. Still another factor was the greater technical skill acquired by European craftsmen. Without their practical ability, the inventors' blueprints would never have been trans-

formed into effectively functioning machines. This fortunate combination of circumstances—the growing demand for goods, scientific progress, and increased technical skill—made possible the revolutionary economic changes which began in Europe during the eighteenth century.

Advantages of Great Britain. It was Great Britain which was the actual birthplace of the Industrial Revolution. That country was the world's foremost commercial nation in the mid-eighteenth century. It had already acquired a great overseas empire, which gave its businessmen world-wide sources of raw materials and world-wide markets for manufactured goods. The powerful British navy protected large fleets of merchant ships carrying British products to distant parts of the globe. And British merchants, enriched by the profits from trade, were ready to take the risks involved in buying expensive machinery and starting new business enterprises.

There were several other reasons why Great Britain took the lead in the Early Industrial Revolution. Its learned societies, notably the Royal Society of London, encouraged scientific discoveries. The British government, which had become a limited monarchy (see p. 292), was more responsive to public opinion than the absolute monarchies on the European continent. To meet the growing complaints of businessmen, it gradually abandoned the mercantilist regulations which prevented producers from adopting new manufacturing methods. Britain's businessmen were also fortunate in having an ample supply of workers, because large numbers of people were being driven off the land by a new Enclosure movement (see pp. 391–392). Finally, the nation possessed important natural resources, especially swift streams for water power and rich deposits of coal and iron ore. On the whole, conditions

in eighteenth-century Great Britain created a favorable "climate" for the development of new inventions and new methods to increase production.

Progress in the Textile Industry. The textile, or clothmaking, industry was one of the first industries to feel the impact of these developments. Though cloth was a basic necessity, the traditional processes of manufacture were very laborious and time-consuming. First the yarn—usually wool or flax in western Europe—had to be washed and combed. Then the short fibers were spun or twisted together into thread on a spinning wheel. Finally, the thread was woven into cloth on a hand loom.

In early medieval Europe, almost every family made its own cloth. Even ladies of the upper classes spent long hours in spinning and weaving. Later, as Europe's wealth increased, more and more people could afford to escape this drudgery by buying cloth instead of making it themselves. During the Commercial Revolution, enterprising English businessmen tried to supply the growing market by giving out the work to large numbers of peasant families. (For the domestic system, see p. 266.) The pressure for developing improved techniques became especially great after Europeans began manufacturing cotton cloth, which had earlier been imported from India. The new material soon became popular because it was inexpensive, easy to launder, and comfortable in warm weather. Spinners and weavers, using old-fashioned hand methods, were unable to keep pace with the fast-growing demand. It was clear that a fortune awaited anyone who could find ways to speed up production.

The first great improvements were made in spinning. The spinning jenny, an improved spinning wheel, was invented by James Hargreaves in 1767. His machine enabled one

person to spin a number of threads at the same time. However, the thread was so fine that its use was limited. The spinning mule, built by Samuel Crompton a few years later, overcame this difficulty. It could spin hundreds of threads at a time and could be adjusted to produce either fine or coarse thread as desired.

With spinning so far advanced, an improved method of weaving became more necessary than ever. The problem was solved in 1785, when the Reverend Edmund Cartwright invented the power loom. Driven by a large water wheel, the new loom wove cloth so quickly that the need for skilled hand weavers was sharply reduced. Modern textile machines have many refinements which increase speed and output. Nevertheless, they are basically similar to the spinning mule and power loom invented in the late eighteenth century.

The new spinning and weaving machines soon led to other important inventions. The need for more cotton was met by Eli Whitney's invention of the cotton gin in 1792. With this machine, the seeds could be cleaned out of the fiber very much faster than they could be picked out by hand. Chemicals were developed to bleach cloth quickly and special rollers were devised to print patterns on it. Within a half-century, a handful of inventions transformed British textile manufacture from a handicraft to a mechanized industry.

Inventions in the Iron Industry. Similar changes occurred in other British industries, notably in ironmaking. For centuries, iron ore had been smelted by heating in brick furnaces fired with charcoal (wood from which the impurities had been removed by baking). However, since the iron which emerged from the furnaces was brittle, it had

An early transatlantic steamer, the *Liverpool*, fights through rough seas under full pressure of steam and sail. Note the paddle wheels, soon to be replaced by the modern screw-type propeller.



to be reheated and slowly hammered into shape by a blacksmith. This process of making iron required large amounts of hand labor and expensive fuel. The finished product, wrought iron or steel, was too expensive for ordinary use.

In the early eighteenth century, the British iron industry was threatened with extinction because centuries of woodcutting had destroyed most of the forests. Then several ingenious ironmasters discovered how to use coal, in the form of coke, instead of charcoal. The new fuel, which was cheap and plentiful in Great Britain, solved the chronic wood shortage. It had the added advantage of producing a purer, and therefore stronger, iron. For many uses, the molten metal could now be run directly from the furnace into molds that gave it exactly the shape desired.

Other improvements soon followed. One of these, a mechanical blower invented by James Smeaton in 1760, pumped more air into the furnace to make the fire hotter. As a result, the iron was produced faster and was of better quality. Another was the puddling process developed several decades later by Henry Cort. This removed most of the remaining impurities as the molten iron was stirred, or "puddled," in a special furnace.

Thanks to these advances, ironmaking became one of Great Britain's leading industries. Moreover, iron became much cheaper and more widely used. It proved especially important in the manufacture of machinery. The early machines, usually constructed of wood, were quickly shaken apart by vibration. Since iron is much stronger than wood, it made possible larger and longer-lasting machines.

The Steam Engine. Another great change in British industry came about in a rather

indirect fashion. Mine owners had long been troubled by water seeping into the mines. To pump it out, they had to hire crews of laborers at great expense. In the early eighteenth century, a British mining engineer, Thomas Newcomen, learned of experiments being made by scientists with the steam engine and adapted it to drive the mine pumps. Newcomen's engines worked fairly well, but they consumed so much fuel that only the coal mines could afford to use them.

Many years later, a young Scottish instrument maker, James Watt, was called on to repair one of these engines. He redesigned it so that it produced considerably more power with much less fuel. Watt's steam engine, patented in 1769, proved a great success. From the mines, its use spread to industry, where it was employed to drive the new machines. Unlike water power, which depended on a good site and adequate rainfall, the steam engine could be used any place where coal was available. In less than a half-century, it became Great Britain's main source of industrial power.

The Factory System. The steam engine and the other new machines brought about a revolution in the organization of industry. They were so expensive that only rich men could afford to purchase them. Moreover, they were so big that they had to be housed in a large building called a mill or factory. Workmen possessing only hand tools could not produce goods as cheaply as the power-driven machines. Many workers had to leave their homes or shops to seek employment in the new factories. In one industry after another, the old guild system or the later domestic system gave way to the new factory system.

The early factories were generally located in northern England, where water power

1760 - STAGE COACH, ABOUT 5 MPH



1860 - LOCOMOTIVE,
ABOUT 50 MPH



1960
COMMERCIAL
AIRPLANE
ABOUT
600 MPH



THE SHRINKING WORLD

and coal were readily available. Around these factories, rows of cheap tenements were hastily erected to house the workers. In this way, many large industrial cities, such as Birmingham and Manchester, sprang into existence. London and other port cities, which distributed the new machine-made goods to all parts of the world, also grew rapidly. Within a few generations, the majority of the British people were shifted from tillers of the soil in sleepy little villages to machine tenders inhabiting crowded, bustling cities.

A Revolution in Transport. The growth of trade and travel in the eighteenth century led to increased dissatisfaction with the existing means of transportation. Both the iron and textile industries, for example, required the movement of large quantities of heavy materials. Yet most goods still had to be carried overland by trains of pack animals because heavily laden wagons could not travel over the deeply rutted dirt roads. In

coastal and overseas trade, conditions were better because the sailing ships of the day were fairly large and sturdy. However, their speed was uncertain because they were completely dependent on the winds.

A few advances in transportation were made in the latter part of the eighteenth century. A British engineer, John McAdam, showed that dirt roads could be given a smooth, hard surface by covering them with a thick layer of small stones. Soon stage-coaches were carrying their passengers over McAdam's highways with unaccustomed speed and comfort. Numerous inland canals were also constructed to move heavy, bulky freight at greatly reduced costs.

After the steam engine was perfected, many men saw that its power might be harnessed to drive boats and coaches. An American, Robert Fulton, built the first successful steamboat, the *Clermont*, in 1807. Within a generation, steamboats came into common use on rivers and in coastal ship-

ping. As the result of many later improvements, their cruising range and cargo capacity were steadily increased. Soon they were able to cross the Atlantic. By the middle of the nineteenth century, steamships were already challenging the picturesque "windjammers" on all the oceans of the world.

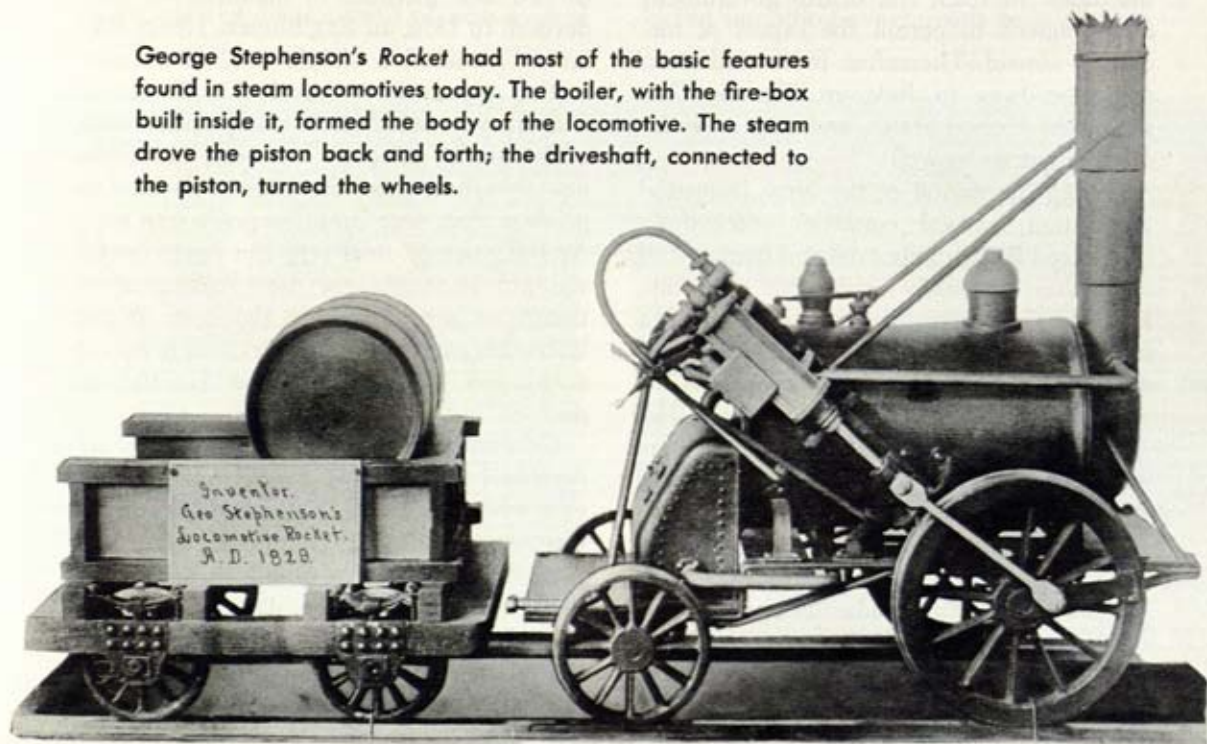
Land transport was revolutionized even more completely by the steam locomotive. The first successful railroad was designed by an English engineer, George Stephenson, in 1825. His locomotive, the *Rocket*, was soon "flying" over the smooth iron rails at thirty miles an hour, despite predictions that the human body could not endure such speed.

Great Britain's Economic Supremacy. While the Industrial Revolution was getting under way in Great Britain, businessmen on the continent were suffering from

the disorders and uncertainties which accompanied the French Revolution, the Napoleonic Wars, and the revolutions against reaction. They were also handicapped by guild restrictions and government regulations which bound them to use only time-tested methods of production. Moreover, the British government refused for a time to allow the export of the precious machines or their plans. The result was that British manufacturers enjoyed an almost complete monopoly of the new machinery until a decade after Napoleon's downfall.

Since British businessmen could easily undersell competitors, Great Britain became the "workshop of the world." It also became the world's leading creditor nation, because wealthy bankers made large loans to foreign governments and businessmen. Trade had earlier made Great Britain one of the leading nations of Europe. During the nine-

George Stephenson's *Rocket* had most of the basic features found in steam locomotives today. The boiler, with the fire-box built inside it, formed the body of the locomotive. The steam drove the piston back and forth; the driveshaft, connected to the piston, turned the wheels.



teenth century, industry and finance helped make it the most powerful nation in the world.

THE NEW INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

The Spread of Industrialization. Many of the changes after 1850 represent a continuation and speeding up of developments which were already taking place during the Early Industrial Revolution. One example is the spread of industrialization from Great Britain to other countries. This process began as soon as ways were found to break the British monopoly of the new machines. A young British millhand, Samuel Slater, established the first textile factory in the United States in 1790—by building the machines from memory! Other people managed to smuggle out plans, parts, and even entire machines. In 1825, the British government finally agreed to permit the export of machinery abroad. Thereafter, industrialization made headway in Belgium, France, Germany, the United States, and later in many other countries as well.

During the period of the New Industrial Revolution, several countries successfully challenged British industrial and commercial supremacy. Germany's industries grew rapidly, especially after the nation was unified in 1871 (see pp. 463-464). By the end of the nineteenth century, it had become Great Britain's major rival for world markets. The United States experienced a remarkable industrial expansion after the outbreak of the War Between the States (1861-1865). In the early twentieth century, it outstripped both Great Britain and Germany to become the world's greatest industrial power. Another leading manufacturing nation was Japan, which built up its industry with such

remarkable success that it became a strong competitor of the Western powers.

In recent years some of the most noteworthy changes have taken place in areas hitherto little affected by the Industrial Revolution. Russia, which possesses rich natural resources and an ample supply of manpower, has become the world's second greatest industrial power. The two most populous nations, China and India, have launched ambitious programs of industrialization. In other underdeveloped countries, modern machines are being introduced and modern factories are springing into existence.

New Materials. A second important change during the New Industrial Revolution was the improvement of many materials and their production at lower cost. Steel, a tougher form of iron, had been known to civilized peoples for centuries. However, it remained difficult and expensive to make until two new methods of manufacture were devised. In 1856, an Englishman, Henry Bessemer, invented a simple method of converting pig iron into steel. The Bessemer converter produced steel at only one-seventh of its former price! A few years later, the new open-hearth process made it possible to produce steel even from low-grade iron ores. As the price of steel fell, the tough metal was put to many new uses. Among other things, it made possible the huge ocean liners, long suspension bridges, and towering skyscrapers with which we are familiar today.

Concrete, rubber, and aluminum are other materials which found a multitude of new uses when improved methods of manufacture were discovered. Aluminum, for example, has proved very useful because it is light, strong, and rust-resistant. However, it remained for many years a high-priced novelty because it could be extracted from the

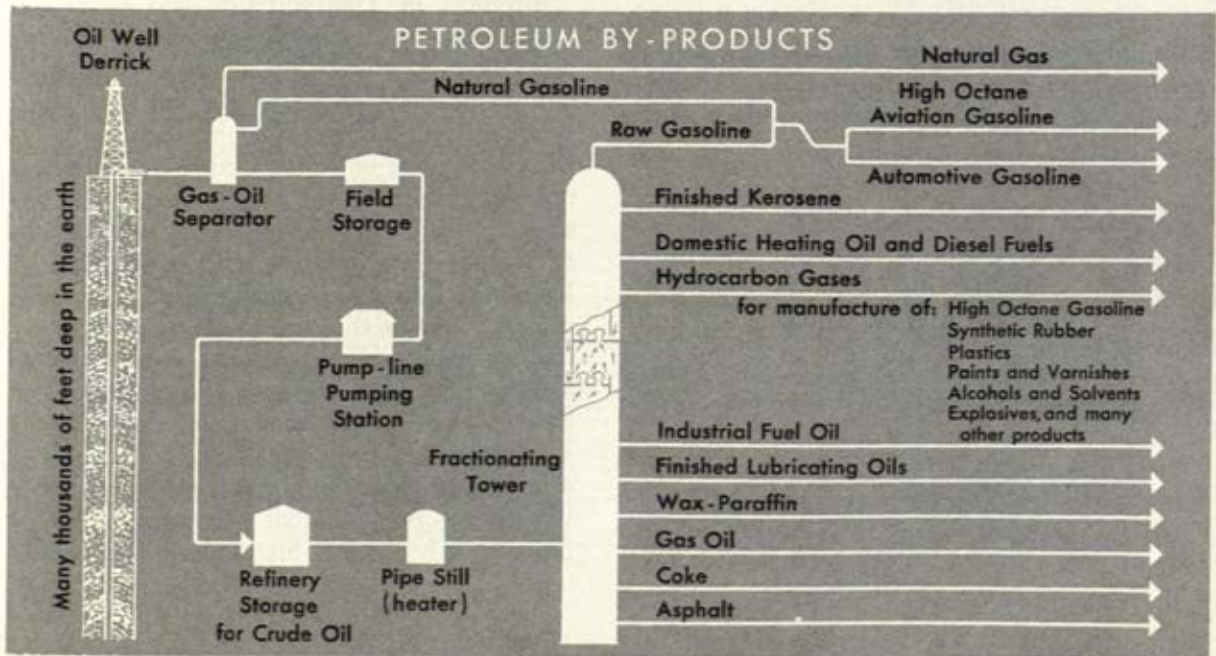
ore only with great difficulty. The modern aluminum industry came into existence at the end of the nineteenth century when an inexpensive refining process was finally discovered.

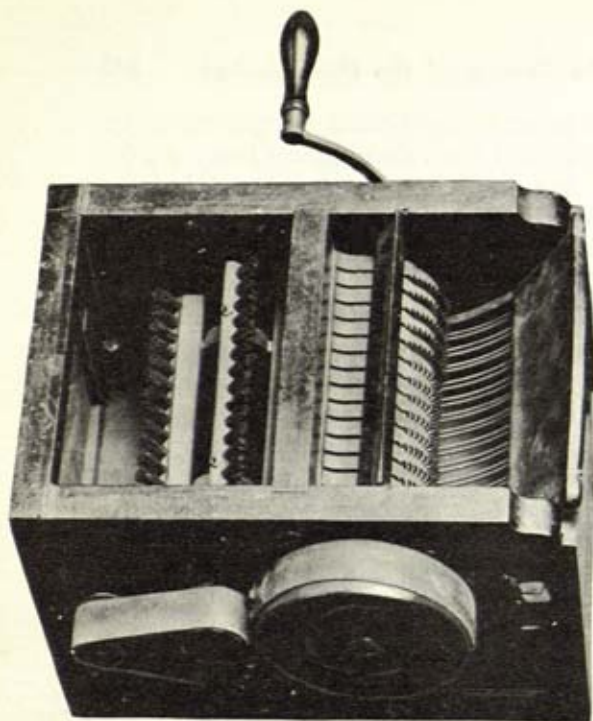
Most remarkable of all was the discovery of ways to change substances from one form to another. An American chemist led the way by making a brilliant dye from black, sticky coal tar in 1856. Since then, chemists have learned how to make many other useful products—including drugs, paints, explosives, perfumes, and even tasty flavorings—from coal tar and waste materials. They have also found out how to create entirely new substances, not found in nature, and how to give them qualities specifically designed to meet the needs of industry. Rayon, nylon, artificial rubber, and plastics are examples of such synthetic materials.

New Sources of Power. Another very significant feature of the New Industrial Revolution was the development of new sources

of power to supplement or replace coal. Petroleum, known since ancient times as pitch or burning water, was scarce and had few uses in the early nineteenth century. In 1859, an American, Edwin L. Drake, showed that an ample supply of petroleum could be obtained by drilling wells to tap the underground pools. Chemists soon began to produce so many useful products from the dark liquid that it became known as “black gold.” The most valuable petroleum derivative is gasoline, which contains great energy in small bulk and burns without leaving an ash. These properties were put to good use when a practical gasoline engine was invented in 1886. Because of its relatively small size and light weight, the gasoline engine made possible the development of the automobile and airplane.

A second new type of power developed during the late nineteenth century was electricity. Though several scientists had conducted important experiments with electric-





Whitney's cotton gin was simple but effective. The spiked roller forced the cotton through metal ribs, which held back the seeds. The revolving brush removed the fiber from the roller.

ity earlier, the key discovery was made by an English physicist, Michael Faraday, in 1831. Faraday found that he could generate an electric current by rotating a copper disk between the poles of a horseshoe magnet. Almost fifty years passed before a practical electric generator, or dynamo, was finally built. However, soon afterwards, in 1882, the American inventor Thomas A. Edison perfected the incandescent lamp and built the first central powerhouse. When Edison lit hundreds of street lamps merely by throwing a switch, he revealed to the world the amazing possibilities of electricity.

The power required to drive electric generators can be obtained from several differ-

ent sources. One very important source is water power. The energy in falling water was harnessed by using it to turn large water wheels connected to electric generators. Hydroelectric power, or "white coal," has certain advantages. It is clean and inexpensive and can never be used up. On the other hand, the number of good sites is limited and the power falls off during dry seasons. These disadvantages were overcome in steam power plants, which burn coal or petroleum to make the steam that drives the generators. But the supplies of coal and petroleum on earth may be exhausted in a century or two. This problem was solved recently by the development of man's newest source of power, atomic energy. A single pound of uranium contains within its atoms the amount of power produced by burning three million pounds of coal! By discovering how to release this energy and use it in steam power plants, scientists have provided man with a source of power capable of meeting his needs for many hundreds of years.

Advances in Transportation and Communication. In transportation, as in the generation of power, the advances made during the New Industrial Revolution far overshadowed the earlier achievements. In 1850, there were only about thirty thousand miles of railroads in the entire world. These consisted mainly of "short lines," connecting cities some thirty or forty miles apart. On long trips, passengers suffered great inconvenience because they had to get off at each terminal point and make connections with another railroad to continue their journey. Freight costs for long hauls were very high, since goods had to be loaded and unloaded a number of times. By the end of the nineteenth century, conditions were completely different. The United States alone had al-

most 200,000 miles of railroads, including unified systems spanning the entire nation from coast to coast. Moreover, a number of important new inventions—notably steel rails, air brakes, and automatic block signals—helped to make railroad travel much faster, cheaper, and safer.

Two other forms of transportation, the automobile and the airplane, were perfected during this period. Although an eighteenth-century French engineer had built a crude steam-driven vehicle which actually ran, the automobile did not become practical until after the invention of an efficient gasoline engine. Since then, hundreds of improvements have transformed the first crude "horseless carriages" into the sleek, swift, dependable automobiles of today. The modern airplane dates back only to 1903, when the Wright brothers first flew a motor-driven, heavier-than-air craft. Today, jet-powered aircraft cruise the skies at speeds of five hundred miles an hour, or even faster, ignoring oceans, mountains, jungles, and other traditional barriers to travel. In recent years, thanks to the development of rocket power, man has begun to think of voyaging to the moon and even of conquering the vast distances of interplanetary space.

Communications have also undergone extraordinary changes, mainly by applying the remarkable properties of electricity. The telegraph, invented by Samuel Morse in 1844, employs electricity to send signals through wires with almost the speed of light. Thirty years later Alexander Graham Bell patented the telephone, which transmits human speech through wires in the form of electrical impulses. However, the need for wires involved great expense and other difficulties, especially over great distances. These problems were solved when Guglielmo Marconi

invented the wireless in 1899. His invention made it possible to send signals through the air to any part of the world by means of invisible waves! In recent years, radio broadcasting and television, based on Marconi's invention, have virtually eliminated distance by bringing us the news of far-off events almost as soon as they occur.

Significance of the Industrial Revolution. Ever since earliest times, when he first used a stick as a club, man has sought ways to achieve control of his environment. Through the centuries, he devised all sorts of improved implements. He also learned how to harness animals and the natural forces of wind and water. But only in the last two hundred years has he been able to invent complex machines and discover new sources of power to drive them.

Power-driven machines have brought many benefits. When used in manufacture, they produce tremendous quantities of goods at low prices. Mass production, it should be noted, is basically responsible for the high living standards which people in advanced industrial nations enjoy today. When used in transport, the new machines greatly reduce the time and cost involved in carrying people and goods from one place to another. They have, in effect, made this a smaller world and have opened the most remote regions to the influence of Western civilization.

However, the Industrial Revolution has not proved an unmixed blessing. It has given rise to serious problems. In the next chapter, we shall see how the factory workers suffered great hardships, especially during the Early Industrial Revolution. Eventually, most of these evil conditions were eliminated, but some difficulties were not solved and remain with us to the present day.



43 / Lesson Review

Checking the facts

1. Explain: Early Industrial Revolution; New Industrial Revolution; spinning jenny; spinning mule; power loom; cotton gin; steam engine; synthetics; hydroelectric power; atomic energy.
2. Identify: Hargreaves; Crompton; Cartwright; Whitney; Cort; Watt; McAdam; Fulton; Stephenson; Slater; Bessemer; Faraday; Edison; Wright brothers; Morse; Bell; Marconi.
3. Why did the Industrial Revolution begin in eighteenth-century Europe? Why did it appear first in England?
4. Describe briefly the key inventions in the British textile and iron-making industries during the eighteenth century.
5. How did the steam engine revolutionize industry and transportation?
6. Why was nineteenth-century Great Britain called "the workshop of the world"?
7. Describe the outstanding achievements of the New Industrial Revolution in creating new materials; harnessing new sources of power; improving transportation and communication; increasing production.

Applying history

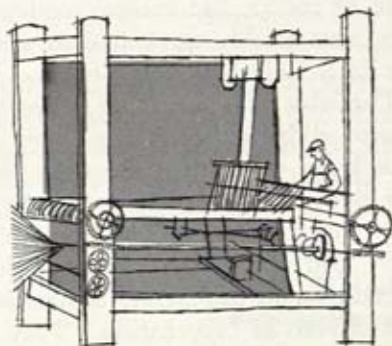
1. Some historians prefer the title "Industrial Evolution" to "Industrial Revolution." What reasons can they give to support their choice? Which do you consider the better term? Explain.
2. How do the developments described in this lesson support the old saying, "Necessity is the mother of invention"? What other

- factors are essential in order to have a favorable "climate" for industrial progress?
3. Why has steel been called the "backbone" of our civilization? Why has petroleum been called its "life blood"? What problems would arise if the world's supply of either iron ore or petroleum were exhausted?
 4. Explain: "Man's work is from sun to sun, but woman's work is never done." Why is this no longer true in advanced industrial countries? Why is the wise use of leisure time likely to become an increasingly more important problem in the future?
 5. "The life of the average man has changed more in the past two centuries than in the preceding 10,000 years." Do you agree or disagree? Are equally great changes likely to occur during the next two centuries? Justify your answers.

Special activities

1. Describe a modern factory you have visited. Point out how it utilizes the basic principles of mass production and other modern developments.
2. Interview an older person (your grandfather, perhaps); find out how economic conditions have changed in his lifetime.
3. Draw a cartoon to show why our own period might be called either the Age of Steel, the Age of Electricity, or the Atomic Age.
4. Prepare a class report explaining the most important achievements of one of these inventors: James Watt, Eli Whitney, Robert Fulton, George Stephenson, and Henry Ford.

44 / THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION AND THE WORKERS



When James Hargreaves invented his spinning jenny, he tried to keep it a secret from his fellow workers. He realized that they would resent a machine which threatened to deprive them of their jobs. Hargreaves' fears were justified. When his secret leaked out, a group of workers invaded his home, smashed the spinning jenny, and drove the inventor out of town. Cartwright's mill was later burned to the ground when angry rioters sought to destroy his power looms. It took many years before the workers realized that their violent actions could not prevent the adoption of labor-saving machinery.

From the long-range viewpoint, the workers' attitude was a mistaken one. Technological, or machine-made, unemployment usually proved only a temporary problem. As we have seen, the use of machinery helped bring about lower prices and increased sales. This in turn meant that industries expanded and many additional workers eventually had to be hired. However, technological unemployment was not the only problem troubling the British workers. They had many other reasons for complaint during the period of the Early Industrial Revolution.

PROBLEMS OF THE EARLY FACTORY WORKERS

Working Conditions in the Early Factories. Skilled craftsmen often suffered most from the introduction of labor-saving machinery. Finding it impossible to compete with the machines, they had to seek employment in the new factories. But most machines could be tended by unskilled workers, including women and even young children. Since there was an abundant supply of such unskilled labor, the employers were in a strong bargaining position. The workers had little choice but to accept the employers' terms.

The early industrial workers were paid very low wages. They had to work twelve or even fourteen hours a day—for six full days a week! There was also a great deal of insecurity. If slowed down by illness or advancing age, the worker could expect to be discharged. If he suffered from an accident—unfortunately a common occurrence since there were no safety devices on the early machines—he found it almost impossible to obtain compensation from the employer. When more efficient machines were brought

in or business was slack, he was likely to be laid off. Then he had to either accept public charity or face starvation. Many of these evils, of course, had existed previously. But they were greatly aggravated as a result of the Early Industrial Revolution.

The labor of women and young children created additional problems. They received even lower wages than the men. Nevertheless, they were often required to do difficult and exhausting work. Conditions were especially bad for young orphans who were bound over to the factory owners for a period of years as "apprentices." They slept in crowded barracks, were poorly fed, and were harshly punished. One slaveowner, observing such conditions, said, "I have always thought myself disgraced for being the owner of slaves. However, we in the West Indies never thought it possible for human beings to be so cruel."

A Miserable Existence. The living conditions of most industrial workers were not

much better than those of the orphan apprentices. Although thousands of people came pouring in from the countryside to seek employment in the new factories, little provision was made to house or care for them. Visitors to English industrial cities during the early nineteenth century have painted a dismal picture of the workers' wretched existence. The great majority of the families were ill fed and poorly clothed. They lived in rows of crowded, dirty tenements, hastily erected near the factories. Proper sanitary facilities were lacking, as were opportunities for wholesome recreation. Many of these unfortunate people tried to find escape from their misery in the "pubs" (public houses or saloons), which were centers of drunkenness and vice.

Similar conditions developed in other countries when the Industrial Revolution got under way. The discontent of the factory workers was an important element in the revolutions which swept Europe in 1848 and

Even six- and seven-year-old children were employed in the early textile mills.



after. The United States managed to escape the worst evils of the Early Industrial Revolution because there was generally a shortage of labor. Even so, many American workers, especially the newly arrived immigrants, also suffered from overwork, poverty, and slums.

It may seem strange to us that few attempts were made during the Early Industrial Revolution to remedy these conditions. However, we must remember that the situation was very different from that in our own time. Society was accustomed to the existence of widespread poverty and suffering. Many factory owners sincerely believed that they could meet competition only if they paid low wages and worked their help long hours. Even educated people, who often take the lead in proposing reforms, generally considered the existing evils unavoidable. Their views were shaped by the economic theories which were widely accepted at the time.

Influence of the Laissez-faire Economists. We have already seen how Adam Smith and other eighteenth-century economists attacked mercantilism. They taught that government interference with business injured the nation's prosperity (see pp. 320-321). Their theory of laissez faire was carried to an extreme by various writers on economics in the early nineteenth century.

Two of these writers had especially great influence. An English clergyman, Thomas Malthus, published a book to prove that poverty had to exist. Malthus' theory was that population tends to increase at a much faster rate than the food supply. "Wars, pestilence, and famine," he wrote, "might be beneficial checks on the growth of population." Similar ideas were set forth by the English economist David Ricardo. Ricardo argued that there was an "iron law of wages." By this he meant that wages could never rise for

long above the amount required to provide the worker with the bare necessities of life. If wages were raised, the workers would have more children. Then the supply of labor would be increased, and competition for jobs would drive wages down again. Such dismal theories discouraged efforts to improve the condition of the working class. Government action on their behalf, it was thought, might harm the entire nation by violating the "natural laws" of economics.

MOVEMENTS TO HELP THE WORKERS

The Rise of Labor Unions. Despite the theories of the laissez-faire economists, the workers felt that improvements were possible. If the government would not help them, they would have to help themselves. They realized that, as individuals, they could not hope to bargain with the factory owner on an equal basis. If one worker dared to complain, he might be scolded, punished, or even discharged. On the other hand, if all of the workers threatened to stop production, the employer would think twice before he rejected their demands. Groups of workers therefore held meetings and elected leaders to speak for them. In this simple way, the first modern workers' organization, the labor union, came into existence.

The early unions had to struggle against the hostility of governments as well as employers. The British Parliament, for example, passed the Combination Acts in 1800. These declared that "combinations in restraint of trade," such as unions, were illegal. Many early union leaders were arrested and were sentenced to long prison terms or deported to distant penal colonies. However, these harsh measures failed to destroy the unions. Workers formed secret societies and resorted

to sabotage, the willful destruction of the employer's property. Parliament finally repealed the Combination Acts in 1824, making it possible for unions to function openly. But they continued to suffer prosecution on charges of criminal conspiracy until 1870, when they finally gained full legal recognition.

Similar developments took place in other industrial nations. In France, labor combinations were outlawed in 1791, even earlier than in England. Although most French governments did not enforce the law strictly, unions remained subject to criminal prosecution for almost a century. The French workers' right to organize was not recognized by law until 1884. German unions won full legal status earlier than those of France, but the government continued to make difficulties for them for almost a generation longer. In the United States, the situation was more complex because conditions varied greatly in the different states. When the federal government finally took action in 1935, it not only recognized unions but also guaranteed them certain important rights.

Industrial Warfare. Legalization of unions did not end the conflicts between factory owners and workers. To gain their demands, union leaders called strikes—that is, they stopped production by calling all the workers off the job. The employer, in turn, hired strikebreakers or shut down the factory until hunger forced the workers to surrender to his terms. This industrial warfare proved costly to both sides. Feeling sometimes ran so high that violence broke out. Property was damaged and people were hurt. Often the government deemed it necessary to send in troops to end the strike and restore order.

Gradually both sides learned that it was wiser to work out a compromise agreement than to fight. Collective bargaining between

employers and unions became the rule and industrial warfare the exception. Unions grew into powerful nation-wide organizations, capable of winning for their members substantial improvements in wages, hours, and working conditions.

Humanitarianism and Early Factory Legislation. In their struggle to improve conditions, the early industrial workers found important allies. Some aristocrats believed it the duty of the upper classes to look out for the welfare of their dependents. They criticized the factory owners for mistreating their employees. Certain religious leaders were shocked by the sharp contrast between Christian teachings and society's lack of concern for the workers. A number of able writers aroused public opinion with their stirring descriptions of the misery of the lower classes. Since these reformers interested themselves in the welfare of their fellow humans, they came to be known as the humanitarians.

Influenced by the pleas of the humanitarians, governments passed laws to help the workers. The first such measure was enacted in Great Britain in 1802. It prohibited the employment of children under nine in the textile mills and barred children between the ages of nine and twelve from working more than twelve hours a day! This first factory act seems very inadequate today. Nevertheless, at the time, it was bitterly attacked by employers. They protested that the government should not interfere with private enterprise and that the increased costs might drive them into bankruptcy. The Factory Act of 1802 was never enforced.

A generation later, in 1833, Parliament enacted a really effective factory law. This created a force of government inspectors to compel employers to obey its provisions. After that, progress was rapid. A Mines Act,

passed in 1842, banned underground work by females and boys under ten. Five years later, owners of textile factories were forbidden to employ women and youngsters under eighteen for more than ten hours a day. In the next few decades, so many factory laws were passed that Parliament had to combine them in a special code, in 1878. Other industrial countries eventually followed the British lead. The German government enacted laws to protect the workers in the 1880's, and France followed suit a few years later. In the United States, Massachusetts was a pioneer, passing the first act to regulate child labor in 1836. It was not until the early twentieth century, however, that every state had an effective system of factory legislation.

Democracy and the Workers. Meanwhile, other improvements were introduced follow-

ing the rise of democracy (described in the next unit). When the lower classes finally gained the right to vote, the existing political parties began to compete for their support. Many favorable new laws were passed as the result. Later, the workers themselves began to play a more active role in politics. They organized to defeat unfriendly candidates and to reward the "friends of labor." Later still, they formed their own political parties and sought to win control of the government.

Impressed by labor's growing political strength, governments broke with the theory of *laissez faire* and adopted far-reaching measures to promote the welfare of the working class. Most important were the social insurance laws, which were designed to give protection against the major causes of economic insecurity. The government set up an

Collective bargaining is part of the modern democratic process. The successful conclusion of a contract agreement, shown below, is generally preceded by hard bargaining between labor and management and compromises by each side.



insurance fund, usually by taxing employers, employees, and the general public. Regular payments were made from this fund whenever the worker suffered loss of income from causes beyond his control.

In the field of social insurance, Germany led the way. In 1883, it insured workers against the hazards of sickness, accidents, and old age. A quarter of a century passed before Great Britain, where the *laissez-faire* tradition was stronger, followed suit. Eventually, however, the British government enacted a very complete system of social insurance laws (see p. 420). The United States was one of the last industrial nations to take action—mainly because economic conditions were better than in Europe and the spirit of individualism was stronger. The Social Security Act, passed in 1935, provided old-age and unemployment insurance for most Americans employed in industry and commerce. Its benefits were later extended to almost every occupation.

Other notable reforms were also introduced. Free public employment offices were opened, housing laws were passed to improve conditions in the slums, parks and playgrounds were built, and free medical clinics were established. Altogether, there was a remarkable transformation in the condition of the workers during the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. After a dismal beginning, the Industrial Revolution ushered in a period of unprecedented progress for the common man.

SOCIALISM AND OTHER RADICAL DOCTRINES

The Basic Theory of Socialism. While the evils of the Early Industrial Revolution were at their worst, some reformers lost faith in gradual progress. They thought that the

only way to help the workers was to make radical changes—that is, to uproot the existing economic order and to establish a completely new one. Specifically, they blamed all of the workers' troubles on the capitalist system. Capitalism, as they saw it, allowed the selfish factory owners to enrich themselves at the expense of the common people. Their solution was that society, not private individuals, should own the means of production and distribution, such as land, factories, mines, railroads, and banks. Since they believed in social ownership of property, these radical reformers called themselves Socialists and their movement socialism.

Socialist Promises. The Socialists made many sweeping claims for their theory. The Socialist state, as they imagined it, would be a classless society, with everyone on an equal basis as a worker. Since there would be no employers to exploit them, people would work short hours, earn high wages, and be able to retire at an early age. Society would provide education and medical services free of charge. Competition and greed, poverty and crime, depressions and unemployment would all disappear. Wars would cease because rivalries between capitalist governments would no longer exist. All humanity would enter upon a new era of peace and plenty, based on the international brotherhood of man.

The Utopian Socialists. How was this earthly paradise to be established? On this practical question there were wide differences of opinion. The early Socialists planned to establish small co-operative communities in which all property would be held in common. They expected to achieve such complete success that the whole world would hasten to follow their example.

One of the early Socialists was a wealthy British industrialist named Robert Owen.

He established a model Socialist community at New Harmony, Indiana, in 1825. However, it was not successful and was disbanded after a disastrous fire. Other model Socialist communities, established in both Great Britain and the United States, also met with failure. Later Socialists scoffed at these impractical efforts. They branded Owen and his followers the "Utopians," implying that they believed in an imaginary world or Utopia.

The Consumer Co-operative Movement. Robert Owen's ideas had one important practical result. In 1844, a few poor weavers in the little English town of Rochdale were inspired to establish the first consumers' co-operative. Pooling their meager resources, they bought some goods at wholesale and opened a small store. Their aim was to share the storekeeper's profits among themselves. For the first year, their profit was only \$1.60. A decade and a half later, they had over three thousand members and a capital of almost \$90,000! Their success inspired other groups of workers to follow their example. Today, British consumer co-operatives have several million members. The largest ones have many branch stores and maintain their own factories and warehouses.

From Great Britain, the co-operative idea spread throughout western Europe and to other continents. In several countries today, notably in Sweden, consumer co-operatives have become important rivals of private enterprise. However, in countries where they have had to compete with large and efficient privately owned business, as in the United States, their growth has been comparatively slow.

Marxian Socialism. Most modern Socialists favor the establishment of socialism through government action, rather than through the voluntary co-operation of small

groups. Their ideas are based on the teachings of a German philosopher and economist, Karl Marx. Marx called his doctrines "scientific socialism" or communism to set them apart from the theories of the Utopians. Just before the revolutions of 1848, he and his friend, Friedrich Engels, wrote a very famous pamphlet denouncing capitalism, the *Communist Manifesto*. It concluded with these fiery words: "Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic revolution. The proletarians [workers] have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Workingmen of all countries, unite!"

In 1867, Marx published a lengthy analysis of the capitalist system, *Das Kapital* ("Capital"), which has become a kind of Bible for his followers. Marx started with the proposition that the value of any article is determined by the quantity of labor used in making it. The workers are therefore entitled to the full amount paid for their products. The profit of the capitalists, or bourgeoisie, is taken from the toil of the workers, to whom it rightfully belongs. The two classes—the capitalists and the working class—are therefore enemies and a contest between them for power is inevitable. The workers, Marx predicted, were sure to win in this struggle. Fierce competition among the capitalists would eventually drive most of them out of business. All wealth and power would then be concentrated in the hands of a few tremendously rich men. The masses would sink ever into deeper poverty and misery. In the end, the workers would rise up, seize control of the government, confiscate the property of the few rich capitalists, and establish the Socialist state.

"Scientific Socialism" in Practice. To hasten the coming of socialism, Marx and his followers relied on three methods—propaganda among the workers, control of the



A large dining room where all the members ate together was typical of the co-operative communities established by nineteenth-century "Utopian" Socialists. Such groups generally carried on as many activities as possible on a communal basis.

labor unions, and the formation of Socialist parties to gain political power. He also established a world-wide organization, the First International. This held periodic meetings or congresses, where Socialists from all countries met to work out a common program of action.

Several governments, frightened by the threat of revolution, promptly outlawed the Socialist parties. Since they only grew more rapidly as underground movements, these laws were soon repealed. A greater handicap was the quarreling among the Socialists themselves. The First International collapsed, and the different Socialist parties split into many small factions. The reason was that they could not agree either on the details of the Socialist state or on the best methods of bringing it into being. Later, other Socialist Internationals were organized but they were generally troubled by the same kind of disagreements.

One of the underlying causes of disagreement among the Socialists was the fact that events did not support some of Karl Marx's predictions. It was true that a few capitalists acquired vast industrial empires. On the other hand, medium- and small-size busi-

nesses, instead of disappearing as predicted, continued to grow in numbers and over-all wealth. More important, the conditions of the working class showed remarkable improvement, rather than the reverse. Marx failed to foresee how much the lower classes would gain through the collective bargaining of labor unions and the social reforms enacted by progressive governments under the pressure of public opinion.

Socialism Versus Communism. Some Socialist leaders in western Europe eventually decided to revise Marx's theories to meet the changed conditions. They became known as moderate or "right-wing" Socialists—because they favored the gradual establishment of socialism by democratic methods. Their program in recent years has included nationalization (government ownership) of important industries and government aid to the workers "from the cradle to the grave." Considering their strong appeal to the workers, it is hardly surprising that they have won over many large trade-union organizations, such as the powerful Trades Union Congress in Great Britain. With union support, they have also gained rapidly in politics. Under the name of the Labor party or the

Social-Democratic party, the moderate Socialists have become an important factor in the political life of a number of Western nations.

A more rigid position was taken by the Communists and other "left-wing" Socialists. The Communists, in particular, claimed that they were the only true followers of Marx. They insisted that socialism could be established only by a revolution, in which the workers would seize control of the government and confiscate privately owned property. The new Communist government would be a "dictatorship of the proletariat." It would destroy all capitalist opposition and lead the workers into the new era. Later, we shall see how the Communists seized power and attempted to apply their theories in Russia and in other countries.

Minor Anticapitalist Movements. Various other anticapitalist movements also came into being in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. However, none of these has proved as important as socialism and communism. One group, the syndicalists, want to seize power not through political action but through direct action of the labor unions, such as general strikes. Another group, the anarchists, assert that there would be no need for any government if private property were abolished. Their program calls for a network of Socialist communities working together on a voluntary basis.

Disagreements among the different anticapitalist movements are very bitter. There are only two things on which they are all agreed. First, they believe that the capitalist system is unjust and inefficient. Second, they are convinced that only social ownership of property can create a world of peace, prosperity, and abundance for all.

Progress Under Capitalism. Despite its critics, capitalism continues to enjoy the sup-

port of a majority of people in the Western world. They recognize that it serves as a powerful stimulus to progress. In order to earn a profit, the capitalist businessman usually has to attract customers by producing better articles than his competitors or by selling them at a lower price. If successful, he uses part of his profits to improve his products, to develop new ones, and to enlarge his business.

Members of the public benefit both as consumers and as workers. Standards of living rise as larger and larger quantities of goods are produced at lower cost. More jobs are usually created as new industries spring into existence and older ones expand. Besides these economic benefits, capitalism has still another very important advantage. It allows the individual member of society far greater freedom from government control than does any rival economic system. The liberty and high living standards which the American people enjoy today are clear proof of the remarkable progress possible under the system of capitalism.

On the other hand, the capitalist nations have continued to experience certain economic difficulties. Most serious are the periodic economic depressions and "recessions," during which business stagnates, many factories are forced to close down, and millions of people are thrown out of work. In attempting to cope with such crises, the United States and other democratic governments have increased unemployment insurance benefits and introduced great public works programs. They have also begun to experiment with credit controls, flexible tax policies, and other preventive measures. Inspired by their success in dealing with many other problems of the industrial workers, they hope in time to eliminate the hazards of depression and unemployment.



44 / Lesson Review

Checking the facts

1. Explain: technological unemployment; "iron law of wages"; labor union; Combination Acts; sabotage; industrial warfare; collective bargaining; the Humanitarians; Factory Acts; social insurance; Socialism; consumer co-operatives; nationalization of industry; Social Democrats; Labor party; Communists; "dictatorship of the proletariat."
2. Identify: Malthus; Ricardo; Robert Owen; Karl Marx.
3. What serious problems confronted the factory workers during the Early Industrial Revolution? Why was little done for many years to help them?
4. Why did workers form labor unions? How did collective bargaining help the workers better their conditions?
5. In what ways did progressive governments help workers?
6. List the three leading "schools" of socialism. Describe briefly the main ideas of each.
7. Why has capitalism continued to flourish in most advanced industrial nations?
4. Karl Marx predicted that the workers would eventually take over control of all business. What reasons did he offer for his prediction? Have the events of the past century proved or disproved his reasoning? Justify your answer.
5. Explain the statement: The desire for profit is the steam engine which drives the capitalist economic system. Would you expect people to work as hard in a socialist economy as they do under capitalism? Explain.
6. Why did repressive laws fail to stop the growth of socialism in nineteenth-century Europe? Why have the Socialists, although a legal party, gained relatively few supporters in the United States?
7. Why has communism been called "socialism in a hurry"? Judging by the experiences of the radicals during the French Revolution, what problems are the Communists likely to encounter?

Applying history

1. Compare the treatment of factory workers in early nineteenth-century England and in technologically advanced democratic nations today. Why do modern employers treat workers better? How do the employers benefit if their workers are contented?
2. Compare a modern labor union and a medieval guild with respect to membership, purposes, and activities. In what important ways are they similar? In what aspects are they basically different?
3. Why were labor unions generally outlawed in the early nineteenth century? Why have they since been granted full legal recognition in democratic nations?
- Special activities
1. Read to the class eyewitness descriptions of conditions in British factories, mines, and industrial cities during the early nineteenth century. Discuss the ways in which advanced industrial nations have sought to improve the workers' conditions since that time.
2. Prepare a class report on Robert Owen and his famous socialist experiment at New Harmony, Indiana.
3. Report on a current industrial dispute. Find out the reasons for the dispute and discuss the actions taken by each side.
4. Write to your local Social Security Board for information about the benefits to which the average American worker is entitled at the present time. What changes may be expected by the time you will be eligible to retire?

45 / REVOLUTIONARY ADVANCES IN AGRICULTURE AND SCIENCE



THE REVOLUTION IN AGRICULTURE

One of the most remarkable developments in modern history was the rapid increase of Europe's population. Even though many people left for America, the population of that continent grew from about 100,000,000 to about 200,000,000 during the course of the eighteenth century. It more than doubled again in the nineteenth century and continued to grow rapidly after that. By the mid-twentieth century, the number of Europe's inhabitants had reached the figure of 550,000,000. This gain in population, it should be noted, was accompanied by a general rise in living standards.

Three major factors contributed to this amazing development. First, the coming of the Machine Age made it possible to provide manufactured goods and employment for millions of additional people. Second, the spectacular advances which were taking place in medicine and other sciences led to better health conditions and greatly increased life expectancy for persons in the Western world. Finally, there was a revolution in agriculture. This, together with the opening of new farmlands on other continents, supplied an abundance of food for Europe's expanding population. Since the Industrial Revolution has already been discussed in a preceding chapter, we shall devote most of our space here to studying these last two developments. These were occurring about the same time as the Industrial Revolution and were very closely related to it.

Improvements in Eighteenth-Century English Agriculture. The Agricultural Revolution, like the Industrial Revolution, began in eighteenth-century England. At the opening of the century, the old medieval manorial system (see pp. 182-184) still existed almost unchanged throughout most of Europe. Farming methods were, on the whole, little more advanced than those of the Middle Ages. However, the fast-growing towns and cities required a steadily increasing supply of food. Some enterprising upper-class English landowners, seeing an opportunity to make large profits, began to experiment with new methods in order to increase production.

One of these "gentlemen farmers," Jethro Tull, discovered a way of using his land more efficiently. Instead of scattering his seed, he planted it in straight rows. Moreover, he kept the ground between the rows loose by regular hoeing. When his laborers protested against the additional work, Tull invented two simple machines, the seed drill and the horse-drawn hoe or cultivator, to overcome their objections. Tull found that his new methods required less labor and resulted in larger crops.

Other important advances were made by a wealthy retired statesman, Lord Townshend. Townshend abandoned the old custom of leaving one-third of the land fallow and

started the practice of crop rotation. In the fields formerly left idle, he planted either turnips, which did not exhaust the soil, or clover, which actually added to its fertility. These crops provided excellent fodder for farm animals, so that more could be raised and kept alive over the winter.

Still another eighteenth-century English landowner who gained fame by his experiments was Robert Bakewell. Bakewell carefully selected the best sheep available for breeding purposes. He developed large, healthy new varieties to replace the thin scrawny animals of the past. Cow and pig breeders also obtained excellent results by using similar methods. The successes of Bakewell, Tull, Townshend, and the other "scientific farmers" shortly revolutionized English agriculture.

The Enclosure Movement in England. The large landowners of England were quick to adopt the new advanced farming methods. But the great majority of peasants clung to the old, traditional ways. Few had either the education or the capital needed for experiments. Moreover, the old three-field system (see p. 183) hindered progress because any change required the approval of the entire village community. Unable to sell their produce as cheaply as the more efficient large landowners, the peasants generally fell on a period of hard times.

Parliament sought to help the situation by passing a series of Enclosure Acts. The old system of dividing the land into strips was gradually abolished. The fields and commons of thousands of villages were enclosed as private farms. However, just as in the earlier Enclosure movement (see p. 266), the large landowners gained while the small peasants and tenants lost out. After the enclosure of the open fields, the latter were generally left with little or no land. Some

remained in the rural districts as low-paid laborers on the large estates. The rest had to seek a living elsewhere, usually in the new industrial cities or in distant America.

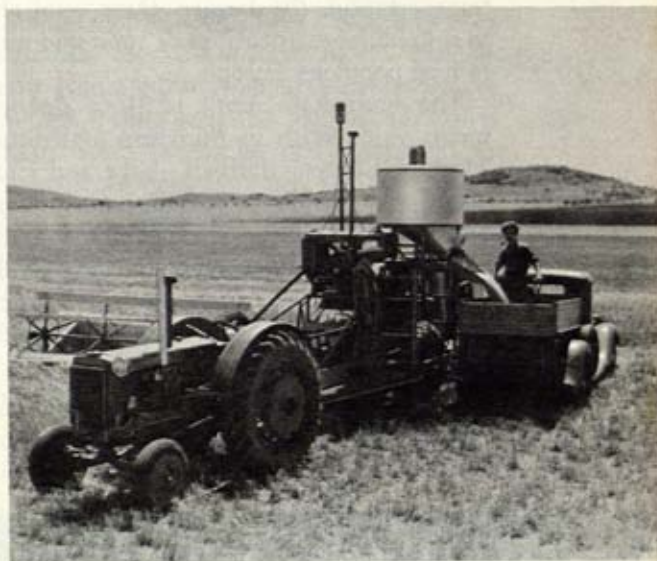
Despite the sufferings of the peasants, society as a whole probably benefited from the changed system of landholding. The large farms, using the new scientific methods, produced more food for the rapidly growing cities. Moreover, they did so with fewer workers. The displaced peasants provided an abundant supply of cheap labor for the new factories. Thus the Agricultural Revolution played an important part in advancing the Industrial Revolution.

Continued Agricultural Progress. The Industrial Revolution, in turn, contributed to the progress of agriculture. The first really important farm machine, the reaper, was patented by an American, Cyrus McCormick, in 1834. The reaper greatly speeded up the harvesting of grain. Many other ingenious farm machines were invented during the course of the next century. Especially significant was the tractor. By utilizing the power of the gasoline engine, the tractor made it possible for the farmer to use all sorts of heavy machinery and accomplish more work. It also saved him the labor and expense of caring for draft animals and growing their fodder. Other examples of important farm machines are the combine, which reaps and threshes grain, the corn picker, and the cotton picker.

Large amounts of foodstuffs used to be wasted because they could not easily be preserved or moved to market. Improved and cheaper means of transportation made it practical for the farmer to ship his crops even to markets thousands of miles away. New methods of preserving food—refrigeration, canning, dehydration (drying), freezing—greatly reduced waste from spoilage.



The rapid development of modern farm machinery is shown in these two pictures. The relatively crude mid-nineteenth-century reaper shown above required a huge amount of human and animal labor. The tractor-drawn combine at the right enables today's farmer to harvest his crop quickly and effectively.



New discoveries in science helped the farmer in other ways. About the middle of the nineteenth century a German chemist, Justus von Liebig, proved that soil serves plants mainly as the source of minerals. Three in particular—nitrates, phosphates, and potash—are essential for plant growth. Soon chemists found inexpensive methods to produce artificial fertilizers containing these minerals and thereby enabled the farmer to enrich his soil. Other scientists developed powerful poisons to fight plant pests and diseases and helped create many improved varieties of plants and animals. At the opening of the eighteenth century, it took the labor of nine farm families to raise surplus food for one city family. Today a single American farmer, using modern methods and machinery, can easily feed his own family and seven others.

Widespread Adoption of Modern Farming Methods. Some time elapsed before the new scientific agriculture came into general use on the continent of Europe. In many

parts of western Europe—notably in France, western and southern Germany, and northern Italy—the French Revolution abolished serfdom and broke up the large estates of the nobles and clergy. The peasants, who became owners of their small plots, continued to follow the old farming methods. The governments of central and eastern Europe, influenced by liberal ideas or fears of revolt, also ended serfdom during the course of the nineteenth century. However, the aristocrats were still so powerful that the newly liberated serfs were granted little or no land. Most of them continued as tenants or workers on the large estates. Since labor was cheap, the landowners saw little reason to invest in expensive farm machinery.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, vast new areas were opened up to farming in the United States, Canada, Argentina, and Australia. In these countries, modern machinery came into use quickly because of the scarcity of labor. Thanks to improved

transportation, the farmers there were able to ship off large quantities of grain and meat to feed populous Europe.

The immediate result of these developments was a crisis in European agriculture. Most of Europe's farmers—large and small alike—were unable to meet the overseas competition. For a time they suffered severe hardship. Governments finally came to the rescue by imposing high tariffs to protect them against the cheap foreign foodstuffs. More important, they established schools and societies to teach better agricultural practices to the farming population.

In most European nations, the farmers gradually succeeded in adjusting to the new conditions. They raised more dairy products, vegetables, and other easily perishable articles. Since these foods could not be transported long distances, European farmers did not have to fear overseas competition. They also united in large organizations called farm co-operatives. The co-operatives eliminated unnecessary middlemen's costs, made loans to their members for the purchase of modern equipment, and found new markets for their produce. Thus the eventual result of cheap foreign competition was the moderni-



Modern medical progress has been very rapid, especially during the twentieth century. Compare the operating room of the 1890's in a painting by the American artist Thomas Eakins (above) with the present-day one in the photograph at the right.



zation of agriculture over a large part of Europe.

Some Remaining Problems. In some countries, especially in eastern and southern Europe, little was done to help the poor peasants. They continued to work hard for a bare living, much as their ancestors had done during the Middle Ages. Dissatisfied with their lot, they began to demand land reform. That is to say, they sought to obtain land through the breakup of the large estates. Where they could not achieve their aim peacefully, they often became a powerful force for revolution.

Similar problems have recently arisen in many Asian countries, where the old ways of farming have continued unchanged even though population has been increasing rapidly. There, too, agitation has developed for a division of the large estates. Land reform may be an essential step in improving the condition of the peasants. But it is also important that the peoples of Asia learn and apply the modern methods which were features of the Agricultural Revolution in the Western world.

PROGRESS IN MEDICINE AND OTHER SCIENCES

The Scientific Method. The brains of modern man are neither bigger nor better than those of his ancestors. Yet he has found the answers to some of the riddles which completely baffled the great thinkers of the past—even the brilliant Greeks and the gifted, many-sided men of the Renaissance. For modern science has taken their outstanding qualities, the inquiring spirit and logical reasoning, and has added a third ingredient, exactness. A modern scientist may take years to establish a single fact. He begins with a problem, usually some strange

phenomenon for which no satisfactory explanation exists. To solve it, he uses the most accurate instruments available and carries out a long series of painstaking experiments. Only when he has completed his experiments does he offer a hypothesis, or theory, to explain what he has observed. Then other scientists carefully repeat all of the experiments in order to verify or disprove his theory.

Experimentation, observation, hypothesis, and verification—these are the steps in the modern scientific method. It is a time-consuming and laborious process, but a remarkably accurate one. By building slowly but solidly, one fact at a time, modern scientists have revolutionized industry and agriculture, brought about many other improvements in man's way of life, and opened the door to new fields of future scientific exploration.

The Progress of Medical Science. The first spectacular successes of the scientific method were achieved by medical science. In early modern times, the average European had a life expectancy of only about thirty years. Though many people lived to a ripe old age, many more died in infancy or childhood. Physicians usually could prescribe nothing better for their patients than a few crude medicines, hot or cold compresses, and bloodletting.

One of the worst plagues was smallpox, which periodically swept through cities and countryside, killing many of its victims and leaving the rest with weakened bodies and pock-marked faces. An English doctor, Edward Jenner, discovered that people who had previously had cowpox, a mild disease acquired from cattle, were immune. In 1796, he finally dared to inoculate a young boy with cowpox as a protection against smallpox. Jenner's experiment proved a success. The practice of vaccination spread like wild-

fire. Within a few years, smallpox was almost eliminated from the civilized world. Still, nobody knew what actually caused the disease or why vaccination prevented it.

More than a half-century passed before the cause of infectious disease was discovered. In 1865, after years of careful research, a modest French professor, Louis Pasteur, was able to show that such diseases were caused by tiny microbes or germs, visible only under a powerful magnifying lens. For a time, medical men ridiculed the notion that microscopic creatures could cause illnesses which killed human beings and animals. A few years later, however, the German scientist Robert Koch verified Pasteur's theory by identifying the germs which cause tuberculosis and cholera. After that, the germ theory of disease was accepted by scientists everywhere.

Pasteur's germ theory opened the way for many medical advances. In the last decade of the nineteenth century, a German scientist, Emil von Behring, showed why vaccination works and discovered a serum to protect people against diphtheria. Von Behring's success led to the creation of serums against tetanus, typhoid fever, and other diseases. In 1902, an American doctor, Walter Reed, proved that the germ of yellow fever was carried from one person to another by a certain type of mosquito. Reed's discovery led to another important method of preventing disease—by exterminating mosquitoes, rats, and other known disease-carriers. Especially significant progress has been made during the past half-century. Scientists have discovered powerful medications, notably the sulfa drugs and the antibiotics, which are effective in fighting many different kinds of germs. They have won spectacular success in preventing infantile paralysis. In recent years, they have even begun to deal successfully

with two of mankind's greatest killers, cancer and heart disease. Though still in an early stage, medical research has already helped to increase greatly the life expectancy of the average person in advanced industrial nations.

Discoveries in Biology. Biology, literally "the study of living things," was another branch of science which made amazing strides forward. In the first half of the nineteenth century, two German scientists showed that all living things are composed of tiny cells containing a "living jelly," the protoplasm. Some scientists then began to study what goes on inside the protoplasm, which functions somewhat like a chemical laboratory for the human body. Others concentrated on specific parts of the body, such as the blood, the glands, and the nervous system. Still another important field of biological research was nutrition. Experts in this field developed a system for measuring the energy content of different foods and proved that small quantities of certain food substances, the minerals and vitamins, are essential to health.

One of the most revolutionary discoveries of modern biology was the theory of evolution. This was set forth by the English naturalist Charles Darwin in the *Origin of Species*, published in 1859. Darwin claimed that all living organisms are descended from a common ancestor, a simple form of life which appeared on earth hundreds of millions of years ago. The many different species which exist today are the result of a long, slow process, which he called "natural selection." As proof, Darwin showed that each species tends to multiply so rapidly that, left unchecked, it would overcrowd the earth in a few generations. Nevertheless, the numbers remain more or less constant because life is an unceasing struggle for survival.

Only a small percentage, the "fittest," survive. They possess certain special characteristics which enable them to make a better adjustment to their environment. Since they often pass on these characteristics to their offspring, the changes may in time become great enough to give rise to a new species.

Scarcely less important than Darwin's theory was the new science of genetics, the study of heredity. The foundation for genetics was laid by an Austrian monk, Gregor Mendel, in the middle of the nineteenth century. By crossing different varieties of sweet peas for many years, Mendel discovered that hereditary characteristics are passed on in a definite pattern. A half-century later, other experimenters discovered that heredity is determined by microscopic cell particles called genes and that accidental changes in these particles produce a marked difference, or mutation, in the offspring. The study of genetics has proved especially helpful in breeding superior varieties of plants and animals.

Achievements in Chemistry. A third field of scientific research, chemistry, deals primarily with the way substances combine to form new ones. One of the founders of modern chemistry was a wealthy Frenchman, Antoine Lavoisier, who lived in the late eighteenth century. Lavoisier burned different substances in a closed chamber and proved that there was no change in their weight. This showed that the basic elements remained the same even though their appearance was completely altered.

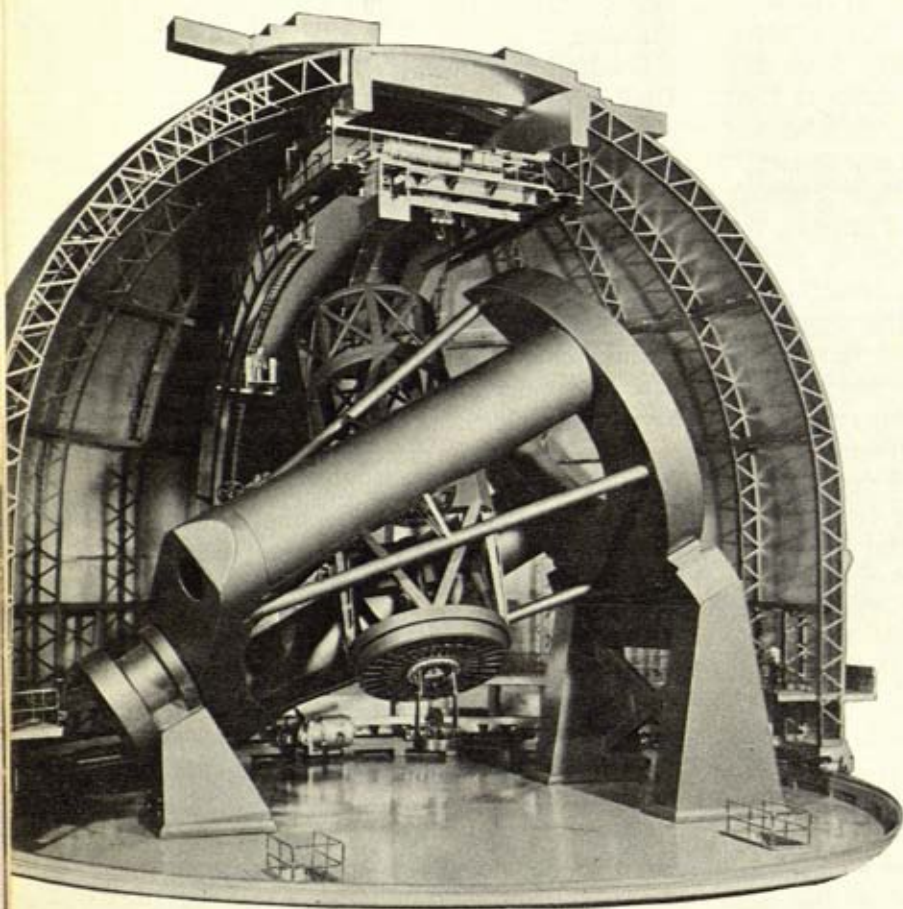
To explain this phenomenon, an English chemist, John Dalton, proposed the atomic theory in 1810. According to Dalton's theory, all matter is composed of minute "building blocks," which he called atoms. The atoms of the different elements vary in size and characteristics. Though the elements

themselves can and do combine to form new substances, their atoms always remain the same.

Guided by this theory, a Russian scientist, Dmitri Mendelyev (1834-1907), arranged all of the known elements in a table according to their atomic weights. He showed that the elements fell naturally into certain groups with similar properties. Since many gaps appeared in the table, chemists began to search for the missing elements. To date, approximately two hundred elements, including some which are very rare on earth, have been identified and their properties have been explored.

When applied for practical purposes, the chemists' researches had far-reaching effects. We have already seen, for example, that chemistry played a vital role in petroleum refining, the creation of synthetic materials, and the development of fertilizers and insecticides for agriculture. Medicine and biology also benefited as chemists created lifesaving drugs and studied the chemical reactions within the human body.

Advances in Physics. Physics, which studies the behavior of the various forms of energy and matter, also made notable advances. During the early nineteenth century, physicists were especially interested in the steam engine and the way it converts heat into motion. The results of their researches were subsequently applied in developing the gasoline engine, the refrigerator, and other devices utilizing heat energy. Other physicists, studying the behavior of metals, helped bring about improvements in metallurgy, especially in the production of steel and steel alloys. Still another group of physicists experimented with the properties of light. Their discoveries led, among other things, to the development of improved lenses for microscopes and telescopes. These improved



With powerful modern telescopes, astronomers can explore larger areas of the heavens than ever before. They have discovered that our solar system is only one of many thousands that make up the galaxy (huge star-cluster) known as the Milky Way. The universe, they have found, contains an incredible number of such galaxies.

instruments, in turn, were of great value to other scientists, particularly in the fields of medical research and astronomy.

Probably the most important field of nineteenth-century physical research was the study of magnetism. We have seen how Faraday's experiments with magnetism led to the invention of the electric generator. As physicists continued to study electricity and magnetism, they made other valuable discoveries. In 1887, a German scientist, Heinrich Hertz, proved the existence of electromagnetic waves which travel through

space much as the rays of light do. Hertz's work laid the basis for the invention of the wireless and opened up an entirely new field of physical research, electronics.

The Birth of Nuclear Physics. During the twentieth century, physics has made its most spectacular gains in atomic research. Roentgen's X-ray machine derived its name from the fact that it produced an unknown type of radiation. The nature of this mysterious radiation was discovered by two French scientists, Pierre Curie and his wife Marie, in 1898. The Curies proved that a rare heavy

element, radium, gives off radiation similar to the X-ray and slowly turns to lead. Their discovery cast doubt upon Dalton's atomic theory, because it indicated that atoms were not the unchanging "building blocks" he had supposed.

Physicists immediately tackled this new problem. Within a decade, they were able to describe the atom as a kind of miniature universe within which tiny particles, the electrons, revolve rapidly around a larger particle in the center, the nucleus. In recent years, nuclear physicists have discovered that the nucleus consists of a bewildering variety of particles which move around rapidly and behave in unexpected ways. This is a far cry indeed from the stable atom pictured by Dalton only a century earlier.

Though nuclear physics is a new field of scientific research, its discoveries have already produced sensational results. A great German mathematician, Albert Einstein (1879-1955), predicted that tremendous amounts of energy could be released by splitting the atom. His theory was proved by the creation of the tremendously destructive atomic bomb during World War II (see p. 643). A few years later, in 1949, American scientists succeeded in producing an even more powerful weapon, the hydrogen bomb, which derives its energy from the fusion, or joining together, of atoms. Atomic energy can be used not only for destruction but also to help mankind. Scientists have already designed atomic reactors to produce electricity and drive ships. They are now searching for other ways of harnessing this new source of power. So great are the possibilities of atomic energy that the second half of the twentieth century is already being hailed as the Atomic Age.

The Importance of Scientific Research. In recognition of its many achievements, sci-

ence has risen to a central position in the modern world. Schools offer a variety of science courses at all levels, from the elementary school through the university. Business concerns have found it profitable to establish large scientific laboratories, which carry on research both in pure science and in its practical applications. Modern governments, particularly those of the United States and Russia, spend large sums each year on scientific research—for peaceful purposes as well as preparation for war.

Striking proof of the importance attached to science was furnished recently by the planning and execution of a remarkable scientific project, the International Geophysical Year, 1957-1958. Teams of scientists from more than thirty nations worked together in almost every field of research. A spectacular feature of the International Geophysical Year was the rivalry which developed between the Russian and American governments in launching man-made satellites. Using giant rockets, they shot containers loaded with scientific instruments many miles into space, where they went into orbit and began to circle either the earth or sun. The satellites not only provided invaluable information about conditions in outer space but also helped determine the exact size and shape of the earth.

On the whole, the achievements of science may well impress us as extraordinarily great. Yet we must remember that the scientific method is only a few centuries old and that the rate of scientific progress is still increasing rapidly. One scientist has described the sum total of our scientific knowledge so far as only "a thin film on the deep sea of our ignorance." Who knows what monumental discoveries scientists will make in the future as they continue their explorations into the vast unknown?



45 / Lesson Review

Checking the facts

1. Explain: Agricultural Revolution; crop rotation; Enclosure Acts; scientific agriculture; land reform; germ theory of disease; theory of evolution; genetics; nuclear physics; International Geophysical Year (1957-1958); man-made satellites.
2. Identify: Tull; Townshend; Bakewell; McCormick; Liebig; Jenner; Pasteur; Koch; von Behring; Reed; Darwin; Mendel; Lavoisier; Dalton; Mendelyev; Hertz; Pierre and Marie Curie; Einstein.
3. What important agricultural discoveries were made by the eighteenth-century "gentlemen farmers"?
4. What is meant by the term "the enclosure movement"? Why did the Enclosure Acts hurt the small English farmers? What benefits resulted for society as a whole?
5. How did new machinery and new scientific discoveries stimulate agricultural progress during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries?
6. How did the opening of new farm lands in the Western Hemisphere affect European agriculture? How did European farmers adjust to the challenge?
7. Explain what is meant by the term "the scientific method." How has this method fostered accuracy and exactness?
8. Describe briefly the major modern achievements in each of these fields: medicine; biology; chemistry; physics.

Applying history

1. Why was England a pioneer in improving agricultural methods? Why did the United

States lead the way in the large-scale use of farm machinery?

2. Explain: The modern farmer can make ten ears of corn grow where one ear grew before. Is it likely that food production can continue indefinitely to increase at such a rapid rate? Explain.
3. Why did the theories of such nineteenth-century scientists as Darwin and Pasteur encounter great opposition? Why are scientists today less likely to meet this kind of opposition?
4. The rate of scientific and industrial progress has been increasing steadily for the past two hundred years. Why does such rapid change create problems for society? Would it be desirable to reduce the sums of money presently spent on scientific research? Explain.
5. What is the difference between "pure research" and "applied research"? Which do you consider more important? Explain.

Special activities

1. Discuss the question: Is the population theory of Malthus still valid despite modern scientific discoveries?
2. On the basis of your study of agricultural developments during the last two centuries, describe an imaginary visit to a scientific "farm" of the future.
3. Report to the class on the latest research achievements in one of the major fields of science. Discuss the discoveries which may be expected in the course of your lifetime.
4. Post newspaper and magazine clippings showing current scientific discoveries on your class bulletin board.



In every great period of history, there exist persons who feel sympathy for their less fortunate fellow beings and demand better treatment for them. As one example, we might take the Philosophers of the Enlightenment. By sharply criticizing the evils of the Old Regime, the Philosophers inspired many of the reforms of the French Revolution. During the era of the Industrial Revolution, a similar role was played by the humanitarians. As we have seen (see pp. 384-385), the humanitarians were influential in bringing about improved conditions for the early factory workers. They also awakened the public conscience to the existence of other grave social abuses. Thanks largely to their leadership, the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries proved a period of extraordinary social progress.

RECENT SOCIAL REFORMS

Abolition of Slavery. One of the worst blots on Western civilization, Negro slavery, was finally erased during the nineteenth century. The French revolutionaries had proclaimed their belief that all human beings, regardless of race or color, should have equal rights. They had pioneered the way by freeing all slaves in the French colonies (see p. 343).

After years of agitation by the humanitarians, other countries followed France's lead. Great Britain began by outlawing the slave trade in 1807. A generation later, in 1833, slavery was abolished throughout the British Empire. In the United States, the slaves were emancipated in 1865 after a long and bloody civil war. There was also strong opposition to emancipation in Brazil. When the Negroes were finally freed in that country in 1888, slavery virtually disappeared from the civilized world.

Better Treatment of Criminals. Another important field of reform was in the treatment of criminals. As we have seen, it was customary in the eighteenth century to impose the death penalty for a large number of offenses. Even minor crimes were punishable by flogging, mutilation, or long prison terms. If a person fell into debt, he was thrown into prison and was sometimes kept there for years. The jailers were often very brutal. Because of the lack of sanitary facilities, poor food, and other bad conditions, large numbers of prisoners died. Those who survived were usually broken in health and spirit.

In the late eighteenth century, the Italian Philosopher Cesare Beccaria wrote *On Crimes and Punishments*, a powerful plea for the revision of criminal laws and penalties. A few years later, an English humani-

tarian, John Howard, further aroused the public by describing the horrible conditions in the prisons. Largely as a result of the efforts of these two reformers, the worst evils were gradually eliminated. Imprisonment of debtors was ended. The penalties for crime were made less harsh and the treatment of prisoners was improved.

Some of the greatest gains in the war against crime have been made in the twentieth century. The modern theory is to deal with criminals as the victims of circumstances, who should be given remedial treatment rather than punishment. Measures have also been taken to prevent crime. For example, many modern governments have torn down slums, which often serve as breeding places of crime, and have replaced them with modern housing projects and playgrounds.

Other Humane Reforms. Mentally deranged persons also benefited from the new, more humane attitude. During the Middle Ages, they had been horribly mistreated in the belief that they were possessed by demons. Even in modern times, many were chained in cellars or attics. Others were confined in institutions where a sane person would have been driven out of his mind.

In the late nineteenth century, insanity was finally recognized as a type of illness. An Austrian physician, Sigmund Freud, was one of the pioneers in psychiatry, the study of mental disease. Freud showed that mental ailments may be caused by disturbing experiences, especially in early childhood, even though the person cannot consciously remember them. Freud's theories have proved helpful in both the prevention and the treatment of mental illness. In recent years, medical science has also made important discoveries about the physical aspects of mental

disease and has experimented with drugs and several other promising remedies.

Other nineteenth-century reformers pressed governments to raise moral standards. As a result of their efforts, laws were passed against the sale and use of dangerous habit-forming narcotics. Temperance movements were started to restrict or even prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquors. Governments also enacted civil service reform laws, designed to secure more honest and capable public officials.

The Struggle for Women's Rights. Women made great progress during this period toward a position of equality with men. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, people generally believed that a woman's main duty in life was to get married, keep house, and raise a family. The little education that she received was in training for these duties. Her legal status was similar to that of a child. She could not vote or hold office. When she married, her property went to her husband. If he divorced her, he could keep the children and the property. For women of the middle and upper classes, only teaching and a few similar types of employment were open.

During the first half of the nineteenth century, an energetic American educator, Emma Willard, succeeded in establishing several women's colleges and in gaining admission for women to a few of the existing institutions of higher learning. Once women found it possible to obtain a better education, they were gradually able to enter the professions and secure positions in the business world. They also made significant improvements in their legal and social position during the second half of the nineteenth century. But it was not until the twentieth century that they finally gained the vote in the United States,

Great Britain, and other advanced nations. Today, women in these countries enjoy virtually equal rights with men.

Public Education. Far-reaching advances came in the field of public education. The first public schools in modern Europe were established in Prussia, by the enlightened Frederick the Great (see p. 321). The Prussian schools were used to promote the interests of the state. Accordingly, they emphasized strict discipline, high standards of thoroughness and accuracy, and the spirit of patriotism. However, rigid social discrimination was practiced. The large majority of youngsters attended school for only a few years and were trained mainly in practical subjects. Only a small percentage, chiefly children of the upper classes, went on to the high schools, where they received a classical education in preparation for the universities. The Prussian system was extended to the rest of Germany when that country became a united nation. It also served as a model for most of Europe.

The United States, like Prussia, was a pioneer in providing popular education. Free public schools were created by almost all of the states in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Today, many states have compulsory education to the age of eighteen, free evening classes for adults, free community colleges, and inexpensive state universities. American education has also been progressive in its course of study and methods of instruction. The early emphasis on classical subjects, especially Greek and Latin, has given way to a broad curriculum designed to prepare students for modern-day living. In many respects, American public education is the best in the world.

In the past half-century, Russian education has also made amazing gains. After the

Communists came into power in 1917, they concentrated for a time on elementary education, for adults as well as children. Illiteracy was virtually wiped out within a single generation. Meanwhile, a great expansion of technical schools and universities was launched. However, in Russia, unlike the United States, students are not free to choose their careers. They are directed into those fields where the state thinks they are most needed. In recent years, the Russian government has been able to boast that it is producing more scientists and engineers than all the other nations of the world combined.

The Role of the Churches. Events during the nineteenth century also had important effects on the churches, Protestant and Catholic alike. During most of this period, the leaders of the various established churches (see p. 250) generally favored aristocratic governments and conservative policies. They showed little sympathy for the lower classes. Many reformers therefore became anticlericals, opposed to the power of the church. Some even demanded the separation of church and state, which had long been practiced in the United States. This meant that the government would cut all ties with the church, and the church, in turn, would limit itself to purely religious affairs. Wherever the anticlericals gained control of the government, their policies gave rise to sharp conflict.

This conflict had certain unexpected results. To regain popular support, the churches showed a new interest in the problems of the common people. In 1891, Pope Leo XIII urged capital and labor to work together in the true Christian spirit. He favored labor unions, co-operatives, progressive social legislation, and "a living family

wage." Many of the Protestant churches also issued statements calling for far-reaching social improvements. This movement to promote the welfare of the lower classes was named "Christian socialism" because it advocated social reforms based on the teachings of Christianity.

Christianity also made considerable gains in another sphere. Protestants and Catholics redoubled their efforts to convert the native peoples of Africa and Asia. Many of their missionaries were trained to give medical care as well as spiritual guidance. By the mid-twentieth century, Christianity was professed by almost one-third of the human race and had far more adherents than any other religion. This remarkable growth was striking proof of the continuing vitality of Christian principles after almost two thousand years.

CULTURAL TRENDS IN RECENT TIMES

The Romantic Movement. Since culture usually reflects the conditions of the time, it might be expected that the last two hundred years would be a period of great cultural change. During the latter part of the eighteenth century, Rousseau and a few other intellectual leaders began to rebel against the restrictions imposed on writers and artists by the rigid rules of classicism (see pp. 282–284). They also questioned the basic ideas of the Enlightenment, especially the belief that men could create a perfect society by following the dictates of reason. These doubts seemed confirmed by the bloody Reign of Terror during the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars. In the early nineteenth century, therefore, the influence of classicism and the Enlightenment waned

and a new movement called Romanticism arose.

The Romantics as a group glorified man's instincts and emotions, "those reasons of the heart of which reason itself knows nothing." They stressed freedom for the individual, his right to follow his natural impulses instead of conforming to rules and regulations. Romantic writers, artists, and musicians gave expression to these ideas in a wide variety of ways. Many followed Rousseau in advocating a return to nature. Others turned to religion and the traditions of the past, particularly of the Middle Ages. Still others, moved by the plight of the poor, drew up plans for Utopias where poverty and oppression would no longer exist.

Romantic Literature. The fresh ideas of Romanticism inspired an outburst of cultural activity throughout Europe. In literature, the pioneer of Romanticism was Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832). Goethe, one of the great literary figures of all time, won fame as a poet, novelist, and playwright. His masterpiece was the lengthy poetic drama *Faust*, in which he expressed his own search for the meaning of life. The hero, Faust, is an aged scholar who offers his soul to the devil on condition that all of his wishes be granted. After sampling all sorts of pleasures, he learns that the most satisfying activity is to love and serve one's fellow men.

The Romantic Movement in literature reached its height in Great Britain, which could boast a half-dozen outstanding writers during the early nineteenth century. One of these writers, Lord Byron, showed the Romantic influence in his life as well as in his poetry. He had several stormy love affairs, traveled through Europe for years in search of new experiences, and died while still young, fighting in the Greek War for Inde-

pendence (see p. 359). *Don Juan*, in which Byron fully expressed his view of life, is generally considered his best work.

Romanticism came late to France, which was exhausted by long years of war and revolution. The outstanding figure of French Romanticism was Victor Hugo. Like Goethe, Hugo excelled in writing poems, dramas, and novels. His most famous novel, *Les Misérables* ("The Unfortunates"), deals with the sufferings of the lower classes. The hero of the novel remains noble and self-sacrificing in spite of harsh mistreatment at the hands of the law.

Romantic Art. The Romantic artists, like the writers, felt free to express their own feelings and develop individual styles. They too found their themes mainly in nature or in historical events. Their paintings attracted the favorable attention of wealthy members of the middle class, who were becoming the most important customers for works of art.

The two leading English Romantic painters, John Constable and William Turner, were noted for their beautiful landscapes. Their paintings, which were widely copied, helped spread the love of nature among the common people. In France, the outstanding Romantic artist was Eugène Delacroix. Delacroix chose very dramatic subjects and painted them in vivid colors. A good example of his style is the "Massacre on Scio," based on an atrocity committed by the Turks during the Greek War for Independence.

Romantic Music. Music was also deeply affected by Romanticism. Freed from the restraints of classicism, Romantic composers were able to use soaring melodies and rich harmonies in order to stir the emotions of their listeners. They also found new themes in the folk music of the past and took full advantage of the improvements which had

taken place in musical instruments. Romanticism remained the dominant influence in European music throughout the nineteenth century.

The first, and usually considered the greatest, of the Romantic composers was the German Ludwig van Beethoven (1770–1827). Especially in his famous symphonies, Beethoven sought to express mankind's striving for liberty and other ideals. For a time, his works were poorly received by audiences unaccustomed to this new type of music, but his genius was widely recognized before his death. Beethoven's personal struggles are reflected in one of his symphonies, the *Eroica*. The symphony opens on a note of defiance and rebellion, plunges into a mood of suffering and despair, and concludes with an upward surge of joy in triumphant achievement.

In opera, the most significant creative figure was the nineteenth-century German composer Richard Wagner. Wagner was determined to combine all theatrical elements—the drama, music, dancing, and painting—to create a new "super-art." His great operatic work, *The Ring of the Niebelungs*, is one of the most ambitious musical productions in history. It consists of four long musical plays based on old German legends. In each of these, Wagner succeeded in weaving together music and plot to tell a moving story of human passion and conflict.

The Realist Reaction. During the latter half of the nineteenth century, the pendulum swung back again from emotion to reason. Intellectuals, impressed by the extraordinary successes of science, sought to apply the scientific method to their own fields. Their aim was to describe in accurate detail the "scenes and characters of everyday life and real history, the average men and



John Constable's *Salisbury Cathedral* (right, this page) is typical of the Romantic artist's work. Paul Cézanne's *L'Estaque* (below) shows how the founder of Post-Impressionism combined new Impressionist techniques with traditional form and structure to create a painting of lasting beauty. On the facing page are some contemporary American examples. Frank Lloyd Wright, a pioneer in modern architecture, designed the Johnson Wax Company building at Racine, Wisconsin (left and center). At top right is an abstract sculpture by Juan de Rivera. At the bottom is the exterior of a recently built high school at Anchorage, Alaska.



women." Some of the Realists, as they called themselves, told shocking stories about sordid characters. Others criticized the middle class for their self-satisfied, smug attitude. Most influential were those who depicted the sufferings of the poor. Realists of this type played an important role in arousing public opinion and in bringing about social reform.

A French novelist, Honoré de Balzac, prepared the way for the new Realist movement. Balzac undertook a very ambitious project: to portray all of French society as it existed in his day. *The Human Comedy*, as he ironically called his work, consists of approximately one hundred novels containing more than two thousand characters! Balzac portrayed his characters in such detail that they seem to come alive. He dealt most successfully with the middle class, whose greed and ruthlessness in the struggle for success he held up to scorn.

Russia produced several talented Realist writers, whose works are filled with a melancholy spirit reflecting the harshness of life under czarist rule. A striking example is Feodor Dostoevski. Condemned to death for taking part in a revolutionary reform movement, Dostoevski was reprieved at the last moment and sentenced to a long term in prison. It is hardly surprising that his novels reveal a deep sympathy for the plight of criminals and outcasts. In *Crime and Punishment*, for example, he lays bare the emotions of an impoverished student who commits murder, suffers mental tortures, and finally finds redemption through love.

British literature displayed a very different spirit from the Russian. During the Victorian era—so called because it coincided with the long reign of Queen Victoria, 1837–1901—Great Britain was enjoying the benefits of the Industrial Revolution and its

position of world leadership. It is hardly surprising that the Victorian writers generally faced the future with confidence and optimism. One of the most influential Victorian novelists was Charles Dickens. Having himself been a poor orphan child and then a police reporter, Dickens based many of his novels on his own experiences and observations. His vivid descriptions of terrible conditions in the jails, workhouses, and factories provided strong evidence in support of the humanitarians' demands for reforms. Despite their bleak settings, however, Dickens' novels generally have cheerful characters and happy endings.

The Realist movement also exerted a strong influence on the drama. The Norwegian playwright Henrik Ibsen perfected the realistic drama almost single-handedly. Some of Ibsen's plays, dealing with social problems of the time, aroused so much popular protest that the dramatist felt compelled to leave his homeland. But his genius eventually won him wide recognition and he returned to Norway in triumph.

Modern Art. The changes in art were even more striking than those in literature. The early Realist painters, like the Realist writers, sought to show plain people as they were and to expose social evils. But this type of art soon went out of fashion, mainly because of the invention of the camera. Rather than merely imitate photography, many painters decided to probe beneath the surface. The result of their experiments was a revolution in art. To distinguish the new forms from the art of the past, they were labeled "Modern Art." Although this is a poor title, since every generation calls itself modern, it has survived and is still used today.

Many schools of Modern Art have arisen, but we have space to describe only a few.

The earliest group were the Impressionists, who sought to capture on canvas the impression a person gets when he looks at a scene casually. They therefore merely sketched in the main features in bold brush strokes, allowing the observer's mind to fill in the details. Similarly, they did not mix pigments on a palette in the traditional style. Instead, they used dabs of the basic colors, which the viewer's eye blends to form the desired shades. Examined at close range, the Impressionists' paintings seem a blotch of colors and forms. But when the viewer steps back, they suddenly seem to come alive.

The Impressionists' work, unlike more conventional paintings, generally appeared rather flat. The founder of the Post-Impressionist school, Paul Cézanne (1839–1906), experimented for years to remedy this weakness. He finally succeeded, by distorting the shapes of objects and using thick layers of carefully blended colors, in creating on canvas the illusion of solidity and depth.

The most difficult form of Modern Art for most people to understand is Abstract Art. The Abstractionists say that their aim is to express what they see with their minds rather than with their eyes alone. For example, they may show on a single canvas the way an object looks from several different points of view and then add other elements to show what the object means to them. The Spaniard Pablo Picasso (born 1881) is usually considered the greatest of the Abstract painters. The huge mural *Guernica*, based on the bombing of a Spanish town during the Spanish Civil War (see pp. 626–627), is one of his most famous works.

Modernism in Other Fields of Culture. Architecture also reflected the spirit of Modernism. During the nineteenth century, architects used a variety of traditional styles

and usually covered their buildings with ornate decorations. An American architect, Louis Henry Sullivan (1856–1924), urged a complete break with the past. Sullivan taught that “Form follows Function.” By this he meant that the style of a building should be determined by the use to which it would be put and by the methods and materials of its construction. Functionalism, the architectural style based on Sullivan's theory, is best illustrated by the modern skyscraper. The skyscraper's beauty is derived not from elaborate ornamentation but from the upward thrust of its simple vertical lines.

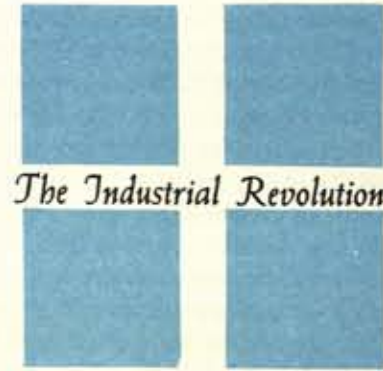
The Modernist spirit also led to many bold experiments in literature. An extreme example is the work of the Irish novelist James Joyce (1882–1941). Joyce's purpose was to express people's thoughts and feelings exactly as they flow through the mind. As a result, many of the passages in his books look like a mere jumble of words, without punctuation or sentence structure. Even the words themselves are often unfamiliar, because Joyce felt free to coin new words to express his thoughts more exactly. It is interesting to note that lengthy books have been written as “keys” to Joyce's writings, to make it possible for the ordinary reader to understand them.

In music, the Modernist movement was led by the French composer Claude Debussy (1862–1918). Debussy disregarded the rules of musical composition in order to capture for his audience a series of changing moods. In *The Afternoon of a Faun*, for example, the music follows the faun as he leaps nimbly from one impulse to another. Even the casual listener can appreciate Debussy's compositions because of their rich tone colors and harmonies. Many later Modernist composers, on the other hand, have experi-

mented with music containing all sorts of unusual sounds and strange discords.

The Expansion of Modern Culture. Although constant experimentation is characteristic of the Modernists, many writers, artists, and musicians have continued to follow traditional patterns. There is also a third group, who seek to strike a balance by combining the best features of the old and the new. On the whole, modern culture exhibits an astounding variety of forms and ideas.

Another unusual feature of modern culture is its broad basis. Thanks to the public schools, all classes of people in advanced industrial nations now may obtain an education. Reduced working hours allow people a good deal of leisure time. Many agencies of mass information—newspapers, magazines, books, motion pictures, the radio, and television—make available to all a wealth of information and ideas. If people learn to take full advantage of these opportunities, the culture of the Machine Age may be able to keep pace with its superb technical achievements.



The Industrial Revolution

Results of the Industrial Revolution

Evaluating the Machine Age. Increased scientific knowledge—put to practical use in manufacturing, transportation, communication, agriculture, and many other fields—has brought about an extraordinary revolution in modern man's way of life. Today, in most advanced industrial nations, people can

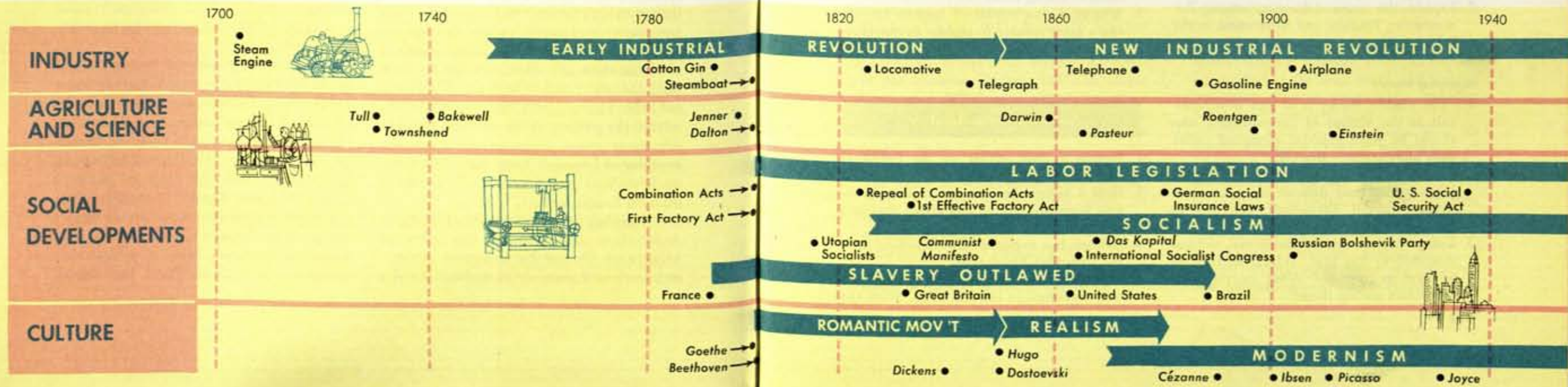
enjoy material comforts and conveniences which even kings did not possess a few centuries ago. They have been relieved by "machine slaves" of the heaviest burdens of physical labor. The threat of famine no longer hangs over them, and medical science offers the prospect of a long and healthful life.

What is more, these advantages have become available to all classes of people in these nations. The workers generally have a short working day and receive decent wages. They are protected against accidents on the job, unemployment, destitution or dependence in old age, and other types of economic insecurity. Women's chores have been lightened by household appliances, and they have advanced rapidly toward full equality with men. Since child labor is outlawed, young people now have the opportunity to improve themselves through education.

However, even in advanced nations like the United States, the rapid changes of the Industrial Revolution have given rise to some serious problems. Today, millions of workers

are dependent on industry for their livelihood. Industry in turn must have reliable sources of raw materials and markets capable of absorbing its huge output of manufactured goods. Every decade or so, defects in this complex economic network bring on economic depressions, harmful to both businessmen and workers. Even worse are the continued bitter rivalries among nations. Modern wars, fought with the weapons provided by present-day science and industry, have become a threat to the very existence of the human race.

The Challenge for the Future. Thus the Industrial Revolution holds out to mankind both a threat and a promise. On the one hand, our civilization is confronted with the dangers of economic crises and nuclear wars. On the other hand, the machine can provide us with riches and opportunities far beyond our present dreams. Has mankind the wisdom to solve its problems and reap the full benefits of the Machine Age? Here is to be found one of the fundamental challenges to society in our time.





46 / Lesson Review

Checking the facts

1. Explain: psychiatry; anticlericals; separation of church and state; Christian socialism; Romanticism; Victorian Era; Modernism; Abstractionism; Functionalism.
2. Identify: Beccaria; Howard; Freud; Emma Willard; Goethe; Lord Byron; Victor Hugo; Constable; Turner; Delacroix; Beethoven; Wagner; Balzac; Dostoevski; Dickens; Ibsen; Cézanne; Picasso; Rodin; Sullivan; Joyce; Debussy.
3. Tell how the attitude of the Western world has changed in the past two hundred years toward slavery, debtors and criminals, and the insane.
4. What important legal and social gains have been made by women during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries?
5. Compare the basic patterns of public education in Europe and the United States during the past century. In what fields has Soviet Russia made the greatest progress?
6. Why did anticlericalism arise in nineteenth-century Europe? How were the churches able to regain popular support?
7. Explain the major differences among Romanticism, Realism, and Modernism in the fields of literature and art.
4. Trace the history of the conflict between church and state in France or some other European country. Why has this issue rarely arisen in the United States?
5. Why can the skyscraper be considered the symbol of the Machine Age? Compare it with the architectural monuments of medieval Europe or of the ancient civilizations.
6. A famous philosopher criticized the Machine Age by saying "Machines are in the saddle and now ride mankind." What did he mean? Explain why you agree or disagree.

Special activities

1. On the basis of your newspaper reading, report to the class on present-day humanitarian trends. Discuss whether the humanitarian spirit is growing stronger or weaker.
2. Read to the class passages from well-known modern writers to illustrate the basic ideas of Romanticism, Realism, and Modernism. Discuss the resemblances as well as the differences among them.
3. Arrange a class exhibit of modern art. Invite a guest speaker to explain its outstanding characteristics.

Applying history

1. "The modern theory is to deal with criminals as the victims of circumstances who should be given remedial treatment rather than punishment." Explain.
2. Why did the campaign for women's rights prove a long and difficult struggle? Have women proved themselves qualified to exercise their new rights? Explain.
3. Compare the various educational systems described in this unit. Which features do all have in common? What are the basic differences among them?

Summarizing Unit 9

1. Prepare a class exhibit on the Industrial Revolution and its effects.
2. Hold a history 'bee' on the famous inventors, scientists, writers, and artists discussed in this unit.
3. Discuss: Has mankind really benefited from the Industrial Revolution?
4. Suppose that you fell into a deep sleep and were awakened in the year 2060. With the

developments of the past century as a guide, describe the way you imagine people will live in the future.

5. In your notebook, outline the major economic and social developments discussed in this unit.

Books to Read

Specialized Accounts

- *ADLER, IRVING. *The Tools of Science*. John Day, 1958. An interesting nontechnical discussion of the microscope, telescope, cyclotron, and other important tools of modern science.
- ASHTON, T. S. *The Industrial Revolution, 1760-1830*. Oxford, 1948. An excellent account for superior students.
- BURLINGAME, ROGER. *March of the Iron Men*. Scribner's, 1938.
- . *Machines That Built America*. Harcourt, Brace, 1953. Highly recommended histories of modern inventions and their social effects.
- *DIETZ, FREDERICK C. *The Industrial Revolution*. Holt, 1927. A helpful introductory study.
- *HARTMAN, GERTRUDE. *Machines and the Men Who Made the World of Industry*. Macmillan, 1939. A well-written, well-illustrated account of modern inventions.
- KAEMPFERT, WALDEMAR. *Explorations in Science*. Viking, 1953. Especially valuable for recent developments.
- *SEABORG, G. T. and E. G. VALENS. *Elements of the Universe*. Dutton, 1958. In simple language, a Nobel prize winner and other noted scientists tell the story of man's discovery of the 101 chemical elements known today.
- SHIPPEN, KATHERINE B. *Miracle in Motion: The Story of America's Industry*. Harper, 1955. A highly recommended survey of America's industrial development and its far-reaching effects.
- WOODBURY, DAVID O. *Atoms for Peace*. Dodd, 1955. A simplified description of developments in the field of atomic energy.

Biographies and Historical Fiction

- BELLAMY, EDWARD. *Looking Backward*. Various editions. A socialist Utopia as a nineteenth-century American imagined it.
- BOLTON, SARA. *Famous Men of Science*. Crowell, 1946. Accounts of the lives and achievements of famous scientists since the days of Copernicus.
- BURLINGAME, ROGER. *Whittling Boy: The Story of Eli Whitney*. Harcourt, Brace, 1941. A lively account of the Yankee inventor.
- *DEKRUIF, PAUL H. *Microbe Hunters*. Harcourt, Brace, 1932. Biographical sketches of Pasteur and some of the other founders of modern medicine.
- DICKENS, CHARLES. *David Copperfield*. Various editions. The hardships of a young orphan in nineteenth-century England. Dickens' own favorite novel.
- DUBOS, RENÉ J. *Louis Pasteur, Free Lance of Science*. Little, Brown, 1950. Scientific progress of the nineteenth century as seen through the life and work of the great French scientist.
- HEILBRONER, ROBERT L. *The Worldly Philosophers*. Simon & Schuster, 1953. An interesting account of the lives, times, and ideas of important modern economists, including Adam Smith and Karl Marx.
- LLEWELLYN, RICHARD. *How Green Was My Valley*. Macmillan, 1940. A moving story of a Welsh family in a coalmining village of the late nineteenth century.
- SCHWARZCHILD, LEOPOLD. *The Red Prussian*. Scribner's, 1947. An interesting popular biography of Karl Marx.
- ZOLA, EMILE. *Germinal*. Knopf, 1952. A famous realistic novel about the sufferings of nineteenth-century French coalminers.



UNIT 10

THE RISE OF THE COMMON PEOPLE

Democracy literally means "government by the people." More specifically, it means a type of government in which all citizens have a voice in the selection of officials and in the making of public policy. When differences of opinion arise, the will of the majority of voters prevails. The minority or minorities must accept the popular verdict. But they have the right to maintain their own views and are free to work for their adoption.

Modern democracy owes its origin to many sources. Particularly important were the theories of Locke, Rousseau, and other Philosophers of the Enlightenment. During the Era of Revolutions, democratic ideas made great headway in the United States, in France, and in some of the other countries of western Europe. Their progress became even more rapid as a result of the far-reaching changes brought about by the Industrial Revolution. By the early twentieth century, democracy was accepted by many of the nations of the Western world. It was also making its influence felt in numerous other countries. After thousands of years, during which the spotlight of history had been focused on the upper classes, the common people emerged from the wings to occupy the center of the stage.

This unit will provide answers to these questions:

1. How did the British people achieve democracy?
2. What problems confronted French democracy because of its revolutionary origins?
3. How did American democracy keep pace with this nation's extraordinary growth?
4. What have the small countries of western Europe contributed to the development of Western democracy?

47 / THE EVOLUTION OF BRITISH DEMOCRACY



People often think that the English are a very conservative nation. They note how royalty, titles of nobility, and many other old institutions have survived in that country. Indeed, the English do have great respect for tradition. However, they have also been responsible for many important political changes. As we have seen in Unit 7, they were the first people to create a limited monarchy and were the first to develop the cabinet system of government. They also originated the modern theory of democracy. Though rather slow in putting that theory into effect, Great Britain eventually became one of the leading democratic nations in the world. It is therefore only fitting that we begin our study of modern democracy with that country.

THE BEGINNING OF DEMOCRATIC REFORM

The British Government in the Eighteenth Century. During the eighteenth century, the British system of government seemed a very progressive one. It was considered a model for the rest of Europe by the French Philosophers (see pp. 319-320). At that time, almost all of the countries on the continent were ruled by absolute monarchs. The British, on the other hand, enjoyed many advantages. Parliament, not the king,

made the laws. The cabinet system was beginning to take form (see p. 293). There existed trial by jury, considerable freedom of speech and press, and a large measure of religious toleration.

Existence of Widespread Abuses. However, beneath the surface, widespread abuses existed. These became more and more obvious as time passed. For one thing, Parliament did not really represent the British people. The House of Lords was composed mainly of wealthy peers or nobles who inherited their seats along with their titles. In the House of Commons, only rich landowners were eligible to sit as members. There were no uniform requirements for voting in parliamentary elections. In the rural districts, only persons who owned land were allowed to vote. In the boroughs or towns, the privilege was usually restricted to a few favored groups—for example, the descendants of the old medieval guildsmen, the local officials, or the owners of certain pieces of property. It is estimated that only one man in ten in early nineteenth-century Great Britain was allowed to take part in elections.

Moreover, the entire system of apportioning seats in the House of Commons was unfair. Population was shifting a great deal because of the Industrial Revolution. Yet the election districts had changed very little since the Middle Ages. The result was that

the new industrial cities had no representatives in Parliament. On the other hand, there was a large number of "rotten boroughs." These were once-populous towns which continued to elect members to Parliament even though most or all of their inhabitants had moved away. The representatives of the rotten boroughs were actually chosen by a few nobles or other powerful individuals.

There were many other abuses. The Church of England was the established church, even though many Englishmen disagreed with its doctrines. Protestant Dissenters and Catholics were barred from holding office or attending the universities. A large section of the population—the factory and farm workers—lived in dire poverty. Unions were illegal, criminals were treated very harshly, and women had almost no rights.

Effects of the French Revolution. In the late eighteenth century, a number of important British political leaders, Whig and Tory alike, had favored the cause of reform. They reorganized public finances and reduced the corruption in government. The younger Pitt even tried—though unsuccessfully—to abolish the worst of the rotten boroughs. Then the French Revolution broke out. The reform movement in Great Britain came to a sudden halt because the British upper classes were horrified by the violence and bloodshed across the Channel. During most of the next forty years—from about 1790 to 1830—they kept ultraconservative Tory leaders in power.

The Tory government tried to maintain the existing order unchanged. In 1793, it joined in the war against the new French Republic (see pp. 341–342). At home, mobs were encouraged to attack Britons who sympathized with the French revolutionaries. Radical writings were suppressed and the authors were prosecuted for treason. The

militia was called out to deal with an imaginary insurrection. Thus, while France and other countries of western Europe became the scene of many sweeping reforms, Great Britain virtually stood still.

Growing Demands for Reform. Widespread dissatisfaction with Tory rule developed after Napoleon's downfall. The coming of peace upset the British economy and a long period of hard times followed. Many factory owners were forced out of business. The workers suffered from low wages and unemployment. To obtain better conditions, both groups united in demanding reforms. In particular, they insisted that they be given a voice in the government. Radical writers and orators supported their demands and helped to stir up public opinion.

For a few years, the Tory leaders sought to suppress all complaint by force. Then, in the 1820's, a group of younger Tories, led by the brilliant Sir Robert Peel, entered the cabinet. To meet the growing criticism, they introduced several important reform measures. Improvements were made in the treatment of criminals. Trade unions were permitted to exist. The laws against the Dissenters and Catholics were repealed. However, the more conservative Tory leaders barred any further changes.

Matters were finally brought to a head by the Revolutions of 1830 (see pp. 360–361). The victory of the moderates in France proved that change did not have to result in radicalism or violence. In the British elections held later that year, the Whig party won many additional seats in the House of Commons. The Tory prime minister, the Duke of Wellington (see p. 354), was forced to resign. The Whigs, under Lord Grey, formed a new ministry.

The Reform Act of 1832 and Its Results. The new Whig government quickly intro-

duced a bill to improve the system of voting and representation. It was defeated in the House of Commons. The Whig leaders then asked the king to dissolve Parliament and refer the issue to the voters. In the elections which followed, the Whigs won a great victory. The new House of Commons passed the bill by a sizable majority. But this time the Tory-dominated House of Lords voted it down.

A wave of protest swept the country. Businessmen refused to pay taxes. Workers held mass meetings, and in some places rioting broke out. Supported by an aroused public, the prime minister secured a promise from the king that he would appoint hundreds of Whigs to the upper house. Confronted with this threat, the Tory lords finally gave way. The reform bill became law.

Despite all the excitement, the Reform Act of 1832 was really a very moderate measure. The new industrial cities obtained representation in the House of Commons, but only the worst rotten boroughs were abolished. The requirements for voting in the rural districts remained much the same as before. In the boroughs or towns, voting was extended only to members of the middle class. Even so, the new measure was hailed as the "Great Reform Bill" and was compared with Magna Carta. People were confident that this first reform would open the way for many more.

In the decade or so after 1832, a number of important reforms were passed. The "Reformed Parliament," elected under the new law, abolished slavery in the British colonies and passed the first effective factory act (see p. 384). It also passed a new Poor Law, which in effect obliged employers to pay a living wage. Town and city governments, which had been controlled by small privileged groups, were made elective by the tax-

payers. The unpopular Corn Laws—high tariffs which restricted the import of cheap foreign grain—were repealed after a long and bitter struggle with the Tory landowners. The repeal of the Corn Laws was evidence of the growing political power now exercised by the English manufacturing and commercial classes. As another sign of the changing times, the two old political parties acquired new names. The Tories, still dominated by the upper-class landowners, became known as the Conservatives. The Whigs, who generally represented the interests of the middle-class businessmen, were called the Liberals.

THE TRIUMPH OF BRITISH DEMOCRACY

The Chartist Movement. The workers, as we have seen, had played an important role in pushing through the reform bill. But their gains were much smaller than they had expected. They therefore launched a new reform movement. This became known as Chartism because its demands were drafted in the form of a "People's Charter." The Chartists called for universal manhood suffrage (the right of all men to vote), the secret ballot, abolition of the property qualifications for members of Parliament, and other democratic reforms. Year after year, they staged great mass meetings in a vain effort to obtain action from Parliament. The climax came in "the year of revolutions," 1848. The Chartists planned a huge parade to present Parliament with a reform petition. They claimed that it had fully six million signatures.

A tense period followed. The government mobilized the army and swore in a quarter of a million special constables. But the alarm proved groundless. The number of marchers was fewer than expected, and the Chartist



The House of Lords and the House of Commons meet in separate sections of the huge Palace of Westminster in London, overlooking the Thames. The clock in the tower is the famous "Big Ben."

leaders carefully avoided any disturbances. Parliament took weeks to examine the petition. It then announced that there were only two million signatures, some of which, like "Queen Victoria" and "Duke of Wellington," were obvious forgeries. The Chartist movement was made to appear ridiculous. It soon passed out of existence.

A Period of Democratic Gains. Despite the Chartists' failure, almost all of their demands were enacted into law within the next half-century. Two far-sighted statesmen—W. E. Gladstone and Benjamin Disraeli—played major roles in this. For many years, the earnest and capable Gladstone was head of the new Liberal party. During most the period, the Conservatives were led by the brilliant writer and speaker Disraeli.

Though leaders of rival parties, the two statesmen often agreed on the need for re-

form. Disraeli persuaded Parliament to remove the property qualifications for membership in the House of Commons and all remaining religious restrictions. Seeking to win more support for his party, he also introduced the Reform Bill of 1867 to grant the right to vote to workers in the towns. Some of the Conservatives deserted their leader, but he gained enough votes from the Liberal members of Parliament to secure its passage. Gladstone in turn pushed through the Reform Bill of 1884, which gave farm laborers the suffrage. This measure was accompanied by a complete reform in the system of representation. The old election districts were replaced by new ones, each of which contained an approximately equal number of voters.

The two statesmen were also responsible for other reforms which helped the lower

classes. The first national system of public schools in Great Britain was established. The secret ballot was adopted to make bribery more difficult and to protect the working-class voter from pressure by his employer. Trade unions were granted full legal recognition. A new factory code combined all previous factory laws (see p. 385) and increased their effectiveness.

The Liberal-Labor Alliance. Important new gains were made in the early twentieth century, after the workers formed a political party of their own. The Labor party was organized by the trade unions and various Socialist organizations in 1900. It soon elected a few representatives to Parliament. These entered into an alliance with the Liberals, who at this time showed greater sympathy for the needs of the workers than did the Conservatives. In the elections of 1906, the Liberals won a landslide victory. Labor, for its part, elected about fifty members to Parliament. In the years which followed, the "Lib-Labs" passed a far-reaching program of social reforms. These included workmen's compensation, free government employment agencies, a minimum wage law, and insurance against old age, sickness, and unemployment.

The Parliament Act of 1911. To pay for these reforms (and for large naval expenditures—see p. 543), the government needed new sources of revenue. The Liberal finance minister, David Lloyd George, proposed heavy taxes on the inheritances and property of the rich. His budget was approved by the House of Commons. However, it was defeated by the Conservative majority in the House of Lords. This action of the Lords in vetoing a money bill was denounced as a violation of British tradition. The Liberal leaders dissolved Parliament and held new elections. Again the Liberals and their allies

won a victory over the Conservatives. The Lords, bowing to public opinion, passed the budget bill.

The victors then introduced the Parliament Bill of 1911. This provided that the House of Lords was to have only a suspensory veto—that is, it could only hold up or delay bills. Money bills approved by the House of Commons would become law in thirty days, even without the consent of the upper chamber. Other bills would become law if passed by Commons three times in two successive years.

It is hardly surprising that the Lords rejected the Parliament Bill. There followed a bitter struggle, much like that over the Reform Bill of 1832. Eventually, the Lords gave way when the king threatened to create a large number of new peers. Since 1911, the House of Lords has been able to act only as a brake on the popularly elected House of Commons. After World War II, its suspensory veto was reduced to only one year.

The Struggle for Woman Suffrage. One of the longest and fiercest reform battles was waged over the issue of woman suffrage. Women, in England as in many other countries, had to fight against many old prejudices—that they were the "weaker sex," that they "had no head for politics," and that "their place was in the home." On the other hand, reformers argued that it was unfair to deny political rights to half of the adult population. In the late nineteenth century, they started a campaign to give women the ballot. This, it was hoped, would open for them the gates to full legal and economic equality.

For a generation or so, the champions of women's rights used peaceful methods. They made speeches and wrote pamphlets to win over the public. Then one group of

women reformers became impatient and decided to attract attention by other means. The "militant suffragettes" interrupted official ceremonies, heckled politicians, smashed store windows, and set fire to public buildings. Thrown into jail for these disorders, they went on hunger strikes. The courage of the suffragettes won them many sympathizers. However, their opponents were more convinced than ever that granting women the vote would be utter folly.

Two factors eventually decided the struggle. As one country after another granted women the vote, the British became more disposed to follow their example. More important, during World War I (1914-1918) British women won the gratitude of the nation by their services—especially as army nurses and as workers in arms factories. Near the close of the war, Parliament passed the Reform Act of 1918. This granted the vote to all adult males and to women over thirty years of age. A decade later, the Reform Act of 1928 extended the suffrage to all women over twenty-one. Universal suffrage—for males and females alike—was at last a reality.

"Democracy by Evolution." It took England many centuries to develop the machinery of parliamentary government. It took still another century for it to change from an aristocracy of large landowners to a democracy based on universal suffrage. Today, Great Britain has one of the most democratic governments in the world. Moreover, while political democracy was being achieved, reforms were also being made to improve the conditions of the lower classes. Encouraged by these successes, the British people have continued to follow the tradition of gradual and peaceful change. They have set for the world an enviable example of "democracy by evolution."

THE MACHINERY OF BRITISH DEMOCRACY

"The Unwritten Constitution." The British system of government has been imitated by Canada, Australia, New Zealand, India, and many other nations. It therefore deserves careful examination. Ordinarily, to learn how a government works, we would begin by studying the constitution. But Great Britain is unique in having an "unwritten constitution." That is to say, there is no single document which contains the rules of government. Instead, the English system just grew through the centuries. The "constitution" consists of historic royal documents like Magna Carta, important acts of Parliament like the Bill of Rights and the Parliament Act of 1911, and time-honored customs and traditions. The result is a mixture of old and new, of picturesque relics and modern realities.

Role of the Monarch. A good example of this interesting mixture is to be found in the position of the monarch. In theory, the ruler of England—Queen Elizabeth II, at present—controls every branch of the government. She can summon and dissolve Parliament at will. No bill can become law without her signature. She appoints and dismisses all important officials, commands the army and navy, and is responsible for the conduct of foreign policy. She appoints the judges, who try criminal suits in her name. She is also head of the Anglican Church. The Queen of England is apparently a very powerful ruler.

In actual practice, the English monarch has ruled in name only since the eighteenth century (see pp. 329-330). Today, Queen Elizabeth II is required to follow the advice of her ministers. She is even told what to say in her official speeches. Nevertheless,

the monarchy is still a very useful institution. The Queen retains "the right to be consulted, the right to encourage, the right to warn." Moreover, she engages in a continual round of ceremonies and functions, thereby easing the burden for busy government officials. These services help to earn her the devotion of her subjects. They look up to the monarch as a living symbol of the unity of the British nation and of the Empire.

The British Cabinet System. Much of the power once wielded by the monarch is now exercised by the prime minister. The prime minister is the leader chosen by the party

which has a majority in the House of Commons. He, in turn, selects his ministers from among his influential supporters in that house or in the House of Lords. Each minister is usually placed in charge of a government department, such as foreign affairs, home affairs, the treasury, and the army. However, the prime minister supervises their work and retains full responsibility. The prime minister is, therefore, the real chief executive in the British government.

The prime minister and his colleagues also have important legislative functions. Almost all bills are drawn up by the cabi-



Englishmen are surrounded by colorful reminders of their nation's history. In London, for instance, they may pause to see the changing of the Queen's Guard (left). Or they may pass the Tower of London (below). Begun in the eleventh century as a fortress, the Tower later served as a royal residence and then as a prison for political prisoners.



net. One of the ministers then introduces the bill into Parliament and defends it in the debates which follow. When it comes to a vote, it is ordinarily passed without trouble because the prime minister's party holds a majority in the House of Commons. Unruly members are usually kept in line by the threat that they may be expelled from the party.

Cabinet Responsibility to Parliament. Despite their vast power, the prime minister and the other members of the cabinet must exercise considerable caution. For Parliament is not a mere rubber stamp. On the contrary, its members make a regular practice of questioning the ministers about the work of their departments. Furthermore, every controversial bill or policy is subjected to a spirited debate between "Her Majesty's Government" and "Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition." The opposition is always trying to expose the government's mistakes.

Since the cabinet is responsible to the House of Commons, it remains in office only as long as it holds a majority in that body. If it is defeated on an important issue, it is said to have "lost the confidence" of the Commons. A political crisis follows. The prime minister is then faced with a difficult decision. He and his ministers may resign and allow the opposition leaders to take office. Or else he may "go to the country"—that is, put the problem before the voters. If he chooses the latter course, the House of Commons is dissolved and new elections are held.

In the campaign which follows, each member of the House of Commons must answer to the people of the district in which he runs. For several weeks, he makes speeches defending his position, while the opposing candidate or candidates attack it. On election day, the voters decide the issue. If a majority of the members of the newly

elected House of Commons are supporters of the prime minister, he remains in office. If a majority oppose him, he resigns. The leader of "Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition" in the preceding Parliament usually becomes the new prime minister and he selects the new cabinet.

Evaluation of the British System. The British parliamentary system has several notable advantages. The members of the House of Commons, knowing that they may have to stand for re-election at any time, are very sensitive to public opinion. They try to find out what the people want and help to shape the stand of their party leaders accordingly. Moreover, the British system is efficient because the executive and legislative branches always work together as a unit. If the cabinet decides that a new law is necessary, a bill is introduced into Parliament. In most cases, it is passed and put into effect with little delay. If there is widespread disagreement and a crisis develops, the issue is soon decided—by changing either the cabinet or the House of Commons.

On the other hand, there are certain dangers in the British system of government. For one thing, the "constitution" is so easily changed—by simple act of Parliament—that it may not be a firm safeguard of the people's rights. Secondly, the prime minister has very wide powers. He may dominate the House of Commons by the threat to dissolve it and force the members to stand for re-election. Finally, the British system works best when there are only two major political parties. This has not always been the case. In short, the parliamentary system cannot in itself guarantee good government. Like any other democratic system, it depends on the skill of the statesmen who guide it and on the political judgment of the voters to whom they are responsible.



47 / Lesson Review

Checking the facts

1. Explain: rotten boroughs; Reform Acts; Corn Laws; Conservative party; Liberal party; Labor party; Chartist movement; Parliament Act of 1911; suspensory veto; militant suffragettes; unwritten constitution; vote of confidence; "going to the country."
2. Identify: Peel; Gladstone; Disraeli; Lloyd George.
3. Why was the British system of government an advanced one by eighteenth-century standards? Give at least three reasons why it would be considered undemocratic today.
4. Trace the development of democracy in Great Britain from 1832 through 1928.
5. What important reforms did the Liberal-Labor coalition enact during the early 1900's?
6. Why was there such bitter opposition to granting English women the vote? Why were woman-suffrage laws finally enacted?
7. Describe the functions performed by the British monarch, by the Parliament, and by the cabinet.
8. List the primary advantages and disadvantages of the parliamentary system of government. Why has it worked so well in Great Britain?

Applying history

1. Which of the Chartists' demands were eventually adopted? From a long-range point

- of view, why may the Chartist movement be considered a success rather than a failure?
2. Explain: The British monarch reigns but does not rule. What organ of government is really sovereign in Great Britain?
3. Give your opinion of this statement: The British government is all wrong in theory and all right in practice. It is illogical, indefensible, absurd, but it works.
4. What were the major British political parties in 1914? Why did the Liberal party enjoy such great popular support?

Special activities

1. Draw a series of cartoons to show how Great Britain advanced toward democracy during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.
2. Read to the class contemporary accounts of a Chartist parade or a demonstration by the militant suffragettes. Discuss whether these methods were proper in a democracy and what effects they had.
3. Stage a meeting of the British House of Commons. Divide the class into two groups—"Her Majesty's Government" and "Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition"—and select a prime minister and opposition leader. Debate an important question briefly, then call for a vote. Show why the government almost always wins, but why a crisis occasionally occurs.
4. Prepare class reports on the life and career of W. E. Gladstone or Benjamin Disraeli.

FRANCE: "DEMOCRACY THROUGH REVOLUTION"



Revolutionary leaders often have a strong popular appeal. The reason is that they make glowing promises to build a new world quickly. Actually, is revolution faster than gradual reform, or is progress another case of "slow and steady wins the race"? To answer this question, we will compare political developments in modern France with those in Great Britain.

Great Britain slowly and peacefully evolved a democratic system. France, on the other hand, made rapid leaps forward only to suffer frequent setbacks. That country had three major revolutions in little more than a half-century (from 1789 to 1848). Two of these—the great French Revolution and the Revolution of 1848—were marked by fierce and violent struggles for power. They aroused bitter hatreds and class divisions, whose effects can be observed in French politics to the present day.

FRANCE'S SECOND EMPIRE, 1852–1870

Establishment of the Second Empire, 1852. These problems became especially apparent following the Revolution of 1848. As we have already seen, the unemployed workers in Paris had engaged in a bloody uprising when the national workshops were

closed. Their revolt was harshly suppressed by the government. The French people then elected Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte as President of the Second Republic. They hoped that he would restore stability and reunite the country. However, through a *coup d'état*, President Bonaparte soon seized control of the government. He made himself emperor and took the title "Napoleon III" (see p. 363).

Napoleon III's Domestic Policies. The new Emperor granted France a constitution. This provided for an elected assembly, universal manhood suffrage, and other outwardly democratic forms. However, like his famous uncle, Napoleon III was a power-hungry ruler and kept real control in his own hands. He created a very efficient secret police system, imposed a strict press censorship, and jailed or deported critics of his regime. It was not surprising that he obtained favorable majorities whenever elections were held.

Nevertheless, dictator though he was, Napoleon III sought to gain the support of the important classes in the country. Many of his measures were designed to win the favor of the bourgeoisie. He encouraged the construction of new factories and sought to stimulate trade by negotiating liberal commercial treaties with other countries. He

launched a tremendous program of public works, which included railways, roads, harbors, and canals. At the same time, he claimed to be the friend of the workingmen. He permitted labor unions and co-operatives to exist. He encouraged factory owners to protect their employees with accident and old-age insurance. He also helped the peasants by draining swamps and finding new markets for their produce.

Napoleon III sought to appeal to the French people in other ways. To please the devout Catholics, he allowed the Church to control the public schools and universities. He kept a garrison of French troops in Rome to protect the pope. He also stirred up French nationalism by constantly reminding the people of France's glory under the first Napoleon. Moreover, he sought to help the Italians, Poles, and other oppressed nationalities of Europe, whose plight had aroused the sympathy of many Frenchmen.

The Urge for Conquest. Despite all of his efforts, Napoleon III could not prevent the rise of discontent. Liberals were angry because he had destroyed the Second Republic and had taken away the people's liberties. They also thought he was showing too much favor to the Catholic Church. The radicals disliked his many measures to aid business. The conservatives felt he was doing too much for the workers. In his attempts to be "all things to all men," the French Emperor was in danger of pleasing none.

Napoleon III realized that he could turn his subjects' attention away from problems at home by pursuing an aggressive foreign policy. Moreover, his supporters, the "Bonapartists," expected him to imitate his uncle by winning glory for France. At heart, the French Emperor hated bloodshed. He repeatedly announced that "the Empire means

peace." Nevertheless, he embarked on a series of foreign adventures which lost him the friendship of other powers and led finally to disaster.

The Wars of Napoleon III. The Emperor's search for prestige sent France's young men to their death in many parts of the world. He completed the conquest of Algeria, which had been begun two decades earlier by King Charles X. He annexed Indo-China and some islands in the Pacific. He also joined Great Britain in a costly war against Russia. (For the Crimean War, 1854-1856, see pp. 472-473.) The allies won. As a result, France regained its position as the leading power on the continent. The peace conference was held in Paris and Napoleon III had the honor of presiding over it. Soon afterwards, the French ruler aided the Sardinians in their attempt to drive the Austrians out of Italy (see p. 455).

When the American War Between the States (1861-1865) broke out, Napoleon III, anxious to weaken the United States in order to further his own ambitions in Latin America, tried to organize a European coalition to help the Confederacy. He failed in this project. However, he found an excuse to send an army to Mexico and installed the Austrian Archduke Maximilian as emperor. The Mexicans, led by the former president, Juárez, engaged in bitter guerrilla fighting against the conquerors. Then, at the close of the War Between the States, the United States government compelled Napoleon III to withdraw his troops. Maximilian, who refused to leave "his people," was captured and executed. The blunder in Mexico dealt a severe blow to the French Emperor's prestige—in Europe, as well as in the New World.

Collapse of the Second Empire, 1870. By this time, Napoleon III had lost his

popularity in France. Striving desperately to hold his throne, he allowed his subjects a greater voice in the government. At the same time, he sought to gain new foreign successes, especially by acquiring territory at the expense of his neighbors. The bungling diplomacy of his ministers was an important factor in leading France into a war with Prussia and the smaller German states (see pp. 463-464).

In the fighting which followed, the overconfident French were quickly defeated. Napoleon III was himself taken prisoner. The victorious German armies advanced into France. News of these disasters led to a revolution in Paris and the proclamation of

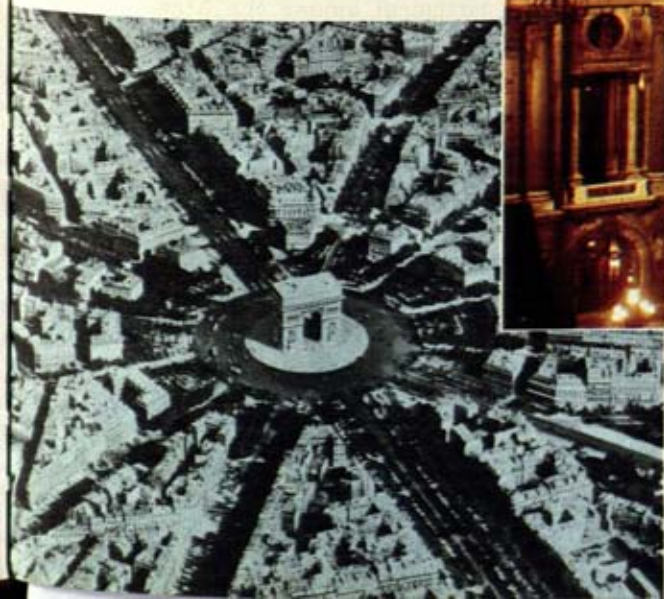
a republic. France's Second Empire, like the first, came to an inglorious end as the result of military defeat.

THE STORMY CAREER OF THE THIRD FRENCH REPUBLIC, 1870-1914

A Harsh Peace. From its birth, France's Third Republic had a stormy career. A provisional or temporary government tried to carry on the war but met with little success. Paris, besieged for months, was forced by famine to surrender. The government finally accepted peace on the enemy's terms.

By the Treaty of Frankfurt, signed in 1871, France lost two rich border provinces,

Napoleon III went to great expense to make Paris a beautiful capital, with broad boulevards (below) and splendid buildings. The Opéra (right), which he had built, is one of the largest and most richly decorated theaters in the world.



Alsace and Lorraine, to the newly created German Empire. It also agreed to pay a large war indemnity of about one billion dollars in gold. German troops occupied French soil until the indemnity was paid in full. Patriotic Frenchmen never forgave the conquerors for this harsh peace. *Revanche* (revenge) against Germany remained one of the cornerstones of France's foreign policy to the First World War.

Civil War. Before making peace with the Germans, the provisional government found it necessary to consult the French people. It ordered elections to be held for a new National Assembly. The Republicans, mostly idealistic lawyers and writers who were supported by the radical city workers, favored rejection of the Germans' peace terms. The Monarchists, who normally drew most of their strength from the upper classes, promised to end the disastrous war as soon as possible. The war-weary French people decided the issue by electing a large majority of Monarchists.

A new French government, headed by Monarchist officials, negotiated the peace with the Germans. However, it also assumed the right to make other decisions for France. It shifted the capital to Versailles and made preparations to restore the monarchy. It also adopted various unpopular economic policies. These especially hurt Paris, where business was at a standstill after the long siege and thousands were unemployed and hungry.

Angered by the Monarchists' actions, the radical leaders of the Paris city government or Commune proclaimed themselves independent of the national government. They invited the other cities of France to follow their example. The government then called on the army to restore control. After a six weeks' siege, the troops broke into the city.

The retreating "Communards" shot the Archbishop of Paris, set fire to public buildings, and committed other acts of terror before they were overwhelmed. Then the Monarchists began savage reprisals against the rebels. Thousands were executed. Thousands more were imprisoned or sent off to penal colonies. The result was a further increase of the old hatred between French radicals and conservatives.

Failure to Restore the Monarchy. With order finally restored, the Monarchists prepared to choose a king. But serious disagreements developed because they were split into two groups. The Legitimists supported the Count of Chambord, the grandson of Charles X. The more liberal Orleanists insisted on the Count of Paris, the grandson of Louis Philippe. After long bargaining, they almost reached a compromise. The Count of Chambord, who was old and childless, would become king and would adopt his much younger rival as his heir.

New problems arose to bar this solution. The Count of Chambord refused to give up his belief in monarchy by divine right. He insisted, for example, that the tricolor flag of France, adopted during the Revolution, should be replaced by the old white banner of the Bourbon family! His extreme demands made agreement among the Monarchists impossible. Since the Assembly was unable to agree on a different form of government, France remained a republic. In the next elections, the Monarchists lost their majority in the Assembly. A few years later, in 1879, the Republicans gained complete control of the government.

The Constitution of 1875. Meanwhile, the Assembly had drawn up a temporary constitution for France. This was based on the British parliamentary system. The lower house of the legislature, the Chamber of

Deputies, was a democratic body elected by universal manhood suffrage. The upper house, the Senate, was more conservative in nature. Its members were chosen indirectly and held office for a much longer term. The president of the Republic was elected by the two chambers meeting together. Like the king of England, he had wide powers in theory but was actually a figurehead. The real executive was the ministry or cabinet, headed by the premier.

An Unstable Government. In France, unlike Great Britain, the parliamentary system proved very unstable. The average life of a cabinet was only nine months. The main cause of trouble was the large number of political parties, each of which expressed the viewpoint of a different group of the French people. The Chamber of Deputies usually contained more than a dozen major parties. In addition, there were many small political factions, often consisting of only a leader and a few followers.

Suppose the leader of one of the larger parties was asked to form a new cabinet. In order to obtain a majority in the Chamber, he had to form a bloc or coalition with several other parties. He would usually obtain their support by offering their leaders posts in his cabinet. To remain in office, the premier had to harmonize the different viewpoints of his followers. If he displeased a single important party in his bloc, he would lose his majority and a political crisis would follow. In that case, the ministry had no choice but to resign. The French premier, unlike the British prime minister, did not have the power to dissolve the Chamber and order new elections. Under such conditions, it is hardly surprising that a French cabinet rarely lasted as long as a year. Some lasted only a few weeks, a few days, or even a few hours!

The French system was often criticized, mainly on the ground that the government was too weak to carry out an effective policy. Its defenders, on the other hand, recalled France's unhappy experiences with dictators. They argued that the executive had to be weak in order that the people's liberties might be safe. Disagreement over the constitution deepened the divisions which already existed within French society.

Anticlericalism in the 1880's. Disputes over the role of the Catholic Church proved another important source of conflict in France. The Republicans wished to weaken the Church's influence because it had long favored the Monarchist cause. When they gained control of the government, they enacted a series of laws to end Church control of education. The Jesuits, who were especially active in promoting Monarchist ideas, were expelled from France. Other religious orders were brought under government supervision. These anticlerical laws weakened the Church's influence. However, they also increased the hostility of the Catholic clergy and their supporters to the Republic.

The Boulanger Crisis, 1886-1889. A dangerous crisis arose when the Monarchists and clericals allied themselves with an ambitious military hero, General Boulanger. By making warlike speeches against Germany, Boulanger also won the support of a powerful veterans' organization. The government was weakened by a disgraceful financial scandal in which high officials were involved. It seemed powerless to prevent a coup d'état. However, at the critical moment, the would-be dictator lost his nerve. When the government threatened to try him for treason, he fled to Belgium and later committed suicide. The Boulanger movement collapsed. But the threat to the Republic was ended only for a time.

The Dreyfus Case, 1894-1899. The rightists made another attack against the Republic only a few years later. A young army staff officer, Captain Alfred Dreyfus, was accused of selling military secrets to Germany. He was court-martialed and sentenced to life imprisonment. The Monarchists seized on the incident in order to arouse people against the Republic. Since Dreyfus was a Jew, they launched a furious anti-Semitic campaign. They charged that the Jews were running the country and were selling it out to Germany. Many Catholics joined in the attack out of dislike for the anticlerical laws. For a time, the existence of the Republic was again in danger.

At first, only Dreyfus' family believed that he was innocent. Later, they won the support of a famous writer, Émile Zola, and a few radical political leaders. After years of investigation, it was discovered that the evidence used to prove Dreyfus' guilt had been forged by an anti-Semitic member of the army general staff. A friend of the latter, a Monarchist army officer, was the real traitor. When the facts were published, there was a general uproar. The friends of Dreyfus seemed to be insulting the honor of the army. For months, civil war threatened as "Dreyfusards" and "anti-Dreyfusards" engaged in street brawls and duels. Finally, after many dramatic incidents, justice triumphed. The forger committed suicide, the traitor fled to England, and Dreyfus was pardoned. The Republic was saved.

Separation of Church and State, 1905. The victorious Republicans now took stern measures against their enemies. They purged the army of Monarchist officers and put through a second group of anticlerical laws. Parochial schools were closed, religious orders were disbanded, and Church property fell under government control. As the cli-

max, the Concordat of 1801 (see p. 350) was ended. Complete separation of Church and state was decreed. This meant that the government would no longer pay the salaries of the clergy or grant the Church other special privileges. After considerable protest, the pope and the French clergy reluctantly accepted the new arrangement. Thereafter, the conflict between clericals and anticlericals declined in importance.

The Rise of Socialism. Another danger to the Republic also soon arose, this time from the left. The Socialist party grew rapidly as industrialization spread in France. In the early twentieth century, it was one of the leading parties in the Chamber of Deputies. Like the other followers of Karl Marx (see p. 387), the French Socialists favored nationalization of the land, factories, banks, and trade. However, their immediate program was more moderate. They aimed to improve conditions for the French workers, who lagged behind the workers of other advanced countries. They demanded higher wages, better working conditions, and social insurance. When the government refused to act, a series of bitter strikes broke out. Especially serious was a railroad walkout in 1910, which crippled normal business activity in the country.

The government, which owned the railroads, struck back by mobilizing the army. Since France had universal military training, most strikers were in the military reserve. They had to answer the call to arms. Once in uniform, they were ordered back to work under threat of court-martial. This high-handed procedure aroused widespread sympathy for the strikers. Many Frenchmen protested by voting for the Socialists. Yielding to public opinion, the government created an old-age pension system and introduced other labor reforms. However, the Socialists



The Eiffel Tower was built in 1889 for one of the great international fairs the Third Republic held to stimulate trade. Nearly a thousand feet high, it quickly became a Parisian landmark and tourist attraction.

remained dissatisfied. They accused the government of showing concern only for the upper classes and continued to attack it until the very outbreak of World War I.

Achievements of the Third Republic. Strife and struggle were only part of the story of the Third Republic. Beneath the stormy surface, the nation was steadily becoming richer and stronger. Most of the peasants owned their small farms and enjoyed considerable prosperity. Businessmen grew wealthy as industry and commerce expanded. Since unions were legal, the workers were able to improve their condition through collective bargaining. Bank deposits, a sign of national prosperity, increased rap-

idly. France made such large loans to other countries that it earned the title "Banker of Europe."

The government sought to promote the nation's welfare in many ways. For example, it enacted protective tariffs, made loans to businessmen and peasants, and launched a public works program that dwarfed that of Napoleon III. It also succeeded in acquiring the second largest colonial empire in the world. France's many revolutions had left the country with a heritage of difficult problems. Nevertheless, under the democratic Third Republic, its citizens enjoyed several generations of unprecedented prosperity and progress.



48 / Lesson Review

Checking the facts

1. Explain: Second Empire; Maximilian Affair; Third Republic; Treaty of Frankfurt; Alsace-Lorraine; *revanche*; Chamber of Deputies; premier; bloc.
2. Identify: Napoleon III; Bonapartists; Monarchists; Republicans; Legitimists; Orleanists; Boulanger; Dreyfus; Zola.
3. How did Napoleon III seek to win the support of different groups of his subjects?
4. Why did Napoleon III launch an aggressive foreign policy? In what major wars did he involve France? Which of these finally led to his downfall?
5. List the terms of the Treaty of Frankfurt (1871). How did the treaty affect France's later foreign policy?
6. Describe briefly each of these threats to the Third French Republic: the royalists' attempt to restore the monarchy; the Boulanger crisis; the Dreyfus case; the rise of socialism.
7. List the important gains made by France under the Third Republic.

Applying history

1. Explain: France under Napoleon III had everything a great nation could desire except liberty.
2. In what ways did Napoleon III follow in the footsteps of his illustrious uncle? Why

is Napoleon III considered less important than Napoleon Bonaparte?

3. Compare the way France and Great Britain advanced toward democracy during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. How do you account for the difference?
4. Explain how these factors contributed to the weakness of the Third Republic: the large number of political parties; the premier's lack of power to dissolve the Chamber; frequent rightist attacks on the government.

Special activities

1. Draw a "fever chart" to show the ups and downs of democracy in France from 1789 to 1914. The chart should show each of the French governments of this period and whether each represented a step upward toward democracy or a step downward toward absolutism.
2. Consult a general history of France, then write the "diary" of a French boy or girl living in Paris during the troubled years of 1870-1871.
3. Report to the class on the life of Captain Alfred Dreyfus or of Emile Zola.
4. Write an editorial for either a Republican or anti-Republican newspaper in France in 1914 on "Forty Years of the Third Republic."

49 / DEMOCRACY IN THE UNITED STATES



One of the most spectacular success stories in the history of nations has been the rise of the United States. At the close of the Revolutionary War (see pp. 329–330), the United States was a weak and undeveloped country. Though large in area, it had a small population of only about 3,500,000. Almost all of the towns were located on or near the seacoast. Forests and mountains were formidable barriers to travel in the interior. Except for fishing and shipping, there were only a few small industries. The vast majority of Americans earned their living by tilling the soil.

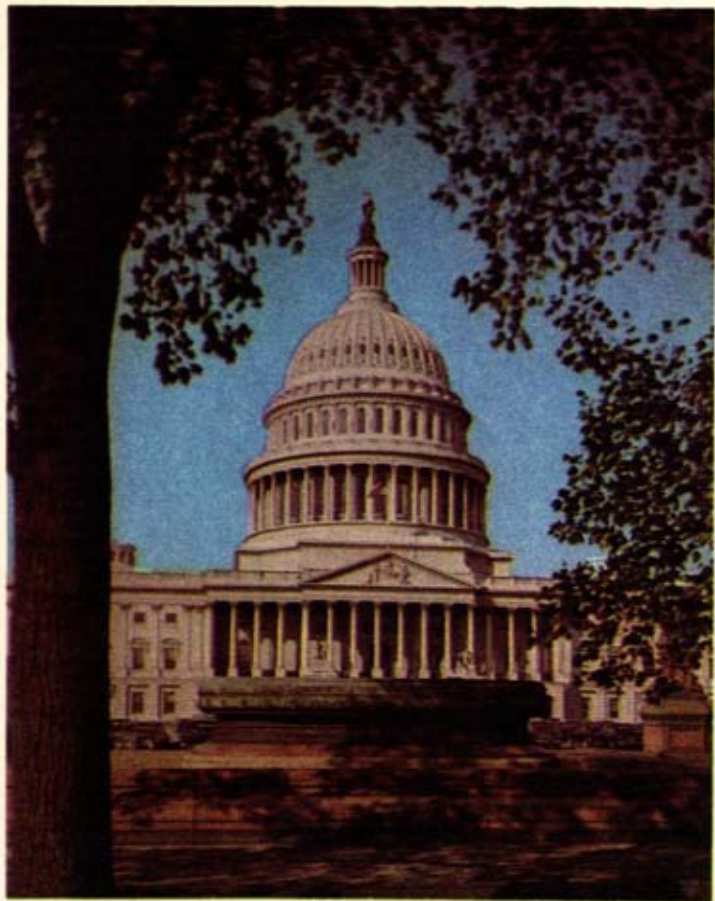
Today, less than two centuries later, the United States is one of the largest nations in both area and population. It leads the world in production of foodstuffs and raw materials. Its factories pour forth almost as many manufactured goods as all other countries combined! Its people enjoy the world's highest standard of living, together with the blessings of a stable, progressive government.

Many reasons have been suggested for this amazing growth. Certainly one basic factor was the spirit of liberty which flourished in the New World. Freedom—in government and in economic life—encouraged Americans to make the most of their opportunities. It also attracted millions of immigrants from other countries.

THE AMERICAN SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT

Our Revolutionary Heritage. From the start of its existence as an independent nation in 1776, the United States was a pioneer in the movement toward democracy. In an age of monarchies, it was a republic. Laws were made by elected legislatures. Property qualifications for voting were low. Though social classes existed, these were based primarily on wealth rather than on birth. It was comparatively easy for a man to rise in life through his own efforts. Religious toleration was an established principle in most states. Some had already made provision for public education. Thus, even in the late eighteenth century, the United States offered a better way of life for the average man.

"The Critical Period." The new country suffered from one serious handicap—a weak central government. During the Revolutionary War, the thirteen newly independent states had agreed to work together under the Articles of Confederation. This agreement provided for a Congress, composed of delegates from the different states, to deal with a few matters of common concern. The Congress could enact laws with the approval of two-thirds of the states. But there was no executive or court to enforce them. Moreover, Congress could not levy taxes,



The American Capitol in Washington, D.C., houses the country's Senate, House of Representatives, and a priceless historical collection. The building's most striking feature is its lofty dome topped by a statue of Freedom.

draft troops, or regulate commerce. It could merely request the states to carry out its wishes and to supply its needs.

The Articles of Confederation lasted only a few years, from 1781 to 1789. The weakness of the new government gave rise to so many problems that historians refer to this time as "the critical period" of American history. Congress soon found itself virtually bankrupt because the states provided only a small part of the funds which it requested. Its paper money dropped rapidly in value, eventually becoming almost worthless. Without effective control from above, the states acted like thirteen separate little countries. They began to quarrel among

themselves. They raised tariffs to keep out the products of their neighbors and engaged in disputes over their boundaries. Such weakness and disunity made the United States a target for ridicule. European nations refused to make treaties with it and predicted its early downfall.

The Constitutional Convention, 1787. George Washington and other thoughtful Americans became more and more disturbed by these conditions. They asked that the Articles of Confederation be amended so as to strengthen the national government. After some delay, the states accepted their recommendation and sent delegates to a constitutional convention in Philadelphia.

The delegates spent months in careful study and discussion. They decided to scrap the Articles of Confederation and drafted, instead, a completely new document, the Constitution of the United States.

Outstanding Features of the American Constitution. The framers of the Constitution were agreed on the need for a stronger and more effective national government. However, on the specific details, there were sharp differences of opinion. The final document contained many compromises designed to make it generally acceptable.

1. *The federal system of government.* One great conflict arose over the division of authority between the new national government and the states. As a compromise, the new government was granted only those powers necessary to protect the interests of the entire country. Most important were the powers to levy and collect taxes, to regulate commerce, to coin money, and to raise and support armed forces. The states retained all powers not expressly delegated to the new government.

The federal system has been imitated by many countries. It has several great advantages. Most important, it combines the strength and unity of a single national government with the flexibility of a number of state governments. Each of the states can manage its own affairs in accordance with local conditions. At the same time, all of them can act together to deal with common problems.

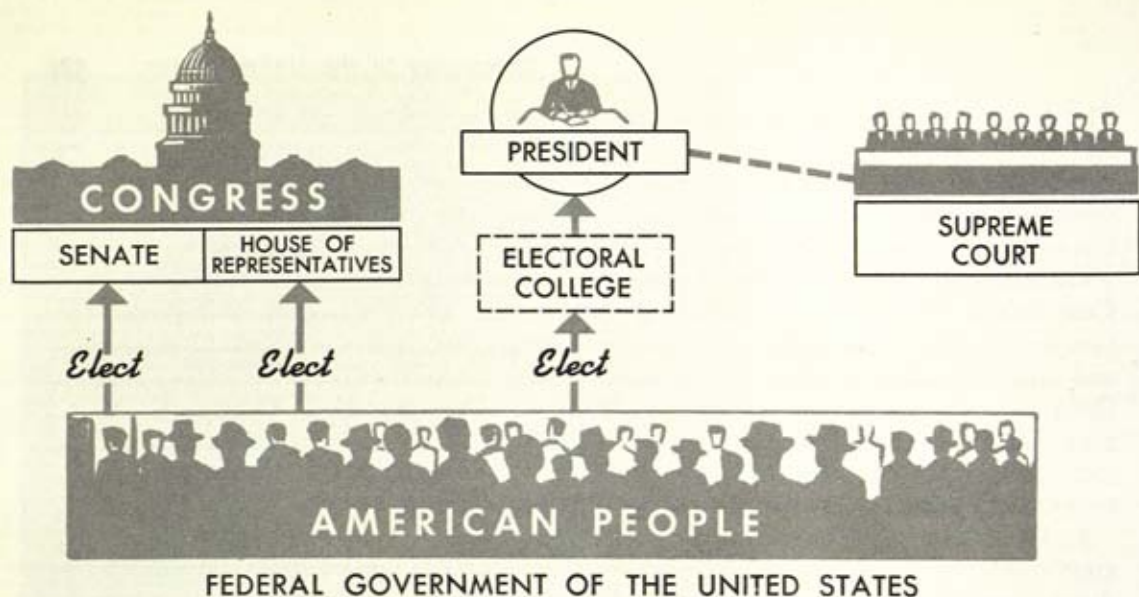
2. *The "Great Compromise."* A second important conflict arose over the problem of representation in the new Congress. Virginia and the other large states demanded that the number of representatives allotted to each state be fixed in proportion to population. The small states, led by New Jersey, insisted that each state have an equal voice.

Eventually, it was agreed to set up a Congress of two houses. In the Senate, each state, regardless of size, was to have two members. In the House of Representatives, the number of members would depend on the population of the state. This solution was hailed as the "Great Compromise." Without it, agreement on the new Constitution would have proved impossible.

3. *The separation of powers.* It still seemed to many delegates that the new federal government was powerful enough to threaten the liberties of the people. To eliminate this danger, its powers were divided among three separate and independent branches. The legislative branch, Congress, was empowered to make the laws. The executive branch, headed by the President, was given the power to enforce them. The judicial branch, under the Supreme Court, had the responsibility of interpreting them. No single branch of the government could become too strong because each was given authority to check the others.

4. *The "Bill of Rights."* Despite the limitations on the new government, there was still a good deal of opposition when the Constitution was submitted to the states for ratification or approval. Several states ratified on condition that additional safeguards be inserted. When the first Congress met, it drafted ten amendments to the Constitution. These forbade the federal government to deprive the people of their basic liberties, such as freedom of religion, speech, press, and assembly; the right of petition; and trial by jury. These amendments, known as the American "Bill of Rights," were quickly ratified by the states. They form another strong bulwark of our liberty.

The Two-Party System. One important political development which was not foreseen in the Constitution was the rise of



political parties. These developed early in President Washington's administration (1789–1797). They were the result of differing ideas about the policies of the new government.

Alexander Hamilton, Washington's secretary of the treasury, believed that the new federal government must be strong. He also believed that business must prosper if the United States were to grow great. To achieve his goals, he called on Congress to strengthen the credit and finances of the young republic and to protect its industry. Since Hamilton favored a powerful federal union, his supporters were called the Federalists. The modern Republican party has adopted many of the Federalists' basic principles.

Hamilton's views were opposed by another outstanding American, Thomas Jefferson. Jefferson also served for a time under Washington, as secretary of state. However, his views differed a great deal from those of Hamilton. Jefferson was primarily interested in the common people, especially the small farmers and craftsmen. To protect them, he believed that the Constitution should be

strictly interpreted so as to limit the powers of the new government. His followers came to be known as the Anti-Federalists or Democratic-Republicans. Today's Democratic party is an outgrowth of Jefferson's party.

For almost a generation, the Federalists and Democratic-Republicans competed with each other for control of the government. The two-party system became deeply rooted in American life and since the early nineteenth century has been a basic feature of American politics. In America, as in Great Britain, it has been an important factor in making for political stability.

MAIN TRENDS IN AMERICA'S DEVELOPMENT

Early Westward Expansion. From the outset, American statesmen realized the importance of the western territories. They therefore adopted policies designed to attract settlers. The first great step was taken even before the Constitution was adopted, when the Congress of the Confederation passed the famous Northwest Ordinance of 1787.

This law dealt with the future of the rich territory northwest of the Ohio River. The settlers here were promised a considerable measure of self-government. As soon as a district had 60,000 inhabitants, it could apply to Congress for admission into the Union as a state. The new states were to be equal in all respects to the thirteen original states. Thus the Northwest Ordinance assured all Americans of equal status and avoided the creation of resentful "colonies." The same wise procedure was later followed for other territories. It was an important factor in the rapid settlement of the west.

As thousands of settlers poured across the Appalachian Mountains, several new states came into existence. There were no roads or other satisfactory shipping facilities connecting them with the east. As a result, the inhabitants had to send their produce down the Mississippi River. At the port of New Orleans, then owned by Spain, the produce was loaded on ocean-going vessels.

Serious problems arose when the ambitious Napoleon Bonaparte took over the Louisiana Territory from Spain. New Orleans was closed to the Americans. To avoid trouble, President Jefferson (1801-1809) purchased the entire territory—for the very low price of about \$15,000,000. The Louisiana Purchase gave the United States control of the entire Mississippi River. It also doubled the country's area and opened the way for settlement as far west as the Rocky Mountains (map, p. 440).

The War of 1812 and Its Effects. It was the impending renewal of war between Great Britain and France which led Napoleon to sell Louisiana. He realized that the British would probably seize the territory anyway. Shortly afterward, when the fighting began, American interests were seriously hurt. Exporters and shippers found it impossible to obey the conflicting trade regu-

lations of the two great warring powers (see pp. 352-353). For years, the United States struggled to remain neutral. Finally, to enforce recognition of American rights, Congress declared war on Great Britain.

The War of 1812 dragged on for two years. Neither side won a decisive victory. In the end, both governments agreed to a peace treaty which restored conditions as they had existed before the war. Nevertheless, the conflict did have several important results for the United States. The American people acquired a stronger sense of national unity. New industries sprang up to produce goods formerly imported from Great Britain. To save these "infant industries" from foreign competition, Congress enacted a protective tariff. A vigorous program of internal improvements—roads, canals, and railways—strengthened the American economy and further helped to unify the country.

Advances in Democracy. Political ideas changed to keep pace with new conditions. The Democratic-Republicans, who represented mainly the interests of the small farmers and craftsmen, had won a great victory when Thomas Jefferson was elected President. Democracy was further strengthened by the growing influence of the west. The spirit of equality flourished in the new states along the frontier. They granted universal male suffrage, abolished property qualifications for holding public office, and introduced other important reforms. Gradually, these democratic reforms were also adopted by the older states.

Democratic influences made especially notable gains during the administration of Andrew Jackson (1829-1837). Jackson, the first westerner to occupy the White House, proved himself a "people's President." He refused to renew the charter of the United States Bank, which was controlled by powerful eastern banking interests. He success-

fully fought other groups which demanded special privileges. The Jacksonian Era was also a time of important social changes. Clothing and manners became simpler, humanitarian causes won widespread support, and public education spread rapidly.

Expansion to the Pacific. Throughout this period, the movement westward continued. Thousands of Americans settled in Texas, then a province of Mexico. When friction developed with the Mexican government, the Texans revolted and won their independence in 1836. A few years later, Texas was annexed to the United States. A dispute over the Texas boundary then led to a war between the United States and Mexico.

The United States won the Mexican War (1846–1848). It annexed a vast area in the southwest, including the rich territory of California (see map on p. 440). At about the same time, the United States and Great Britain arranged a peaceful settlement of their conflicting claims to the Oregon Territory in the northwest. Thus, by the middle of the nineteenth century, America's boundaries extended in an unbroken expanse from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific.

The Threat of Disunion. The acquisition of new territory brought to a head an old but troublesome question—Negro slavery. In the south, it had long been the custom to use Negro slaves on the large plantations. Many southerners defended this practice. They argued that their slaves received better treatment than did the northern factory workers. Many northerners, on the other hand, considered slavery contrary to Christian and democratic principles. One small but fanatical group, the abolitionists, angered the south by demanding that slavery should be abolished at once.

The slavery question was complicated by disputes between the north and south over the tariff and other economic issues. Basically, the interests of the southern plantation owners, who had to sell most of their cotton abroad, conflicted with those of the northern industrialists and factory workers, who demanded protective duties. Since the north was growing far more rapidly in population than the south, it would inevitably gain control of Congress and pass the laws it desired. The southerners therefore became fiery champions of "states' rights." They asserted that each state had the right to set aside federal laws of which it disapproved and even to secede or withdraw from the Union.

The War Between the States. Relations between north and south reached a breaking point over the issue of slavery in the new territories. The position taken by slaveowners was that they could take their "property" wherever they settled. Many northerners sought to restrict slavery to the states where it already existed. All attempts to achieve a compromise finally failed. In 1854, antislavery northerners formed the new Republican party, which was pledged to bar any further expansion of slavery. When northern and southern Democrats split on this question, the Republican candidate, Abraham Lincoln, was elected President in 1860. The southern states seceded and formed the Confederacy. The War Between the States began.

The deadly struggle lasted for four years (1861–1865) and cost the lives of a half-million Americans. The north had the advantage of greater manpower and industrial production. Moreover, it was able to impose an effective naval blockade, which deprived the Confederacy of essential supplies from

abroad. Eventually, the south was forced to surrender. The war decided two major issues—the Union was preserved and the slaves were freed. However, it took a full generation before the scars of defeat in the south began to heal.

An Economic Revolution. American industry was greatly stimulated by the demands of war. The country entered upon an economic revolution of tremendous scope and speed. War profits enabled enterprising businessmen to construct new railroads, to open new mines, and to build new factories. Large-scale immigration provided an abundant supply of cheap labor. Republican Congresses helped industry with high tariffs and granted large tracts of land and other generous financial assistance to railroad builders. In a single generation, 1861–1890, the United States became one of the world's greatest industrial nations, as well as a leading producer of foodstuffs and raw materials.

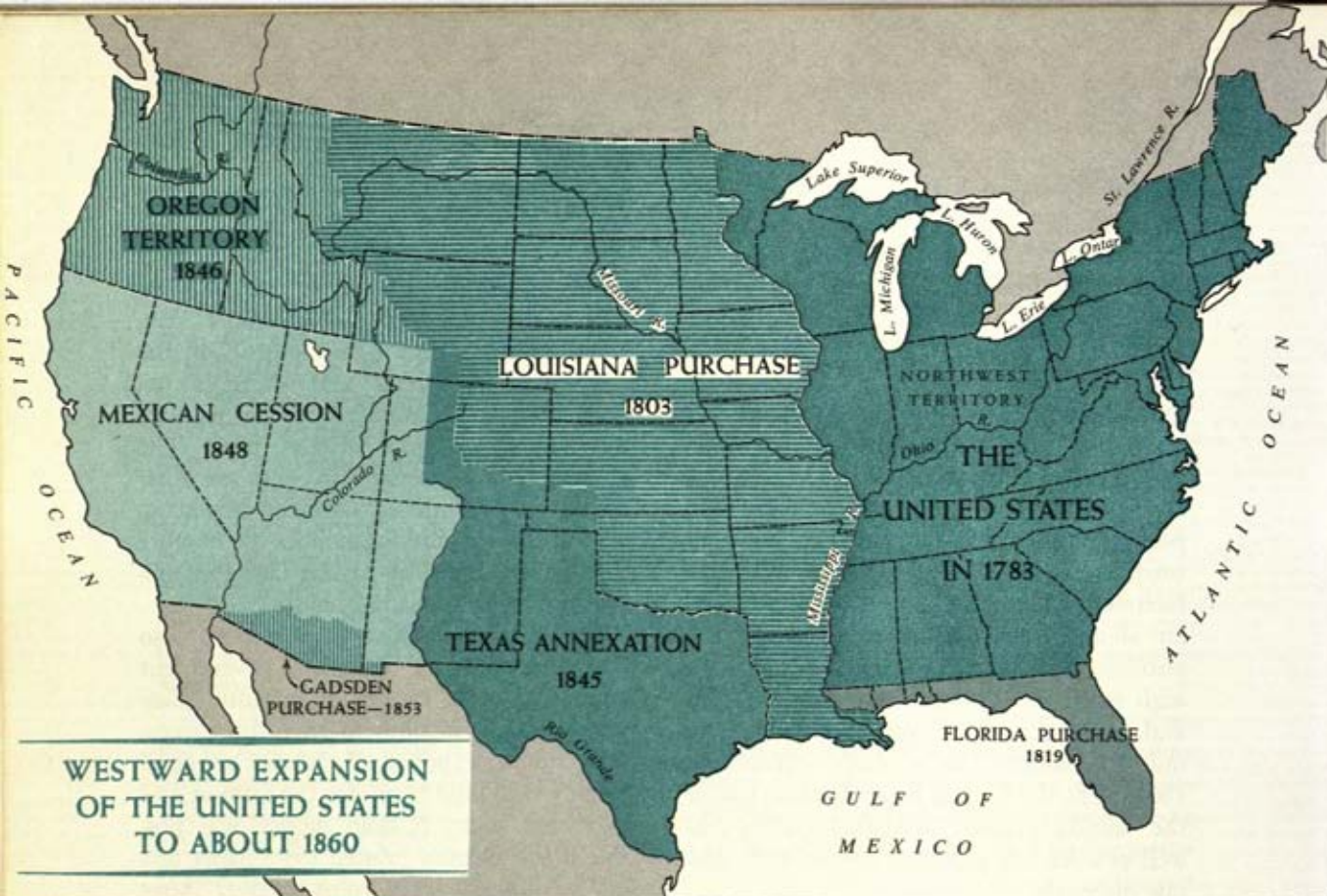
The year 1890 marked a turning point in American history. The last fertile government-owned lands in the west had been given away. The frontier no longer existed as an outlet for the dissatisfied and unemployed. In America's fast-growing cities, large numbers of poor people were crowded together in crime-infested slums. Giant "trusts" or monopolies strangled their competitors, defrauded the public, and sought to corrupt the government. Farmers, who had overexpanded production, suffered as prices fell. In short, the United States was suffering from acute "growing pains" as a result of its rapid expansion and industrialization.

New Reform Movements. To meet these grave problems, a number of reform movements sprang into existence. They found most of their support among the western

farmers and the industrial workers of the east. The farmers blamed the railroads and bankers for their sorry plight. They formed strong organizations, such as the National Grange, to combat their "oppressors." Entering politics, they won control of the legislatures in several midwestern states. Then they put through laws to regulate railroad, storage, and interest rates. The workers likewise sought to improve their conditions by forming nation-wide organizations and by entering politics. A number of states responded by passing laws to eliminate the worst industrial abuses.

The farm and labor organizations also brought pressure on the federal government to enact a wide variety of reforms. They were especially anxious to have the government adopt a policy of "cheap money," which would raise prices for the farmers and wages for labor. (Cheap money was possible if the treasury printed more paper dollars or minted silver coins freely.) After years of agitation, the reformers succeeded in securing a few of their demands. For example, Congress created a federal commission to regulate the railroads. It also passed the first federal antitrust law. The reformers' hopes soared during the presidential campaign of 1896, when the Democratic party included in its platform a large part of the reformers' program and made cheap money the main issue. However, the election was won by the conservative Republicans.

"The Progressive Era." For a few years, the American people were distracted from their internal problems by events connected with the Spanish-American War (see p. 521). Then, after the return of peace, they again turned their attention to the question of reform. A group of gifted young writers, the "muckrakers," exposed many evils of



American life. An able young Republican President, Theodore Roosevelt (1901–1909), responded by proclaiming a “Square Deal” for the common man. Though friendly toward business, President Roosevelt introduced some policies favorable to the farmers and labor. He tried to break up unfair business monopolies. He also started a large-scale program to conserve the nation’s natural resources. “The great development of industrialism,” said Roosevelt, “means that there must be an increase in the supervision by the Government over private enterprise.”

A few years later, a liberal Democratic President, Woodrow Wilson (1913–1921), announced a new reform program called the “New Freedom.” At his request, Congress

established the Federal Reserve System to supervise the nation’s banks. It passed new antitrust laws, reduced tariffs, and levied an income tax on the well-to-do. Numerous laws were also passed to help workers and farmers. So much was achieved during these early years of the twentieth century that this period is often called “the Era of Reform” or “the Progressive Era.”

President Wilson’s reform efforts were interrupted when the United States entered World War I in 1917 (see p. 551). As we shall see later, American industrial resources and manpower played a decisive role in the Allied victory. The United States emerged from the conflict with greatly heightened prestige, both as a world power and as a leader in the cause of democracy.



Checking the facts

1. Explain: Articles of Confederation; Constitutional Convention; federal system of government; Great Compromise; separation of powers; Bill of Rights; Federalist party; Democratic-Republicans; Northwest Ordinance of 1787; Louisiana Purchase; War of 1812; protective tariff; Jacksonian Era; Mexican War; states' rights; Republican party; Confederacy; War Between the States; "cheap money"; Square Deal; New Freedom; Progressive Era.
2. Identify: Washington; Hamilton; Jefferson; Jackson; abolitionists; Lincoln; Theodore Roosevelt; Wilson.
3. What were the weaknesses of the American government under the Articles of Confederation? What important problems developed as a result?
4. How was the central government strengthened under the new constitution?
5. Name the three branches of our federal government and describe the primary functions of each.
6. What are the main provisions of the American Bill of Rights?
7. How did the two-party system arise in the Washington Administration?
8. Explain and tell why each was important in American history: the Northwest Ordinance of 1787; the Louisiana Purchase; the War of 1812; Jacksonian democracy; American expansion to the Pacific.
9. What were the causes of the War Between the States? What were its important results?
10. List the problems which the United States faced as a result of its economic revolution. How did the government seek to deal with each of these problems?

Applying history

1. Why have the American states been called "laboratories of social reform"? What advantage of the federal system of government does this illustrate?
2. Compare the American system of govern-

ment with that of the British. What is the basic resemblance? In what important respects do they differ?

3. Prove or disprove: Progress in the United States has not been the monopoly of any political party.
4. An American historian has regarded the frontier as the most important single influence in the early history of the United States. Explain what is meant by the term "frontier." How did the American frontier act as a safety valve for discontented elements in the populous eastern states? How did it encourage the development of democracy in the country?

History and geography

1. Locate (map, p. 440): Northwest Territory; Mississippi River; Louisiana Territory; Texas; Mexican Cession; Oregon Territory.
2. Trace the boundaries of the United States in 1783 (map, p. 440). What new territories were acquired during the next seventy years?
3. Why did the name "Northwest Territory" seem suitable for the region north of the Ohio River in 1787 (map, p. 440)? What was the new northwest territory of the United States after 1803? After 1846?
4. Trace the Mississippi River and its important tributaries (map, p. 326). Why is it considered one of the great rivers of the world?

Special activities

1. Stage a debate on the topic: "The President and cabinet should be made responsible to Congress."
2. Bring in a stamp collection and show the class how the different stamps commemorate important events in the history of the United States.
3. Visit the headquarters of one of the political parties in your community. Find out what the party stands for and what services it performs for your community and the government.

50 / THE SPREAD OF DEMOCRACY



Critics sometimes claim that democracy is a luxury which only rich and powerful nations can afford. Nothing could be further from the truth. For the list of successful democracies includes a number of smaller countries, some of which have only meager natural resources. Especially notable are six small nations of western Europe, with a total area only about one-tenth that of the United States and a combined population smaller than that of France. Despite their limited size and resources, all have provided their people with liberty and a relatively high standard of living. Each in its own way can serve as a good example of democratic achievement.

THE SMALLER DEMOCRATIC COUNTRIES OF EUROPE

The Swiss Confederation. The oldest republic in the world today is the mountainous little country of Switzerland. It came into existence in 1291, when the inhabitants of three tiny states of southwest Germany formed an alliance and ousted their Habsburg ruler. During the succeeding centuries, the Swiss had to fight frequently to preserve their independence. Their successes led many neighboring districts to join them, so that the country now consists of twenty-two cantons or states. The people speak different languages—German, French, or Italian—and

belong to various different churches. Nevertheless, all regard themselves as Swiss in nationality and find it possible to live together in harmony.

Originally, the cantons were tiny, semi-independent states, allied mainly for defensive purposes. The citizens governed themselves directly, as in ancient Greece (see p. 72). Then, in the large cantons, it became necessary to elect representative assemblies. These gradually came under the control of small upper-class groups. In the early nineteenth century, Swiss reformers were inspired by liberal successes in other countries to demand a stronger central government and a wider popular control. They triumphed after a brief civil war in 1848.

The new constitution adopted at that time remains the basis for the government of Switzerland today. It was similar in several respects to that of the United States. It set up a federal system; provided for a two-house legislature, representing the people as well as the states; and designated the president as head of the government. On the other hand, there were some important differences. The Swiss cantons retained more power than the American states. Moreover, the president had very little authority. The real executive was a seven-member council, elected by the legislature.

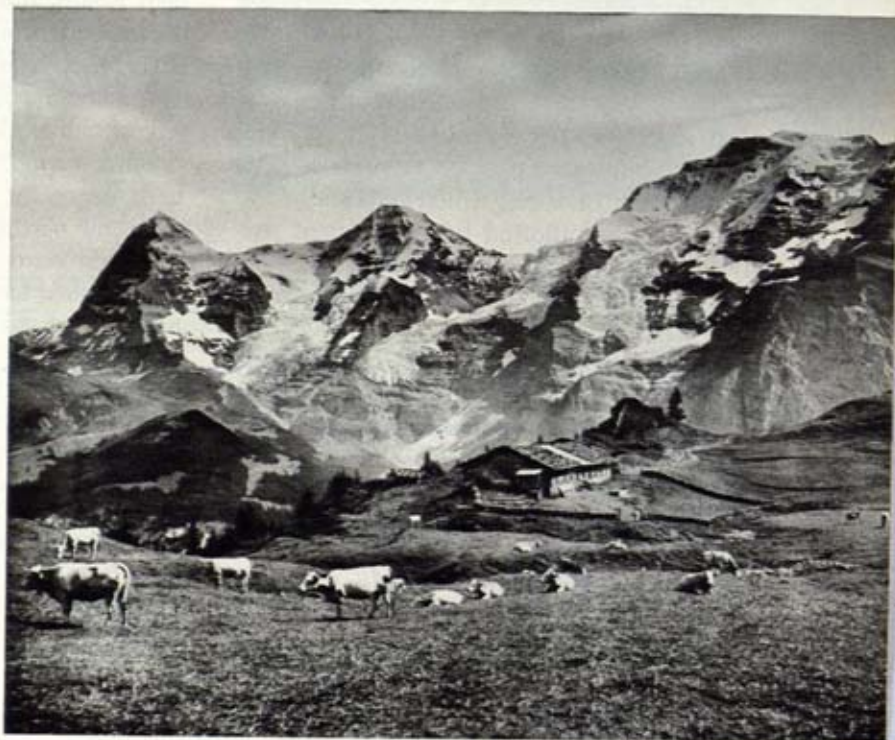
In order to exercise effective control over their representatives, the Swiss developed

two new features of modern democracy—the initiative and the referendum. By the initiative, a small group of citizens may sign a petition asking for a new law. The legislature, even though it is against the proposal, is required to submit it to the people. If approved by a majority of the voters, it automatically becomes law. The referendum works in very much the same way. A group of citizens may dislike a bill already passed by the legislature. By signing a petition, they may compel that body to submit it to the voters for approval. If a majority vote against it, the measure does not go into effect. As a result of these two devices, the Swiss say that “the people exercise the law-making power with the assistance of the legislature.” Both the initiative and the referendum have been adopted by other democratic countries and by many of the American states.

Switzerland has another great distinction. Since the sixteenth century, it has been engaged in only one brief foreign war—with France, in 1798. It was neutralized—that is, its neighbors agreed not to attack it—by the Congress of Vienna in 1815. The mountainous terrain and an alert citizen army are additional guarantees of peace. Numerous international organizations, attracted by the atmosphere of security and the central location, have made their headquarters in Switzerland or have held their conferences there.

Economically, Switzerland has very few natural advantages. Only one-eighth of the land is suitable for farming and there are no important mineral resources. Yet the Swiss have triumphed over nature's handicaps. By using the steep mountainsides as pasture for their cows and goats, they obtain milk for the popular Swiss cheeses. Their superb Alpine scenery and comfortable ho-

This picture illustrates Switzerland's matchless Alpine scenery and suggests some of the ways in which the little country's people utilize their limited natural resources.



tels attract large numbers of tourists. Their skilled craftsmen produce a variety of fine machinery, especially clocks and watches. In recent years, they have built many hydroelectric plants to supply power for new industries. In general, the Swiss live by their skill, importing raw materials and paying with high-quality manufactures.

The Kingdom of the Netherlands. The Netherlands—or Holland, as it is popularly known—won its independence from Spain at the close of the sixteenth century (see p. 270). Soon after, it became a monarchy. A member of the house of Orange occupied the throne. The government was quite conservative in nature, and the Dutch parliament was controlled by the wealthy merchants. Democracy began to develop only in the nineteenth century. A new constitution was adopted in 1814 and then revised along more liberal lines in 1848. Twenty years later, the ministry was made responsible to the lower house. The high property qualifications for voting were also gradually reduced. In the early twentieth century, universal suffrage was granted to all citizens.

An interesting feature of the Dutch constitution is proportional representation. This is a method of voting whereby seats in the parliament are allotted to the different parties in direct proportion to the votes they receive in elections. Proportional representation has also been tried in other countries. But there is considerable disagreement about its desirability. Its supporters point out that a legislature chosen in this fashion accurately reflects the views of the different groups in the population. Its critics emphasize the fact that it tends to increase the number of parties and thereby gives rise to political instability. In Holland, however, proportional representation has not resulted in unusually frequent changes in government.



Scenes from the Low Countries include an orderly Dutch potato farm (above), a view of the industrial city of Liège, Belgium (right), and a cargo of steel rods on an Antwerp dock (far right). Belgium and Holland are among Europe's most densely populated countries.

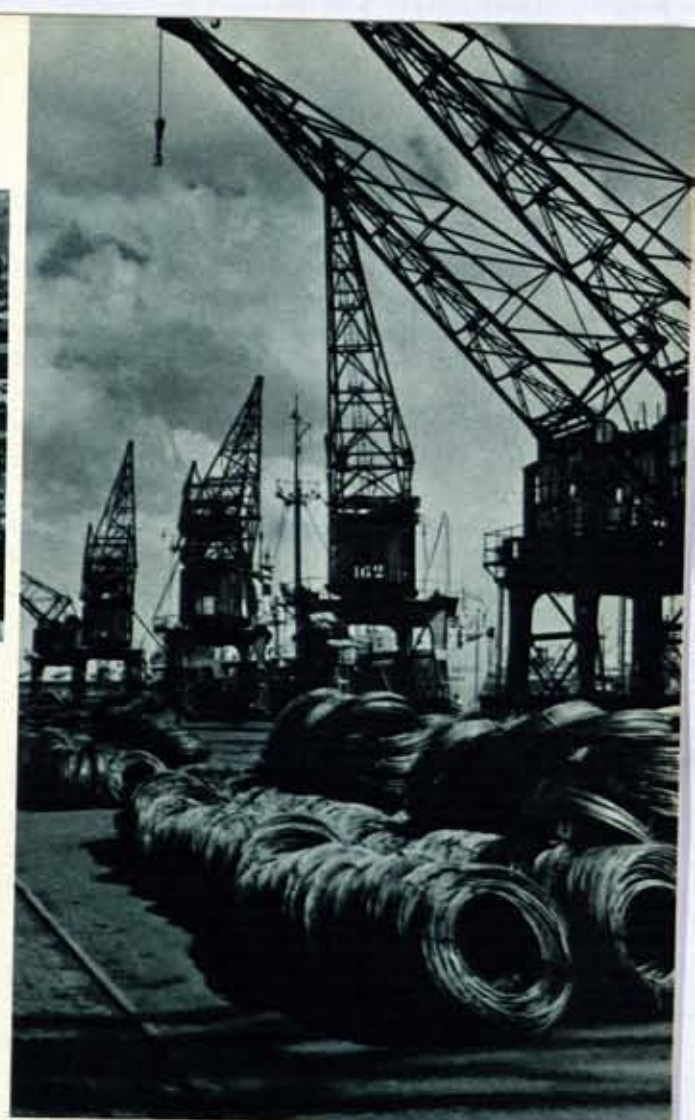
Over the centuries, the Dutch people have doubled the area of their country by pushing back the sea with dikes. The reclaimed land is very fertile. Dutch farmers graze fine dairy herds or grow flowers and vegetables which are world famous for their quality. The Dutch are also noted as fishermen, sailors, and merchants. Because of their strategic location at the mouth of the Rhine River, they have long carried on a thriving commerce between central Europe and the rest of the world. Moreover, they have developed many industries which require a high degree of skill—notably shipbuilding, diamond cutting, and the manufacture of porcelain ware. Like the Swiss, the Dutch have worked hard to make the most of their meager natural resources. They have also benefited from a large colonial empire, which until about a dozen years ago included in the rich East Indies.

The Kingdom of Belgium. On gaining its independence from the Netherlands in 1831 (see p. 360), Belgium adopted a constitution modeled after the British system of government. This provided for a limited monarchy, a legislature of two houses, and a responsible ministry. Voting was restricted



to a small percentage of the citizens, who owned considerable property. As in Great Britain, democratic reforms were introduced gradually. Property qualifications for voting were lowered in 1848 and then completely removed in 1894. However, to safeguard the interests of the upper classes, a system of plural voting was introduced. Citizens who met certain property and educational qualifications were permitted to cast as many as three votes. This was a violation of a fundamental democratic concept, "One man, one vote," and aroused considerable popular resentment. Years later, in 1919, this undemocratic feature was eliminated from the constitution.

Like Switzerland, Belgium was guaranteed neutrality by the great powers (in 1839). However, it is far more exposed to attack because it is part of a flat coastal plain which offers the best invasion route between Germany and France. Twice within a generation—in 1914 and again in 1940—the Germans invaded the country in violation of their treaty obligations. On both occasions, the Belgians suffered heavy war damages and were treated harshly by the German occupation authorities. But they



made a remarkably fast recovery after the return of peace. On both occasions, too, Belgian democracy withstood with amazing success the severe trials of war.

Belgium has also faced difficult economic problems. It is the most densely populated country in Europe. Nevertheless, its people have managed to build a sound economy. Aided by strong and active co-operatives, the farmers have prospered. They produce a considerable part of the foodstuffs consumed by the country. However, a much greater number of persons earn their livelihood from

industry and commerce, for Belgium, with its rich coal and iron deposits and early start during the Industrial Revolution, is one of the important manufacturing and exporting countries of Europe. Belgium's economy has also been strengthened by its control of a rich African colony, the Belgian Congo. The Congo provides rubber, cotton, diamonds, gold, uranium, and many other valuable raw materials.

The Kingdom of Denmark. Three other small but important democracies are the Scandinavian countries—Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. Denmark, the smallest in size, advanced quite slowly in political affairs. Its parliament was established only in 1849, and the king continued to exercise considerable power until the beginning of the twentieth century. Thereafter, however, it made rapid progress toward democracy. The ministry was made responsible to the lower house in 1901, the suffrage was granted to all men and women in 1914, and proportional representation was adopted in 1915. Advanced social legislation and an excellent public health program were also introduced.

In the late nineteenth century, Denmark's farmers were threatened with ruin by the competition of cheap Russian and American grain. However, the Danes showed considerable ingenuity in dealing with their difficult economic problems. They reorganized their agriculture, concentrating on the production of dairy products, pork, and poultry. They formed strong co-operatives which introduced scientific farming methods, set up high standards of quality, and found good markets abroad for their produce. They also created a progressive system of schools, which combined academic education with vocational and technical instruction. Even today, although fishing and industry are of

some importance to the economy, most of the population earn their living from agriculture.

The Kingdom of Sweden. At the end of the Napoleonic Wars, Sweden was a relatively backward, agricultural country. Most of the population were poverty-stricken peasants, who worked on estates owned by the aristocratic landlords. However, the country possessed rich deposits of iron ore. Industrialization gradually got under way in the late nineteenth century. Lacking adequate coal supplies, the Swedes built hydroelectric plants. These provided cheap power for electric furnaces, in which high-grade steel was produced. Many new industries also arose as cheap power became available. Like other peoples of western Europe, the Swedes were soon famous for a wide variety of manufactured products.

The Swedish government was slow to reflect these changes. Until fairly recent times, the king wielded great power. The parliament was controlled by the wealthy classes. Shortly before the First World War, however, important concessions were made to the common people. Universal male suffrage, a responsible ministry, and proportional representation were introduced. A few years later, in 1919, women also received the vote.

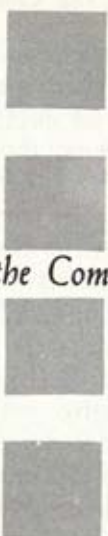
In the early twentieth century, Swedish unions and co-operatives grew very rapidly. They provided the basis for a strong Socialist movement. The Socialists won control of the government and held office for many years. They established systems of public housing and public medical care which even today rank among the best in the world. It became a Swedish boast that their combination of private business, co-operatives, and government enterprise was a "Middle

Way" which possessed the best features of both capitalism and socialism.

The Kingdom of Norway. Norway is less industrialized than its neighbor and differs from it in other ways. It is a cold, mountainous, sparsely populated country, with a long coastline and many deep fiords or inlets. For centuries, the people have combined fishing and shipping with farming and forestry. Their self-reliant way of life seems to have encouraged the early development of progressive ideas. The Norwegian constitution, adopted in 1814, was a very advanced one for its time.

Following the Napoleonic Wars, Norway was united with Sweden under a single king (see p. 357). Except for foreign policy and military defense, both kingdoms were allowed to manage their own affairs. Nevertheless, this arrangement was unpopular with the Norwegians—largely because they believed the king was favoring the interests of his Swedish subjects. In 1905, they finally broke away from Sweden and chose their own king. Sweden accepted this decision after a plebiscite showed that the Norwegians were almost unanimous in favor of independence.

In the years following separation, Norway adopted new democratic reforms. Universal male suffrage had been granted earlier, in 1898. Now, in 1906, direct election of members of parliament was introduced and in 1913 the veto power of the king was abolished. That same year, Norway became the first European country to grant women full political rights. With a limited monarchy, a cabinet responsible to parliament, universal male and female suffrage, and proportional representation, Norwegian citizens possessed one of the most democratic governments in the world.



The Rise of the Common People

An Evaluation of Democracy

Different Kinds of Democracies. As we have seen, democratic governments may be established in many different ways. The United States had the advantage of a fresh start under conditions which fostered the democratic spirit. One democratic idea after another arose, received a trial in one of the newer states along the frontier, and then was adopted in other parts of the country. Great Britain proceeded more slowly and more cautiously. By introducing reforms in piecemeal fashion, that is, one step at a time, it changed from an aristocracy to a democracy in the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. France, on the other hand, rushed into democracy, then reacted sharply when it seemed to lead to extremes. Eventually, after numerous revolutions and short-lived political experiments, a "middle-of-the-road" democratic government was established in that country.

Democratic governments may also differ in form, some being republics and others

monarchies. It seems more natural for democracy to flourish in a republic, where the head of state is an elected official, than in a monarchy, where there is a hereditary ruler. Nevertheless, there are monarchies where democracy has taken deep root. Great Britain, Belgium, the Netherlands, and the nations of Scandinavia are examples. In these countries, the king's authority has been so severely limited that he has become virtually a figurehead. Real power is wielded by an elected executive, just as is the case in a republic.

Differences in Operation. There is also a considerable difference in the way democratic governments operate. Under the parliamentary system, the voters choose the legislators and they, in turn, choose and control the executive. As it operates in Great Britain, the parliamentary system provides effective leadership for the legislature and is very responsive to public opinion. But it has not always worked so well in other countries as in Great Britain itself. In France, for example, the parliamentary system has proved very unstable, mainly because of the large number of conflicting political parties.

The government of the United States is based on a different principle, the separation of powers. Here the executive, legislature, and judiciary share power and act as a check on one another. Only a few countries have followed American practice in this respect. More widely imitated is the American federal system, with its division of authority between the national government and the state governments. Most democratic nations have also followed another American practice in adopting a written constitution with a Bill of Rights.

The democratic countries vary not only in form and methods but also in the conditions under which their democracy thrives. Their natural resources may be rich or poor. Their economic life may be based mainly on agriculture, industry, or commerce. Their prevailing viewpoint may be liberal or conservative. Nevertheless, the achievements of each offer convincing evidence of the advantages which a country can enjoy when it is governed in accordance with the will of the people.

Advantages of Democracy. Regardless of the minor differences, all democratic gov-

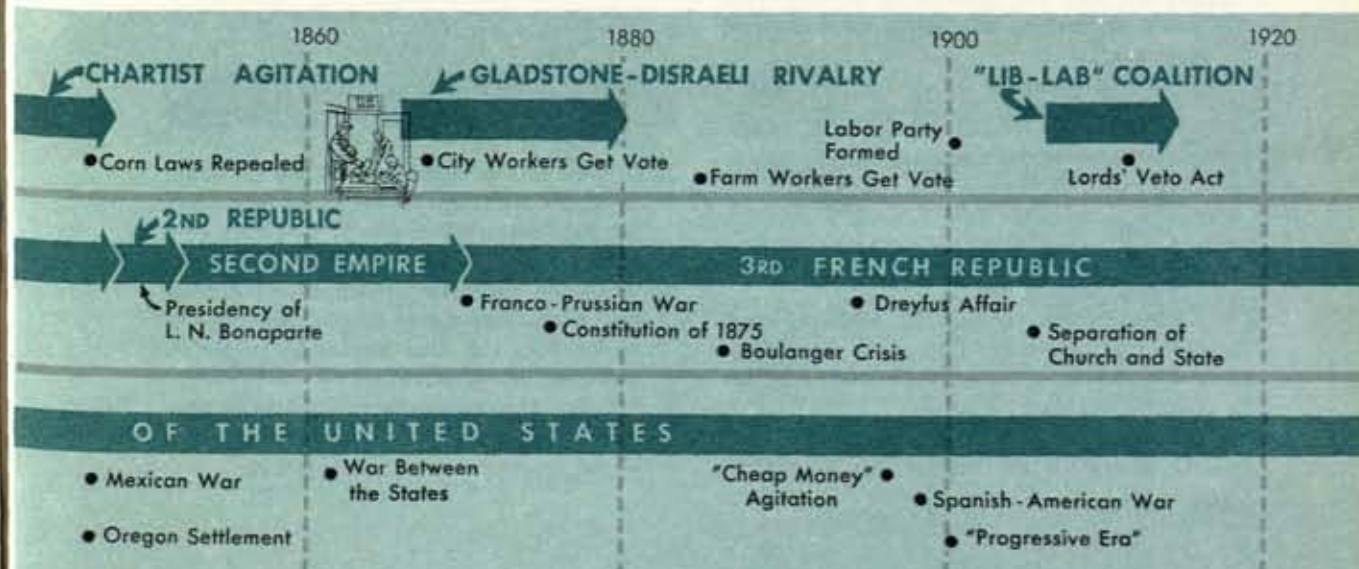
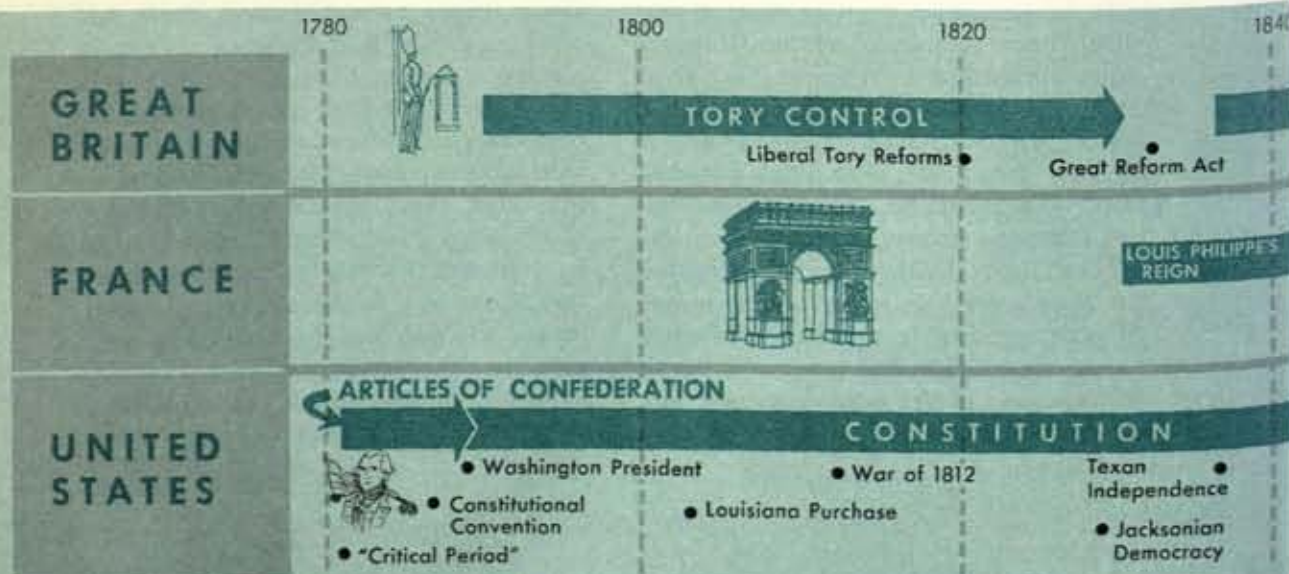
ernments share the same basic attitudes: they all have deep faith in human beings and respect for their rights as individuals. Their citizens are granted equal rights by the law and freedom to express their views. The result is a "free marketplace of ideas," in which different proposals are debated and their merits or shortcomings are revealed. In this way, democracy encourages the rise of new ideas and the adoption of those which can best stand the test of reason.

Other important advantages arise from democracy. When the government in power fails to solve existing problems, the people can peacefully elect new leaders. If the majority party makes a mistake, the opposition may usually be relied upon to expose it. Above all, when representatives from all parts of a nation meet in the legislature, they learn to work out compromises which will win the approval of as many people as possible. Thus the government enjoys the support of the people, and all groups may work together to promote the welfare of the nation as a whole.

The Challenge of Democracy. Since the people are the real rulers in a democracy,

they must bear the final responsibility for its success or failure. Unfortunately, there are many citizens who do not take the trouble to vote regularly. Others cast their ballots without an adequate knowledge of the issues and candidates or place their narrow personal interests before the welfare of the community as a whole. As a result of public indifference and selfishness, even the foremost democracies have suffered at times from inefficient or dishonest government.

While recognizing these problems, we should keep in mind the fact that democracy, as we know it, is still relatively new. Despite the imperfections stressed by Communists and other enemies, it has gained greater and greater popular support. A century ago, only the United States and Switzerland had democratic governments. Since then, although meeting with occasional setbacks, democratic principles have won acceptance in most Western countries. They have also made headway recently in some of the countries of Asia and Africa. If progress along these lines continues, historians of the future may well call the twentieth century "the Age of the Common Man."





50 / Lesson Review

Checking the facts

1. Explain: cantons; initiative; referendum; proportional representation; plural voting; "Middle Way."
2. List and explain the outstanding democratic features of each of the six nations discussed in this section.
3. Why were the Norwegians dissatisfied with their union with Sweden? How and when did they achieve independence?
4. Explain how democratic governments may differ in form; in methods of operation.

Applying history

1. Why are the initiative and referendum sometimes called "examples of *direct* democracy"?
2. Democracy has been called a system of government under which decisions are made "by ballots instead of bullets." Explain. How does such a description show the advantages of a democracy over an absolute monarchy or a dictatorship?
3. Explain why the citizens of a democracy would approve or disapprove each of these statements:
 - a. "I disapprove of what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it."
 - b. An alert and well-informed citizenry is the soundest guarantee of good government.
 - c. Perfect democracy is an ideal which can never be attained.
4. Compare democracy in the modern world with that of ancient Greece. Is representative government an effective substitute for direct democracy? Explain.
5. A famous English philosopher once said, "Democracy is the best system of govern-

ment, but the hardest to operate successfully." Do you agree with this statement? Explain.

History and geography

1. Locate (map, p. 674): Switzerland; Netherlands (Holland); Belgium; Denmark; Sweden; Norway.
2. Explain why Switzerland has been more successful than Belgium in preserving neutrality (map, pp. 170-171).
3. Explain how geographic factors have made the Netherlands a natural trading center for central Europe (map, pp. 170-171).

Special activities

1. Prepare a class exhibit on "Life in the Smaller Democracies."
2. Interview a person who has lived in one of the smaller democracies. Ask him to describe the country and the unusual features of its government and way of life.
3. Arrange a round-table discussion in which a "delegate" from each of the smaller democracies describes his nation's achievements.

Summarizing Unit 10

1. In your history notebook, outline the main developments in the major democracies during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.
2. What are the main advantages of democracy over other forms of government? On whom does the final responsibility for its successful operation rest?
3. Debate: The responsibility of a democratic government is to promote the greatest good of the greatest number of its citizens.

4. Interview several adults about their voting practices. Find out whether they consider voting important, whether they vote regularly, and how they decide for whom they should vote.
5. Set up committees to study problems that exist in your community. Each committee should study one problem, find out what has been done so far, and suggest ways of solving it by democratic methods.

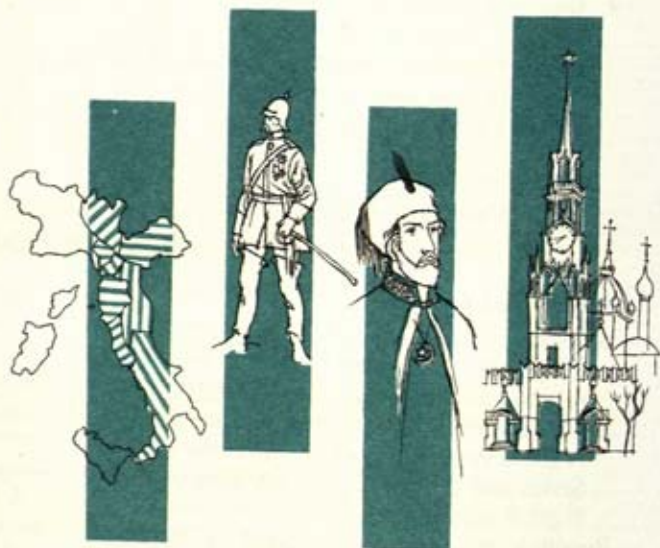
Books to Read

Specialized Accounts

- BARNOUW, ADRIAAN J. *The Land of William of Orange*. Lippincott, 1944. A brief and easy-to-read history of the Netherlands.
- BENÉT, STEPHEN V. *America*. Rinehart, 1944. A gifted American poet interprets the United States and the qualities which have made it a great nation.
- BRADON, LILLIAN J. *The Land of William Tell*. Lippincott, 1953. An elementary history of Switzerland.
- BRYANT, ARTHUR. *The Pageant of England (1840-1940)*. Harper, 1941. A brief summary of major developments during a century of great change.
- *KETCHUM, RICHARD M. (ed.). *What Is Democracy?* Dutton, 1955. A highly recommended brief discussion. The book stresses democracy's ideals and achievements and their importance for the individual.
- MIDDLETON, DREW. *These Are the British*. Knopf, 1958. An American journalist gives his impressions of the British people and their nation's evolution.
- NEVINS, A. and H. C. COMMAGER. *America: The Story of a Free People*. Oxford, 1954. A brilliant introductory treatment.
- PECK, A. M. and E. A. MERAS. *France: Crossroads of Europe*. Harper, 1936. A simple history of French government and culture.
- SHIRER, WILLIAM L. *The Challenge of Scandinavia*. Little, Brown, 1955. A well-written survey of economic and social developments, interspersed with personal anecdotes.
- Houghton Mifflin, 1929. A well-written account of the rivalry between two great leaders in the early years of the American nation.
- DAUGHERTY, JAMES H. *Abraham Lincoln*. Viking, 1943. Highly recommended as a brief, simple biography.
- GUERARD, ALBERT. *Napoleon III*. Knopf, 1955. A fascinating biography of a complex man.
- HALASZ, NICHOLAS. *Captain Dreyfus: The Story of a Mass Hysteria*. Simon & Schuster, 1955. An excellent account of the Dreyfus case and its implications. Recommended for the mature student.
- LAIRD, DOROTHY. *How the Queen Reigns*. World, 1959. Portrays the British queen as a personality and describes her official duties.
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UNIT 11

THE TRIUMPH OF MODERN NATIONALISM

Nationalism may be defined as the strong feeling of loyalty and affection which most modern peoples have for their country. It usually exists where the inhabitants of a region speak the same language, worship in the same church, and have common customs and traditions. Nationalism is very much like patriotism. Both stand for love of homeland. But nationalism is a stronger emotion. The nationalist feels that his nation is different from other nations and is far superior to them. If a conflict arises, his attitude is, "My nation against the world."

Though its roots go back centuries earlier in England and other countries, nationalism did not become a really powerful force in Europe until the French Revolution. As the old class privileges and provincial differences were swept away, the French people acquired a much stronger sense of kinship and unity. The Germans, Italians, and other neighboring peoples felt a similar nationalist stirring as they fought for freedom—first against Napoleon Bonaparte and then against the rulers imposed on them by the Congress of Vienna. Soon afterward, the Industrial Revolution strengthened nationalism by bringing people in distant parts of a country closer together through improvements in transportation and communication.

During the course of the nineteenth century, nationalism also swept over eastern Europe and over other portions of the globe. In its wake came many revolutions and wars, as peoples strove to free themselves from foreign rule and to form nations of their own. Because of the many disturbances which it has caused, nationalism has been called "the most explosive force" in the modern world.

In this unit, we shall study various aspects of nationalism in modern Europe, particularly between the Revolutions of 1848 and the outbreak of the First World War. The guiding questions are:

1. How did nationalism bring about the unification of Italy and of Germany?
2. How did nationalism affect the later development of both these nations?
3. How did nationalism lead to the breakup of the Austrian and Ottoman empires?
4. How did the Russian czars seek to make use of nationalism to preserve their despotic power?

51 / NATIONALISM IN ITALY



The story of Italy in the nineteenth century is a striking example of the spirit of modern nationalism. While unified nations were forming in other parts of Europe (see pp. 228–241), the Italian peninsula remained divided into numerous small states. It was dominated at various times by Spain, France, and Austria. Weak and disunited, the Italian people played only a very minor role in European affairs until after the middle of the nineteenth century. Then, spurred on by nationalism, they threw off the Austrian yoke and finally succeeded in uniting their country. Though the new Italian nation was troubled by many problems, it quickly took its place among the great powers of Europe.

THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY

The Rise of Italian Nationalism. The basic conditions necessary for the rise of nationalism had long existed in Italy. The Italian peninsula was a well-defined geographical unit. It was set off from the rest of Europe by the Alps and the Mediterranean Sea. Despite minor local differences, its people spoke one language and had similar customs. Almost all were Roman Catholic in religion. They shared a common cultural heritage which stemmed from the ancient Roman Empire.

Nevertheless, the Italian people did not have a strong sense of unity until the arrival

of Napoleon Bonaparte. After Bonaparte defeated and ousted the Austrians (see p. 347), he introduced the reforms of the French Revolution. Later, he even established a Kingdom of Italy. Many Italians hailed him as their liberator and were proud of his Italian ancestry. But their feeling changed when he imposed heavy taxes and drafted their sons for his endless wars. They turned against him and sought to rid their country of French rule.

After Napoleon's downfall, the Congress of Vienna treated Italy as a mere "geographical expression." The pope regained control of the Papal States. The kings of Sardinia and the Two Sicilies recovered their thrones. Tuscany and the small duchies in northern and central Italy were revived. Austria annexed Lombardy and Venetia and was able to dominate the entire peninsula. To destroy all liberal and nationalist ideas, Prince Metternich, the Austrian foreign minister, planted spies throughout the country and adopted a brutal policy of repression.

The results were very different from what Metternich expected. His policies aroused fierce hatred of Austrian rule and strengthened the Italians' desire for independence. Secret societies, such as the *Carbonari*, sprang into existence. They gained support among all classes of the people. Three times in a generation—in 1820, 1830, and 1848—the Italians revolted against their oppres-

sors. Three times they were crushed. However, their fourth attempt was to meet with complete success.

Mazzini and "Young Italy." Three great patriots played leading roles in Italy's *Risorgimento* or "resurrection." The first was Mazzini, "the soul of Italian unification." To create a democratic Italian republic was the dream of this lofty idealist. Mazzini organized a secret society called "Young Italy." Like their leader, the members were determined young patriots who were prepared to sacrifice their lives for their homeland. "Ideas grow quickly," Mazzini told them, "when watered with the blood of martyrs."

Mazzini secretly published newspapers and books. He organized branches of his society throughout Italy and helped form similar societies in other lands. Whenever circumstances seemed favorable, he started a rebellion. The nearest he came to success was in 1848, when he set up a republic in Rome. However, the pope was restored by French troops after a few months. Although Mazzini failed to achieve his goal, his efforts were not in vain. He stirred up the Italian people and strengthened their desire for a united Italy.

Cavour and the Defeat of Austria. More successful than Mazzini was a wealthy Sardinian aristocrat, Count Cavour. Cavour has been called "the brains of Italian unification." He first rose to prominence during the Revolution of 1848. The editor of an important newspaper, he persuaded the king of Sardinia to take the lead in the fight to rid Italy of Austrian control. Sardinia's military defeat by the Austrians (see p. 363) only strengthened his determination to achieve Italian unity.

Becoming premier of Sardinia in 1852, Cavour carried out a program of reforms

which made that state a model for the entire peninsula. He also reorganized and enlarged the army. However, the Sardinian Premier realized that "Italy could not make itself." He therefore looked about for a strong ally to help drive out the Austrians.

After years of patient effort, Cavour obtained a secret promise of support from the ambitious French Emperor, Napoleon III. Then, in 1859, he provoked Austria into declaring war against Sardinia. All went according to plan at the outset. The allies defeated the Austrians in two bloody battles. Complete victory seemed within their grasp. But Napoleon, fearing that Prussia might join Austria and that the war would spread, suddenly made peace with Austria. Sardinia was allowed to annex only one new territory, Lombardy.

For the moment, Cavour was stunned. Then his hopes rose anew when a series of revolts broke out in northern and central Italy. In state after state—Tuscany, Modena, Parma, and the Papal Marches—the patriots demanded union with Sardinia. Napoleon III, though reluctant to violate the treaty with Austria, finally withdrew his objections. In return for two little frontier territories, Savoy and Nice, he agreed to Cavour's request to annex Tuscany and the neighboring duchies. Most of northern and central Italy was now united under Sardinian rule (map, p. 457).

Garibaldi and the Conquest of Southern Italy. The next step was taken by Garibaldi, "the sword of Italian unification." Garibaldi was a member of Young Italy and a seasoned fighter for liberty. Because of his revolutionary activities, he was forced to flee his homeland. He returned from exile to aid Sardinia in the war of 1859 against Austria. At the close of the war, he enlisted Cavour's support for a very daring

project. With only a tiny force of volunteers, the "Thousand Red-Shirts," he sailed from the north Italian port of Genoa to conquer the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies.

Landing in Sicily, he was greeted with enthusiasm by bands of revolutionaries. The Sicilian soldiers, who had little love for their despotic ruler, fought only half-heartedly. Many even joined the invader. Within three months, Garibaldi was master of the island. Then he crossed over to the mainland, where he was welcomed by cheering crowds. The king of the Two Sicilies found himself deserted by most of his troops. He surrendered Naples, his capital, with hardly a fight. In conquering Italy's largest kingdom with only a handful of men, Garibaldi had achieved the seemingly impossible.

Completion of National Unity. Garibaldi's success created new problems for Cavour. He feared that the popular hero might set up an independent republic in southern Italy. He also feared that Garibaldi would attempt to seize Rome, the capital of the Papal States. This might mean war with Napoleon III, who for many years had maintained a garrison there to protect the pope. Cavour acted swiftly to prevent trouble. He sent the Sardinian King, Victor Emmanuel II, with an army to occupy the Papal States. Victor Emmanuel carefully avoided Rome and then continued south to join Garibaldi. The latter agreed to turn over the Two Sicilies. Soon afterwards, in March, 1861, Victor Emmanuel was crowned ruler of the new Kingdom of Italy. Cavour, worn out by his labors in behalf of his country, died a few months later.

The unity of the Italian kingdom was still not complete. The Austrians retained Venetia and the pope continued to rule Rome and the district around it. Italy acquired Venetia by joining Prussia in a

successful war against Austria. (For the Austro-Prussian War of 1866, see p. 463.) Only a few years later, during the Franco-Prussian War, Napoleon III had to withdraw his garrison from Rome. Italian troops then forced their way into the "Eternal City." By 1870, Italy was finally unified.

DEVELOPMENTS IN ITALY AFTER UNIFICATION

Government of the Kingdom of Italy. With only minor changes, the liberal Sardinian constitution of 1848 became the constitution for the new Kingdom of Italy. It provided for a parliament of two houses. The members of the upper house, the Senate, were appointed by the king for life. The members of the lower house, the Chamber of Deputies, were elected by the large taxpayers. The premier and his ministers were chosen from among the leaders of the lower house and were responsible to that body. The king of Italy exercised many powers in theory. However, like the English monarch, he was essentially a figurehead.

The Italian government was modeled after that of England. However, a large number of political parties soon appeared. The premier had to rely on a bloc composed of several different parties. If any of them withdrew its support, he lost his majority and had to resign. As in France's Third Republic, the government generally proved weak and unstable.

The weakness of the government was also a result of other factors. For centuries, the Italian people had been disunited and under the rule of foreigners. The vast majority had no experience in governing themselves. Even after the country had been unified, provincial loyalties and sectional rivalries did not disappear. People continued to think of

themselves as Sardinians or Venetians or Sicilians, instead of as Italians. The people of the advanced and prosperous north looked with contempt on the people of the south, most of whom were ignorant and backward peasants. The latter, naturally enough, resented the northerners' attitude. To solve all of these problems was bound to take a long time.

Trouble with the Pope. Another factor making for trouble was the "Roman Question." The seizure of Rome by the Italian government gave rise to a bitter conflict between church and state. Although the Italian parliament passed a law to compensate the pope for his losses, he considered it unsatisfactory. As a dramatic protest, the

pope declared himself a "prisoner in the Vatican" (the papal palace in Rome) and refused to leave its grounds. He called on Italian Catholics not to vote or take part in Italian politics. He also appealed to the Catholic powers of Europe to restore his rule over Rome. The dispute dragged on for years. It was not finally settled until more than a half-century later.

Economic and Social Problems. The new nation also had many serious economic problems. The Apennine Mountains, which form the backbone of the peninsula, were a hindrance to trade and travel. Industry was handicapped by the lack of coal, iron, and other basic raw materials. There was also a shortage of good farmland. In large parts

-  Kingdom of Sardinia before 1859
-  Acquired in 1859
-  Acquired in 1860
-  Acquired in 1866
-  Acquired in 1870

UNIFICATION OF ITALY



of the country, the fertile topsoil had been washed down from the hillsides or had been exhausted by primitive farming methods.

The poverty of the country was reflected in the misery of the common people. Except in the north, most of them were landless laborers or tenant farmers who worked on vast estates owned by a few wealthy landowners. Malnutrition and disease were widespread. Few of the people could read or write. Centuries of bad government had made them resentful or hostile to authority. Bands of criminals terrorized the countryside.

The government itself was faced with financial difficulties. The wars of unification had burdened the country with debts. Large sums were necessary to pay for internal improvements, and there were other expenses. The Italians were the most heavily taxed people in Europe in the late nineteenth century. To escape from this taxation and from other bad conditions, hundreds of thousands of young Italians emigrated each year to the New World.

Some Domestic Progress. Despite these many problems, Italy did have some valuable assets. The northern part of the country was a prosperous and progressive area. It contained the fertile Po River valley and some important industrial centers. Another asset was the tourist trade. Thousands of foreign visitors were attracted to Italy each year by the mild climate, the historic cities, or the desire to see the pope. Finally, Italy's geographical position made it the natural center for Mediterranean commerce. This revived considerably after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, which made available a shorter sea route between Europe and the East.

These assets provided a basis for considerable progress in the decades after unification.

The government drained swamps, built roads and railways, and made education compulsory. Illiteracy decreased steadily—from 70 per cent in 1870 to 25 per cent in 1914. Industries, especially textiles and iron and steel, expanded rapidly to supply the needs of the enlarged home market. Water power was harnessed in mountain regions in order to provide the nation with cheap electricity.

Democracy also made important gains. For several decades, the government was very conservative. It was controlled by the aristocratic landowners and the wealthy middle class. The dissatisfaction of the peasants and factory workers led to the rapid growth of socialism and other radical movements. Political leaders finally realized the necessity of introducing reforms. Labor unions were legalized and social insurance laws were passed. The requirements for voting were gradually reduced. Eventually, in 1912, all male citizens were granted the vote.

Italy's Foreign Policy. Italy might have made even greater progress during this period if it had used its funds more wisely. Tremendous sums were spent to build up a large army and navy and to conquer colonies. The basic reason for these policies was the strong feeling of nationalism. Italian nationalists loudly demanded the "return" of any territory with Italian-speaking inhabitants. They referred to Trent and Trieste, territories held by Austria, as "Unredeemed Italy." They also insisted that Italy must acquire an overseas empire in order to become a great power.

Most Italians, regardless of their economic class or geographic location, favored these demands for a "strong" foreign policy. Politicians made use of this feeling to win elections. Instead of facing up to troublesome domestic problems, they competed with one another in promising to make Italy great.



St. Peter's in Rome is the largest church in the world and a supreme example of Renaissance architecture. The obelisk was brought from Egypt by the ancient Roman emperor Caligula.

Nationalism had earlier led the Italians to free themselves from foreign rule. It now inspired them to attack other peoples.

The Italians' dreams of empire led them first to seek control of the rich African country of Tunisia. When France secured that prize, the Italians were bitterly resentful. They sought to prevent similar disappointments in the future by joining the powerful Triple Alliance in 1882 (see p. 542). In the early 1890's, Italy succeeded in acquiring two hot, disease-ridden territories in east Africa, Eritrea and Somaliland. It next made an attempt to conquer the neighboring country of Ethiopia. However, the natives inflicted a disastrous defeat on the invaders in 1896. After this shocking reverse, the Italian nationalists were quiet—but only for a time.

In 1911, Italy went to war with Turkey in order to gain possession of Libya. This colony, located in northern Africa, was almost all desert.

Italy's barren colonies only proved an added burden to a nation already saddled with a heavy debt and large military expenses. The raw materials obtained were not worth the cost of governing them. Moreover, few Italians chose to emigrate to the colonies. They saw little opportunity there to build better lives for themselves and their families. "Greatness" proved a very expensive policy for Italy even before World War I. Afterwards, as we shall see, the Italians' nationalistic ambitions were destined to have even more far-reaching and damaging effects.



51 / Lesson Review

Checking the facts

1. Explain: Young Italy; "Roman Question"; "Unredeemed Italy."
2. Identify: Mazzini; Cavour; Garibaldi; Victor Emmanuel II.
3. Define nationalism. How does it differ from patriotism?
4. Why did nationalism arise in Italy during the early nineteenth century?
5. Trace the important steps in the unification of Italy, 1848-1870.
6. In what ways did the government of the Kingdom of Italy resemble that of the Third French Republic (pp. 428-429)?
7. Describe briefly the major political and economic problems which faced the new Italian government. Tell how it sought to deal with each.
8. Why did many Italians join radical movements? In what other way did a much larger number of Italians show their dissatisfaction with living conditions in Italy?

Applying history

1. Modern nationalism has been defined as "patriotism with a chip on its shoulder." What does this mean? Explain why you agree or disagree with the definition.
2. How did Metternich try to crush Italian nationalism? Why did his repressive policy prove a failure?
3. Why did Mazzini appeal mainly to young Italians? Why are younger people more likely to respond to such appeals than their elders?
4. Why were Italian nationalists eager to annex Rome? What important problems resulted?
5. An Italian prime minister in the 1860's once said, "Now that we have created

united Italy, we must create Italians." What did he mean? What policies did the Italian government employ to achieve this goal?

6. Why did the Italian government adopt a "strong" foreign policy? How might the Italian government have spent its tax money to greater advantage?

History and geography

1. Locate (map, p. 457): Papal States; Sardinia; the Two Sicilies; Tuscany; Lombardy; Venetia; Rome; Modena; Parma; Papal Marches; Savoy; Nice; Genoa; Naples; Trent; Trieste.
2. List and locate the territories which made up the Kingdom of Sardinia before 1859 (map, p. 457). What new territories did King Victor Emmanuel acquire during the next eleven years? Locate the territories which Italian nationalists regarded as "Unredeemed Italy."
3. Locate the major mountain ranges of Italy (map, pp. 170-171). Explain why northern Italy has long been the most prosperous part of the country.

Special activities

1. Arrange a class exhibit on Italian nationalism. Include such items as patriotic songs and examples of national foods, garments, and customs.
2. Tell in headlines the main events in the development of Italian nationalism from 1800 to 1914.
3. After reading detailed accounts, write a short biography of Cavour or one of the other heroes of Italian unification. Emphasize the reasons which led him to become a nationalist and the role he played in unifying his nation.

52 / NATIONALISM IN GERMANY



Germany, like Italy, was slow to achieve national unity. In the eighteenth century, the Holy Roman Empire consisted of more than three hundred separate states. These varied greatly in size and population. The two largest, Austria and Prussia, had millions of inhabitants and ranked among the great powers of Europe. The smallest—tiny feudal principalities with only a few thousand inhabitants—were not even shown on ordinary maps of Germany. The German people had a common language, culture, and historical tradition. Nevertheless, the vast majority felt loyalty to their states rather than to the “German nation.”

There were many factors responsible for the political disunity of the German people. First, they were divided by the old religious antagonism between the Protestants of north Germany and the Catholics of the south and west. Second, the rulers of the various German states resisted any change which might decrease their authority. Third, growing rivalry between Austria and Prussia for leadership and power added to disunity in the Empire. Finally, France, which had much to gain by keeping its neighbor weak, often acted to set one group of states against another. Until the opening of the nineteenth century, there seemed little likelihood that the Germans would form a united nation.

ACHIEVEMENT OF GERMAN UNITY

Rise of German Nationalism. In Germany, as in Italy, it was Napoleon Bonaparte who aroused the spirit of nationalism. He weakened the Old Order by introducing the reforms of the French Revolution. He also abolished the Holy Roman Empire, now scarcely more than a hollow shell, and eliminated several hundred of the petty member states. German patriots welcomed these changes but soon tired of Napoleon's wars and despotic government. They stirred up a strong agitation against the French conqueror and urged the union of all German peoples.

After Napoleon's overthrow, in 1815, the peacemakers of Vienna felt it necessary to make a few concessions to the new German nationalism. They agreed not to restore the old Holy Roman Empire or the many small states that Napoleon had abolished. Instead, they created a new German Confederation, composed of the remaining states, now thirty-eight in number. However, this settlement failed to please many Germans. The Confederation was such a weak union that the states were still essentially independent. It was dominated by reactionary Austria. Under the influence of Metternich, the German princes adopted a harsh policy of re-

pression to stifle the growth of liberalism and nationalism.

Despite the efforts of the princes, the nationalist movement continued to gain in Germany. This was one of the important results of the Industrial Revolution. Railroads, canals, and telegraph lines brought the German people closer together. Businessmen became ever more resentful of the many local tariffs which hindered the flow of trade. To meet their problems, Prussia, in 1834, sponsored a customs union known as the *Zollverein*. The *Zollverein* allowed merchants to ship goods from one member state to another in the union without paying tariff duties. In time, the Prussian customs union was joined by all of the German states except Austria. Co-operation in economic affairs was to pave the way for political unity.

Results of the Revolutions of 1848. During the Revolutions of 1848, German nationalism for a moment seemed on the verge of triumph. However, as we have seen (on p. 363), the liberal Frankfurt Assembly met with complete failure. Soon after, King Frederick William IV of Prussia tried to establish a union of the north German princes under his leadership. His project met with strong opposition from Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria, who had no intention of giving up his control of the German states. Bowing to an Austrian threat of war, the Prussian King abandoned his plan. The German Confederation was restored as it had existed before 1848.

The Revolutions of 1848 failed to unify Germany. In addition, their failure was a severe blow to liberals in Germany. Up to 1848, liberalism and nationalism there had gone hand in hand, just as it had in other countries. Thereafter, in Germany they developed apart. Leadership in the struggle for

unity passed to the conservative Prussian upper classes, who were not interested in liberal government. Their goal was to break down the influence of Austria and to avenge their king's humiliation. They succeeded finally in uniting Germany, but the new Germany they created was a strong monarchy, in which liberal practices had little part.

The Rise of Bismarck. For the next decade, the German states remained quiet under Austrian domination. Then, in 1859, Austria was defeated in Italy by the Sardinians and the French (see p. 455). The Italians succeeded in forming a united nation. These exciting developments stirred up a new wave of nationalism in Germany. At about the same time, a strongly anti-Austrian ruler, William I (1861–1888), ascended the Prussian throne. Another contest between Prussia and Austria for control of Germany became inevitable.

To assure Prussia's success in this struggle, William I believed it was necessary to build up the army. However, the Prussian parliament, controlled by the liberals, refused to vote the necessary taxes. A bitter crisis followed. For a moment, the King even considered abdicating his throne. Then, at the urging of one of his military leaders, he appointed a new chief minister to deal with the situation.

This new chief minister was Otto von Bismarck. Bismarck was a member of the Prussian landowning aristocracy, the *Junkers*. He shared the extreme conservatism and warlike character of his class. "Not by speeches and majority votes are the great questions of the day decided," he bluntly warned the parliament, "but by blood and iron." In violation of the constitution, he collected the taxes without parliament's approval and proceeded to build up a strong

army. When protests arose, he imposed a strict censorship and threw his critics into jail. For the next four years, from 1862 to 1866, he ruled as a virtual dictator. It was evident that Bismarck would resort to any means in order to achieve his goals. These goals were to make the power of the king supreme in Prussia and the power of Prussia supreme in Germany.

The Wars of German Unification. With a powerful army at his disposal, Bismarck was ready to assert Prussia's leadership in Germany. At this time, the king of Denmark was engaged in a quarrel with the German inhabitants of two small duchies under his rule, Schleswig and Holstein (map, p. 464). Bismarck announced that Prussia would defend the Germans' rights. Austria, as head of the German Confederation, felt compelled to do likewise. The two powers went to war with little Denmark in 1864. They easily defeated it and took away the two duchies.

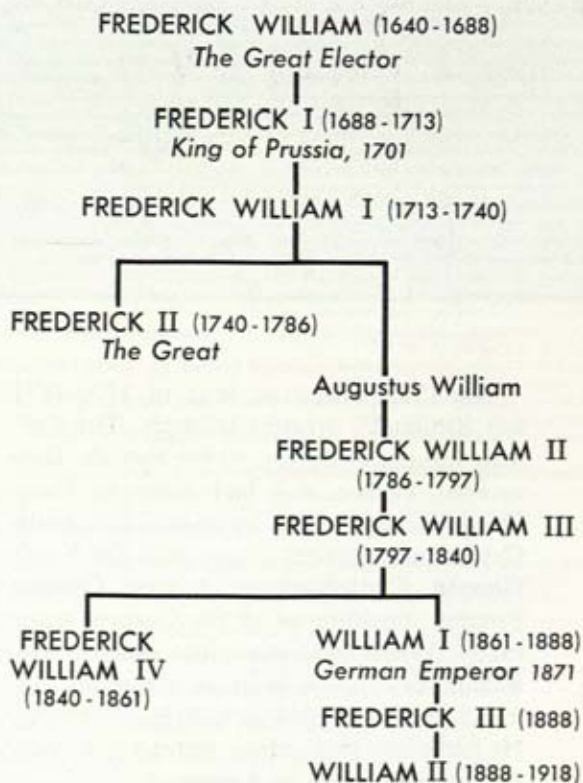
Bismarck next signed a secret military alliance with Italy. Then he picked a quarrel with Austria over control of the duchies. Most of the German princes, fearing Prussia's growing power, sided with Austria. The Austro-Prussian War of 1866 revealed the amazing strength of the Prussian army. In seven weeks, it shattered the forces of Austria and its allies and compelled them to surrender.

By the terms of peace, Prussia annexed some of the defeated small states in northern Germany. Austria was treated more generously. It was required only to turn over Venetia to Italy (see p. 456) and to withdraw from German affairs. The old German Confederation was then dissolved. It was replaced by a new union, the North German Confederation, headed by Prussia. The Prussian parliament was so elated by Bis-

marck's triumph over Austria that it passed a law legalizing his four-year dictatorship. His victory over parliament was another severe blow to liberalism in Germany.

Even now, Germany was not completely unified. Four large states in the south—Bavaria, Baden, Württemberg, and Hesse—remained independent. However, Bismarck persuaded them to sign military alliances with Prussia by playing on their fears of the traditional enemy, France. Then he deliberately provoked Napoleon III's government into declaring war. As Bismarck had hoped, the south German states believed France the aggressor and joined Prussia in the conflict.

HOHENZOLLERN RULERS (1640-1918)





The Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1871 was Bismarck's greatest triumph. The German armies quickly routed the French. They invaded France and laid siege to Paris. Overjoyed by these victories, the south German states asked to join with the North German Confederation. A new German Empire, consisting of all the German states except Austria, now came into existence. By waging three short wars in six years, Bismarck had succeeded in unifying Germany. He had made that nation, instead of France, the leading power in Europe.

PROGRESS AND PROBLEMS IN THE NEW GERMAN EMPIRE

Government of the German Empire. The new German Empire was a federal union of twenty-five states, with a parliament consisting of two houses. The lower house, the Reichstag, represented the people of the Empire. Its members were elected by universal male suffrage. The upper house, the Bundesrat, represented the states, and its members were chosen by the different princes, who continued to hold their thrones.

The undemocratic upper house had much greater power than the lower house. Almost one-third of the seats in that body were allotted to Prussia.

The constitution provided that the king of Prussia would always serve as German emperor, or Kaiser (from Caesar). The emperor was given important powers. He was head of the army and navy, conducted foreign relations, and supervised the other departments of government. He also had the right to dissolve the parliament and with the consent of the Bundesrat to declare war. The emperor exercised these great powers through the chancellor, who was appointed by him and was responsible to him alone. Bismarck, who had drafted the constitution, became the first German chancellor. He held that position for almost twenty years, from 1871 to 1890.

Because of its many undemocratic features, the German Empire was often described as a "veiled absolutism." Nevertheless, most of the German people gave the new government their whole-hearted support. Since they had never enjoyed real democracy, they considered it a privilege to elect representatives and to engage in other political activities. Even those who criticized the constitution were grateful to Bismarck for making Germany a great nation. People were satisfied because unification also ushered in a period of great economic progress.

Economic Resources. The new German Empire suffered from few of the economic problems which plagued the Kingdom of Italy. On the contrary, its natural resources made it one of the richest countries of Europe. About half of its land was good for farming. An abundance of coal and iron ore furnished the raw materials for two great industrial centers—the Ruhr Valley in the west and Silesia in the east. Its central lo-

cation and its many navigable rivers made Germany a hub of traffic within Europe. Its fine harbors provided facilities for a large world trade.

Germany was also rich in human resources. The German people were generally hard-working, disciplined, and patriotic. Thanks to a fine public-school system in Prussia and in the other states, few were illiterate. Teachers were highly respected, and scientists were noted for their thorough research and originality. German skilled workers were among the finest in the world. With such valuable assets, Germany was almost bound to prosper once it was united.

Paternalistic Policies of the Government. The government aided Germany's economic progress in a number of ways. Honest and efficient administration enabled it to keep taxes low. Moreover, Prussian traditions led the government to be paternalistic—that is, to take a "fatherly" interest in its people. It therefore launched a very ambitious program of railroad and highway construction, established an outstanding system of scientific and technical schools, and encouraged the application of science to industry and agriculture. It enacted high tariffs to protect manufacturers and farmers from foreign competition. It aided the workers by passing the first social insurance laws (see p. 386).

Within a single generation, Germany became one of the foremost industrial nations. It led the world in the production of chemicals and electrical products. It produced more iron and steel than any other country in Europe, surpassing even Great Britain. The standard of living rose, emigration declined, and population increased rapidly—from about 40,000,000 in 1871 to almost 65,000,000 in 1914. The German Empire furnished dramatic proof of the advantages of a united nation.



Otto von Bismarck (1815–1898) had a keen mind, strong will, and fiery temper. After a rather wild youth, he entered the Prussian diplomatic service and soon rose to the rank of ambassador. As chief minister of Prussia and later as German chancellor, he dominated German politics for almost thirty years.

Conflict with the Catholic Church. However, certain danger signs soon became apparent. One was Bismarck's treatment of opposition groups. The Catholics, especially in south Germany, angered him by favoring states' rights and a weak federal government. Believing their views to be dictated by the Catholic Church, the German Chancellor denounced it as a "foreign power." He declared the pope had no business interfering in German politics.

Bismarck then began what he called the *Kulturkampf*, or "fight for civilization,"

which lasted from 1871 to 1878. He secured the passage of harsh anticlerical laws. Most of the Catholic religious orders in Germany were dissolved; church marriages were no longer recognized; and the government claimed the right to veto all clerical appointments. When the German clergy followed the pope's instructions not to obey these laws, they were imprisoned or driven into exile. To Bismarck's dismay, however, the Catholic population rallied to the support of the Church. The Catholic Center party grew rapidly. After a few years, the Chancel-

lor had to call off his war against the Church.

The Fight Against the Socialists. Even before the end of his fight with the Catholics, Bismarck became involved in another struggle. German workers, dissatisfied with conditions in the new factories, turned by the thousands to socialism. To check the growth of that movement, Bismarck in 1878 had the parliament pass an anti-Socialist law. This forbade any associations, meetings, or publications aimed at "subversion of the social order." The police enforced the law vigorously. They broke up the meetings of the Socialists and imprisoned large numbers.

Nevertheless, the Social Democratic party carried on its work as an underground organization. It actually gained more votes because many people wanted to protest against the government's policies. Bismarck had the social insurance laws passed "to steal the Socialists' thunder." But even these failed to halt their gains. Eventually, in 1890, the anti-Socialist law was repealed. The Social Democratic party continued to grow until it became the largest German political party.

Mistreatment of Minorities. Another disturbing feature of the German Empire was its intolerant nationalism. The government adopted a policy of "Germanizing" all alien minorities. The Poles, who lived in the eastern provinces of Prussia, suffered a great deal from such discrimination. Their public meetings and schools had to be conducted in the German language. Some of the Polish peasants were even forced to leave their land, to be replaced by German settlers. The Danes, found mainly in Schleswig, and the pro-French inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine met with little better treatment. The Jews, many of whom had settled in Germany centuries earlier, were attacked by a strong anti-Semitic movement.

An Aggressive Foreign Policy. German nationalism also tended to glorify military force and conquest. A leading German professor attracted crowds to his lectures with statements like this: "War is both justified and moral. The hope of perpetual peace is not only impossible, but immoral as well." A nationalist organization, the Pan-German League, was founded "to promote an energetic German policy of might in Europe and overseas." It was especially interested in acquiring a large colonial empire. Other nationalists called for a "drive to the East," which would extend German influence all the way into Asia Minor.

Bismarck, it should be noted, opposed all such extreme views. He regarded Germany as a "satisfied" nation. The goal of his foreign policy was to maintain peace in Europe (see p. 542). However, his power came to an end shortly after William I died. A new emperor, William II (1888-1918), who had his own ideas of how to govern Germany, forced Bismarck to resign.

William II was extremely nationalistic. "We are the salt of the earth," he boasted to his people. He also believed in divine-right monarchy and was an ardent militarist. He increased the already large German army, built a powerful new navy, and worked hard to expand Germany's commerce and colonies. Some of William II's policies aroused a great deal of criticism, at home as well as abroad. Demands became particularly strong that the ministers be made responsible to the people's representatives in parliament, instead of to the emperor. However, the struggle for a more democratic German government was temporarily ended when the First World War broke out. When Germany's survival seemed to be at stake, nationalism proved a stronger force than democracy.



52 / Lesson Review

Checking the facts

1. Explain: customs union; "blood and iron" policy; Reichstag; Kaiser; chancellor; paternalism; *Kulturkampf*; Center party; Social Democratic party; Germanization; Pan-German League.
2. Identify: William I; Bismarck; William II; Junkers.
3. List three important obstacles to German unity prior to the nineteenth century.
4. Tell how each of the following contributed to the rise of German nationalism: Napoleon's conquests and occupation; Metternich's repressive policies; the Industrial Revolution; the *Zollverein*; the example of Italian unification.
5. Trace the steps by which Bismarck brought about the unification of Germany.
6. What were the undemocratic features of the government of the German Empire? Why did a large number of Germans support this government?
7. Why did the Germans make such remarkable economic progress after the country's unification?
8. Describe Bismarck's conflicts with the Catholic Church; with the Social Democrats; with the minority nationalities.
9. Why did the German Empire adopt an aggressive foreign policy?

Applying history

1. Bismarck insisted that Austria be treated leniently after its defeat by Prussia. Why was this a wise policy? Should France have been treated the same way? Explain.
2. Explain: "The German chancellor is responsible only to the emperor, and the emperor is responsible only to God." What evidence

can you offer to prove that many Germans rejected this theory of government? What were the reformers' main demands?

3. Why were the Kaiser, Bismarck, and other leaders of the German Empire usually portrayed in military uniform? How does Germany's history help explain this militaristic attitude?
4. Why was Bismarck known as the "Iron Chancellor"? Are Germans justified in regarding him as a national hero? Explain.

History and geography

1. Locate (map, p. 464): German Confederation; Frankfurt; Schleswig; Holstein; Bavaria; Baden; Württemberg; the Ruhr; Hesse; Silesia; Alsace; Lorraine; Berlin.
2. Trace the boundaries of the new German Empire (map, p. 464). What three great European powers had common frontiers with Germany?

Special activities

1. After reading a biography of Bismarck, write the script of a radio play that covers the main events of his life and political career.
2. Read to the class Bismarck's famous "blood and iron" speech or other examples of the spirit of militarism and extreme nationalism in late nineteenth-century Germany. Discuss the reasons why such an attitude was likely to cause future trouble for Germany.
3. Write an editorial about William II's dismissal of Bismarck for either a German or a French newspaper.
4. Arrange a class exhibit on German history, 1815–1914. Include pictures of Germany's important industries and their products.
5. Report to the class on the history of the Krupp "industrial dynasty."

NATIONALISM IN THE AUSTRIAN AND OTTOMAN EMPIRES



In Italy and Germany, where the people had a great deal in common, nationalism proved a unifying force. But what happened in countries where the inhabitants had different languages, customs, and historical traditions? Here the rise of nationalism led each group to consider itself a separate and distinct national unit or nationality. Since one nationality was favored by the ruler, it was considered the dominant, or ruling, nationality. The others came to regard themselves as "subject nationalities." They sought to win freedom from "foreign" control. In such places, therefore, nationalism proved a powerful force for disunity. This was well shown by the tragic experiences of the Austrian and Ottoman empires.

THE NATIONALITIES PROBLEM IN THE AUSTRIAN EMPIRE

Nationalities in the Habsburg Empire. In early modern times, the Habsburgs had succeeded in bringing most of central Europe under their control. Their empire contained so many different kinds of people that it was often described as "a patchwork quilt of nationalities." (See map, p. 471.) First in importance were the German-speaking Austrians, most of whom lived in the provinces surrounding the capital city of Vienna. They

numbered about one-fourth of the entire population. Second in strength and influence were a proud people of Asiatic origin, the Magyars of Hungary. Still a third group were the Slavs. Though constituting about half the Empire's inhabitants, they played a rather minor role because they were scattered and divided into many groups. In the northern provinces the important Slavic peoples were the Poles, Czechs, and Slovaks. In the south the Croats, Slovenes, and Serbs together made up the South Slavs or Yugoslavs. The Empire also contained Rumanians, Italians, and various smaller national groups.

Rise of Nationalism in the Austrian Empire. Until the nineteenth century, all of these people had been united by a common loyalty to their Habsburg rulers. However, conditions changed radically after Napoleon's armies brought the ideas of the French Revolution into central Europe. As liberalism and nationalism grew in strength, the Habsburgs became fearful for the safety of their empire. As one emperor said, "My realms are like a worm-eaten house. Take away one part and the whole thing will collapse."

It was primarily to avert this danger that Austria's foreign minister, Metternich, fought against revolutionary ideas through-

out Europe. As we have seen (p. 361), his policy of repression proved a failure even in his own country. In 1848, revolution broke out among the inhabitants of Vienna. Their example was quickly followed by the Magyars, Czechs, Italians, and other peoples. For a few months, the entire Austrian Empire seemed on the verge of breaking up.

With considerable difficulty, the Austrian army succeeded in crushing these revolts. To prevent similar outbreaks in the future, the new emperor, Francis Joseph, tightened the control of the central government. He deprived the various nationalities of many of their traditional rights of self-government. He also adopted a harsh policy of "Germanization." German was made the only language for official use and for instruction in the schools. However, the subject nationalities stubbornly refused to become "Germanized." On the contrary, resentment against the government's policies fanned the flames of nationalism throughout the Empire.

Creation of the Dual Monarchy. Opposition was especially strong in Hungary. The powerful Magyar aristocrats felt keenly the loss of the special privileges which they had enjoyed before 1848. When the Austrian army was weakened by defeat in the Austro-Prussian War (see p. 463), the Emperor decided to come to terms with these troublesome subjects. In 1867, a compromise agreement was finally worked out. The Austrian Empire was split to form the new Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary.

Austria and Hungary were now recognized as virtually independent countries. Each had its own constitution, its own parliament and ministry, and its own official language. However, the two states were tied together in several ways. The same ruler, Francis Joseph, served as both emperor of Austria and king of Hungary. Moreover, foreign policy and

other matters of common interest were decided by a joint ministry. The joint ministers were responsible to special committees elected by the two parliaments. In effect, this compromise gave the Magyars control over the eastern part of the Empire, while the Germans remained dominant in the west.

This arrangement naturally angered the other nationalities. The Slavs demanded the same rights as the Germans and Magyars had. That is, they wanted the creation of a "Triple Monarchy." The Italians and Rumanians sought to break away and join their free kinsmen in Italy and Rumania. In both Austria and Hungary, the nationalities problem became an almost constant source of trouble.

Dissension in Austria. To remove discontent, the Austrian government decided to meet some of the demands of the subject nationalities. The Czechs, in particular, were granted many concessions. They were allowed considerable representation in the new parliament, more local self-government, and the use of their own language. However, these policies aroused the German-speaking Austrians, who feared they would lose their privileged position. The result was constant bickering in the Austrian parliament between the German deputies and the representatives of the other nationalities. At times, this gave rise to disgraceful scenes of disorder. Anarchy was prevented only because the Emperor had the power to issue emergency decrees which had the force of law.

Repression in Hungary. Conditions were even worse in Hungary. The Slavs, Rumanians, and other non-Magyar peoples made up more than half of the population. Yet the Magyar aristocrats, forgetting their own bitter experiences earlier, used their power to deal harshly with the subject national-

ities. The latter were treated as inferiors. Most of them were barred from voting. They were also subjected to a brutal policy of "Magyarization" designed to wipe out all traces of their nationality. Discontent grew so great that large numbers of these oppressed people left the country. Those who remained waited impatiently for an opportunity to liberate themselves from the Magyar tyranny.

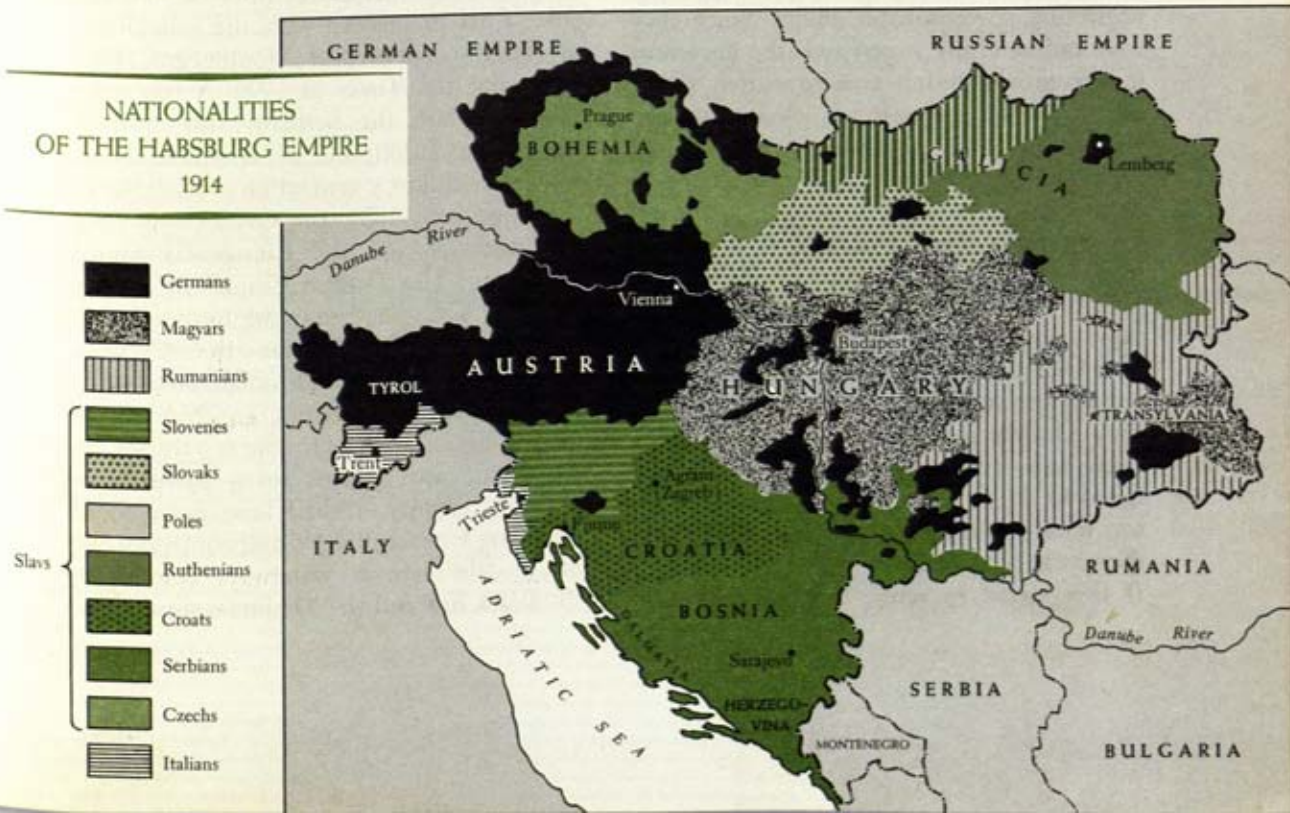
A Disastrous Foreign Policy. The Dual Monarchy never solved the nationalities problem. Instead, it sought to offset its growing weakness at home by pursuing a policy of expansion in the Balkans. This policy proved very dangerous. It gave rise to frequent diplomatic clashes with Russia, which had long claimed special interests in that region. Moreover, it aroused the enmity of the little Kingdom of Serbia, which hoped to bring all the South Slavs under its rule. Serbian nationalists formed secret

societies to stir up trouble among their dissatisfied kinsmen in Austria-Hungary. Russia encouraged the Serbs in order to further its own ambitions. As we shall see later, the rivalries in the Balkans played an important part in the outbreak of the First World War.

That war ended in a disastrous defeat for Austria-Hungary. The subject nationalities gained their freedom. Austria and Hungary, both greatly reduced in size, became two separate nations. Thus the failure of the Habsburgs to solve the problems created by modern nationalism led to the complete breakup of their once-mighty empire (map, p. 558).

THE BREAKUP OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

The Ottoman Empire at Its Height. Nationalism also proved a disruptive force in the Ottoman Empire. As we have already



seen (p. 214), the Ottoman Turks had taken over most of the Arab Empire in Asia Minor and North Africa. Then they overthrew the Byzantine Empire and occupied southeastern Europe. They reached the height of their power in the sixteenth century under the great Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent (1520–1566). During his long reign, they conquered the Kingdom of Hungary and other important territories. They even laid siege to Vienna. Though unable to take the Habsburg capital, they remained a dangerous threat for the next century and a half. Beginning in the late seventeenth century, however, the Turks suffered some serious reverses. Thereafter, the tide of their power in Europe receded.

Decay of Turkish Power. There were several major factors in the decline of Turkish power. Centuries of constant warfare gradually drained their military strength. Disputes and intrigues developed over the succession to the throne. A series of weak rulers devoted themselves to personal pleasure while neglecting governmental affairs. Since they were not carefully supervised, the governors in the provinces felt free to enrich themselves at the expense of their subjects. Inefficiency and corruption soon spread throughout the Empire and contributed to its decay.

Conditions were especially bad in the mountainous Balkan Peninsula. Because of poverty and backwardness, this region became known as “the land that time forgot.” The Christians, who made up most of the population, were regarded as “cattle” by their Moslem rulers. They had to pay extra taxes and were cruelly punished if they failed to do so. On occasion, their property was seized by dishonest officials. Their children were carried off for the army or harem. If they dared to rebel, their villages were

burned down and the inhabitants were put to the sword. Force and fear were the mainstays of Turkish rule.

Rise of Nationalism in the Balkans. Despite their hatred of the Turks, the Balkan peoples failed to work together. The main reason was that they belonged to a large number of different nationalities, most of which had once enjoyed independence. Most important were the Yugoslavs (South Slavs), Greeks, Rumanians, and Bulgarians. Though intermingled as the result of centuries of wars and migrations, they all clung to their separate identities. It was easy for the Turks to use a policy of “divide and rule.” That is, they maintained control by encouraging the Balkan nationalities to fight one another instead of uniting against their oppressors.

This situation changed when the wave of nationalism stirred up by the French Revolution reached eastern Europe. Internal feuds decreased. The various Balkan peoples fought to free themselves from the Turkish yoke. First to succeed were the inhabitants of the tiny country of Montenegro. They drove out the Turks in 1799. A few years later, in 1804, the Serbians also revolted. They won autonomy, or complete home rule, after almost a generation of struggle. In the same year, 1829, the Greeks won their independence and the Rumanians gained autonomy. The Turkish Empire in Europe (map, p. 474) was beginning to crumble.

Rivalry of the Powers—the Crimean War, 1854–1856. As Ottoman rule weakened, the Balkans became an object of rivalry among the great powers. Russia, in particular, was anxious for a partition of Turkish territory. It had long dreamed of acquiring Constantinople and control of the Straits, the narrow waterways connecting the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. How-

ever, both Great Britain and France were opposed to Russia's becoming a Mediterranean power.

After vainly attempting to reach an agreement, Czar Nicholas I proceeded on his own and attacked Turkey. To stop the Russians, Great Britain, France, and Sardinia came to the sultan's aid. The Crimean War—so called because the main battles were fought on Russia's Crimean peninsula—was won by the allies after long and bloody fighting.

At the peace conference, held in Paris in 1856, the powers tried to effect a settlement of the Turkish question. To safeguard the Ottoman Empire, Russia was forbidden to maintain a war fleet on the Black Sea. The sultan was permitted to retain control of his remaining Balkan territories. In return he promised to introduce long-needed reforms, including better treatment for his Christian subjects.

New Balkan Crises and the Turko-Russian War, 1877–1878. The sultan did not keep his promise. Neither did the Russians give up their plans for conquest. A decade or so later, they violated the peace treaty and built a new fleet on the Black Sea. More important, they stirred up the discontented Balkan peoples by a powerful appeal to nationalism known as Pan-Slavism. The Russians said, in effect, "We Slavs are all brothers. If you rebel, your big brother Russia will help you."

Revolts broke out in 1875 in two famine-stricken provinces, Bosnia and Herzegovina. Trouble next spread to the districts inhabited by the Bulgarians. The Turks retaliated with fearful massacres. Serbia and Montenegro, and then Russia itself, came to the rescue. After a hard-fought campaign, the Russians defeated the Turks. The sultan was forced to accept the severe peace treaty

of San Stefano. Three of the Balkan nations—Montenegro, Serbia, and Rumania—were now recognized as completely independent. A new large state of Bulgaria was created, under Russian protection. The Czar also annexed some important Turkish border territories. For the moment, Russia became the dominant power in the Balkans.

The Congress of Berlin, 1878. Once again, however, the other powers intervened. To avoid a new war, Russia had to agree to an international conference. The Congress of Berlin drastically revised the peace terms. Russia surrendered some of the territory it had taken from Turkey. Bulgaria was granted autonomy but was greatly reduced in size. Moreover, the other powers acquired various Turkish territories to offset Russia's gains. Great Britain took control of the strategic island of Cyprus in the eastern Mediterranean. Austria-Hungary was allowed to occupy the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina (map, p. 474). This compromise averted war but did not prevent future nationalistic conflicts in the Balkans.

One source of difficulty was the territory still held by the Ottoman Empire in Europe. The small Balkan nations—Serbia, Bulgaria, and Greece, in particular—stirred up frequent revolts against the Turks. They also fought among themselves, in order to expand their boundaries. Another source of trouble was Bosnia and Herzegovina. Since the people of these provinces were Yugoslavs, the Serbs sought to liberate their "blood brothers" from Habsburg rule. The result was much bad feeling between Austria-Hungary and Serbia. These nationalistic conflicts, complicated by the rivalries among the great powers, made the Balkan Peninsula "the powder keg of Europe."

The "Young Turk" Revolt. Still another explosive factor in the Balkan situation was



**BREAKUP
OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE
IN EUROPE • 1683 - 1913**

the rise of nationalism among the Turks themselves. This feeling originated with a group of young military men and intellectuals who had been educated in western Europe. Dissatisfied with the weakness and corruption of the sultan's government, they formed a secret organization to work for change. The "Young Turks" were able to seize power in 1908. They forced the sultan to grant a constitution and started a broad program of reforms.

However, the Young Turks soon showed that they were more interested in nationalism than in liberal ideas. Under the slogan of "Turkey for the Turks," they adopted an oppressive policy of "Turkification" of all inhabitants in the Ottoman Empire. The result was the outbreak of new rebellions among the remaining subject nationalities in the Balkans. Dissatisfaction also developed among the Arab peoples of the Empire.

Breakup of the Ottoman Empire. Some countries were alarmed by the prospect that

the Young Turks might succeed in strengthening the Ottoman Empire. They decided to seize what they wanted while circumstances were still favorable. Austria formally annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908. Italy opened hostilities in 1911 and soon conquered the large region of Libya in northern Africa. The small Balkan nations formed a league and also attacked the Turks. The result of the First Balkan War, 1912-1913, was the loss by the Ottomans of almost all their remaining territory in Europe (map, above).

The Young Turks called in a German military mission to reorganize their shattered forces. Shortly afterward, the First World War started. Turkey chose to fight on the side of Germany. It was defeated and was stripped of all its non-Turkish possessions. The final results of nationalism in the Ottoman Empire were the breakup of that Empire, the independence of its subject nationalities, and the emergence of Turkey as a modern nation.



Checking the facts

1. Explain: subject nationalities; Dual Monarchy; Germanization; Magyarization; "divide and rule" policy; autonomy; Crimean War; Pan-Slavism; Congress of Berlin; "power keg of Europe"; Turkification.
2. Identify: Francis Joseph; Magyars; Yugoslavs; "Young Turks."
3. Why was the Austrian Empire called a "patchwork quilt of nationalities"?
4. What were the terms of the compromise of 1867? Why were the Slavs and other subject nationalities dissatisfied with this change?
5. Compare the treatment of the subject nationalities in Austria and in Hungary after 1867. How did the unsolved nationalities problem affect Austria-Hungary's foreign policy?
6. Why did the peoples of the Balkan Peninsula rebel against Turkish rule? Why did Russia help them? Why did other powers intervene against Russia?
7. Describe briefly the significance of the Crimean War; the Congress of Berlin; the "Young Turk" revolt.
8. Why did the First World War result in the breakup of both the Habsburg and Ottoman empires?

Applying history

1. An early nineteenth-century author wrote, "If there were no Habsburg Empire, it would be necessary to create one." What arguments might he have used to justify this view?
2. Explain: The worst oppressors are those who were formerly oppressed. How did the behavior of the Magyars illustrate this statement?
3. Why was nineteenth-century Turkey called with reason "the sick man of Europe"? Why was its weakness a threat to European peace?
4. Why did the British government seek to prevent the breakup of the Turkish Empire?

Why did many Englishmen object to their government's policy?

5. Why did nationalism give rise to so many troubles in central and eastern Europe during the nineteenth century? Why did similar problems generally not arise in Switzerland and other democratic countries where many different nationalities lived?

History and geography

1. Locate (maps, pp. 471 and 474): Austria; Hungary; Vienna; Budapest; Serbia; Montenegro; Bosnia; Herzegovina; Siberia; Rumania; Bulgaria; Cyprus.
2. List and locate major nationalities in the Habsburg Empire in 1914 (map, p. 471).
3. Trace the course of the Danube River and its main tributaries (map, pp. 170-171). Why was the Danube important in strengthening the economic foundations of the Habsburg Empire?
4. List and locate the Balkan nations which threw off Turkish rule during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (map, p. 474).

Special activities

1. Debate: The nationalities problem of the Austro-Hungarian Empire would have been solved through the creation of a true federal union such as the United States.
2. Hold a round-table conference at which "representatives" of the Ottoman Empire, the Balkan peoples, and the European powers seek to work out a peaceful settlement of the Balkan problem.
3. Use a stamp or coin collection to show the class how many nations there are in central Europe and the Balkans.
4. Report to the class on the life of Emperor Francis Joseph.
5. Read to the class Tennyson's "The Charge of the Light Brigade." Explain why the poet chose to immortalize this tragic episode of the Crimean War.

/ NATIONALISM AND ABSOLUTISM
IN THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE

Modern history has witnessed few examples of territorial expansion to match that of the Russian Empire. When Peter the Great (see p. 297) ascended the throne, Russia was a rather small landlocked country. Greed for more territory and the desire for good seaports led the rulers to extend their holdings in every direction. In the west, they conquered the Baltic provinces and a large part of Poland. In the north, they gained Finland and advanced to the Arctic Ocean. In the south, they drove back the Turks and acquired a large portion of the Black Sea coast. In the east, bold Russian explorers and traders advanced across the broad plains of Siberia until they finally reached the Pacific Ocean. The Russian Empire in 1914 occupied almost one-sixth of the land surface of the globe. It was by far the largest country in the world.

THE OLD REGIME IN RUSSIA

Nationalities in the Russian Empire. As might be expected, the vast Russian Empire contained a large variety of different nationalities. (See map, p. 478.) The Russians themselves, sometimes called the Great Russians, inhabited the central portion of the Empire. Their neighbors—the White

Russians and the Ukrainians or Little Russians—were so closely related to them in language and culture that the three were often regarded as one group. Together, they made up over two-thirds of the population.

The rest of the Empire's inhabitants had little in common with the dominant Russians. Poles, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Finns, Swedes, and Germans lived in Poland and the Baltic provinces. Rumanians lived in Bessarabia. Armenians and Georgians inhabited the Caucasus region. The eastern portion of the Empire contained Tartars, Mongols, Eskimos, and many other Asiatic peoples. Each of these nationalities had its own language and customs. Though Orthodox Christianity was the religion which the government favored, there were large numbers of Roman Catholics, Protestants, Jews, and Moslems.

Absolutism in Government. The main factor holding together these many different nationalities was the absolute rule of the czar. As "Autocrat of All the Russias," he guided the destiny of the entire Empire. He made the laws, levied taxes, appointed and dismissed officials, and controlled justice. His was also the responsibility for declaring war or making peace. The fate of many millions of people rested in his hands.

In exercising these great powers, the czar was assisted by a large and influential nobility. The nobles occupied the important posts in the government and in the army. They owned vast estates and were entrusted with control of local affairs. In return for their privileges, they loyally supported the system of imperial absolutism.

Religion also helped to strengthen czarist authority. The Russian Orthodox Church was controlled by the czar and was obedient to his wishes. The priests taught the people to look up to him as their "Little Father," whom God had chosen to watch over and protect them. They considered it their duty to report to the authorities any signs of discontent. For all intents and purposes, the Orthodox Church in Russia served as a department of the government and its clergy as agents of the state.

Backward Economic Conditions. The economy of Russia, like the system of government, was very backward. Agriculture was the main occupation. Commerce existed on only a small scale and most of it was carried on by foreigners. The few manufactured products of the country were made by guild craftsmen or by peasants working in their homes.

Until after the middle of the nineteenth century, the vast majority of the Russian people were serfs. They were forbidden to leave the estate of their master and were brutally flogged if they displeased him. Farm tools and farm methods were extremely crude. The old inefficient open-field system, with its scattered strips and fallow land, was still used. Poverty-stricken, ignorant, and superstitious, the Russian peasant seemed still to be living in the Middle Ages.

Opposition to Change. Several of the eighteenth-century rulers, notably Peter the Great and Catherine the Great, had sought

to modernize Russia by introducing Western ways. Nevertheless, their changes had little effect on the people's way of life. Catherine's grandson, the enlightened Alexander I (see p. 356) showed even greater interest in reform for a time. He freed the serfs in the Baltic provinces and granted self-rule to the Poles and Finns. However, in the latter part of his reign, he fell under the influence of Metternich and broke completely with his earlier liberal ideas.

Alexander I's brother, Nicholas I (1825–1855), felt a deep distrust for Western ideas. Shortly after he came to the throne, a group of liberal army officers staged a revolt in an effort to make Russia a constitutional monarchy. Nicholas easily subdued the rebels and, then put through a series of cruel repressive measures. The press was placed under a strict censorship. The political police were granted the power to arrest people at will and to punish them without trial. When the Poles revolted, in 1830, the Czar took away their constitution and appointed harsh Russian officers to rule over them.

Nicholas I's reactionary policies seemed successful for a time. The Russian Empire was one of the few European countries which witnessed no outbreaks during "the year of revolutions," 1848. Secure in his own domains, the Czar was able to send an army to assist the emperor of Austria against the Magyar rebels (see p. 363). Nevertheless, Nicholas himself was compelled to admit failure before his death. The defeat of the Russians in the Crimean War made it clear that a "serf empire" was no match for modern industrial nations.

A Brief Experiment with Reform. Nicholas' son, the liberal but cautious Alexander II (1855–1881), introduced a series of far-reaching reforms. He relaxed the press censorship. He encouraged the construction of

schools, modernized the courts and the legal system, and established a system of elected local assemblies. To win over the Poles, he restored many of their rights of self-government. Most important of all, he emancipated the serfs and sold them small plots of land. At last, Russia seemed to have entered upon the path of progress.

However, complaints began to pour in immediately. The nobles feared the loss of their privileges. They warned Alexander that his policies would prove disastrous for Russia. The newly freed serfs were also discontented. They received only about half as much land as they had farmed earlier. Moreover, they found it difficult to meet the

payments which they had to make to the government. The Poles, for their part, refused to be satisfied with anything short of complete independence. They organized a new revolt in 1863. Greatly disturbed by these developments, Alexander lost interest in reform. A period of reaction again set in.

Many educated young people were so disappointed by the Czar's change of attitude that they embraced radical ideas. Seeking to win converts among the peasants, several thousand of them went to live in the villages. Their teachings, for the most part, had little effect. However, the government took alarm and ordered their arrest. A large number were imprisoned or exiled to Siberia. Since



peaceful agitation was no longer possible, some of the young radicals became terrorists. They resorted to violent methods in the hope of frightening the government into making reforms. The terrorists assassinated several important officials. Finally, in 1881, they succeeded in killing the Czar himself.

Reaction and "Russification." This crime had exactly the opposite effect of what the terrorists intended. The new czar, the stern Alexander III (1881-1894), was deeply angered by his father's murder. He ordered the arrest of all persons suspected of opposing the regime. He tightened the censorship and restricted the activities of the local assemblies. To check the growing nationalism among the non-Russian peoples of the Empire, Alexander III also adopted the policy of "Russification." His slogan was "One czar, one church, one language." By this he meant that all his subjects should meekly obey his commands, should worship in the Orthodox Church, and should speak only the Russian language.

In carrying out the Russification policy, the government dealt harshly with the minority peoples. The worst treatment was inflicted on the Jews. The government allowed them to live only in the western portion of the Empire. It forbade them to own land and severely limited the number permitted in the universities and in the professions. Secretly, the Czar's officials also encouraged pogroms, in which mobs attacked and murdered thousands of these unfortunates. By making the Jews scapegoats, the government hoped to shift people's attention away from its own shortcomings. On the other hand, such measures increased the nationalism of the minority groups within the Empire and strengthened their desire for independence.

ROMANOV RULERS OF RUSSIA (1762-1917)

CATHERINE II (1762-1796)
The Great

PAUL I (1796-1801)

ALEXANDER I
(1801-1825)

Constantine

NICHOLAS I
(1825-1855)

ALEXANDER II
(1855-1881)

ALEXANDER III
(1881-1894)

NICHOLAS II
(1894-1917)

Nationalism as a Tool of Absolutism. Alexander III oppressed his own subject nationalities. However, at the same time, he supported the Pan-Slavic movement, which encouraged the nationalistic ambitions of the various Slavic peoples in the Balkan Peninsula (see p. 473). He did so largely for selfish reasons. Pan-Slavism served as a means of expanding Russian influence in the Balkans. It also appealed to the pride of the Russian people by proclaiming them leaders of "the great Slavic race." Thus Russian nationalism, like the Russification policy, was used by the Czar as a tool to strengthen his own absolute power.

THE COMING OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

Growing Discontent of the Peasants. Neither repression nor pogroms nor appeals to Russian nationalism could solve the growing economic problems of the country. Russia's population almost doubled during the second half of the nineteenth century.

(It rose from about 70,000,000 at the accession of Alexander II in 1855 to 130,000,000 by the close of the century.) The farm plots owned by the peasants grew smaller and smaller. They found it ever harder to make ends meet, and they were always behind in their land payments to the government. The remedy seemed obvious to them. The large estates owned by the nobles should be broken up and divided among those who actually tilled the soil. However, the government would not even consider any such proposal because it had no wish to hurt its strongest supporters.

Industrialization and Its Effects. Some of the Czar's officials, led by the able finance minister, Count Witte, thought to solve Russia's economic problems in a different way. Their idea was to stimulate the development of modern industry. Industrialization would strengthen the economy of the entire country. It would also create jobs for the poor peasants. To carry out this policy, the government borrowed large sums of money from the Western countries. Foreign capitalists were offered low taxes, profitable government contracts, and other attractive terms if they would invest in Russia. Within a few years, the new policy bore fruit. Railroads were constructed, mines were opened, and many new factories were built. Russia, with its rich natural resources and abundant supply of cheap labor, gave promise of soon becoming a major industrial power.

Industrialization helped somewhat to ease population pressures. But it also created serious problems for the government. The workers in the new factories suffered from long hours, low wages, and bad living conditions. To win better treatment from their employers, they sought to organize trade unions. However, the government declared

the unions illegal. It broke up strikes and exiled the leaders to Siberia. Sullen and hostile, the factory workers provided a fertile soil for revolutionary propaganda.

After the coming of the Industrial Revolution, the business and professional groups in Russia also grew in numbers and importance. But like the factory workers, these members of the middle class felt many grievances. They resented the privileges enjoyed by the nobles and foreign capitalists. Moreover, they were dissatisfied because they had no voice in the shaping of government policy. As in western Europe, the Russian middle class furnished leaders in the struggle to overthrow the Old Regime.

The Rise of Opposition Parties. Nicholas II (1894-1917), the last of the Russian czars, sought to continue unchanged the harsh policies of Alexander III. But he lacked his father's ability and strength of character. Opposition to his rule grew steadily stronger. A number of secret revolutionary parties sprang into existence.

Three of these were especially important. The Constitutional Democrats were a liberal, middle-class party. They proposed the establishment of a constitutional monarchy as in Great Britain. The Social Revolutionaries, a more radical group, were chiefly concerned with the land problem. Since they favored the breakup of the large estates, their program made a strong appeal to the land-hungry peasants. Most radical of all were the Social Democrats. Followers of Karl Marx (see p. 387), they favored government ownership of the means of production and distribution. Their main appeal was to the industrial workers in the cities. The three parties had basically different programs, but all were united in seeking an end to czarist tyranny.

The Revolution of 1905. Despite these danger signals, Nicholas II made no effort to remove the basic causes of discontent within the country. Instead, he embarked on a reckless foreign policy. Apparently he hoped to win public support through "a little victorious war." Russian policies in the Far East soon led to a conflict with the Japanese (see p. 511).

Unfortunately for Russia, the Czar's plans miscarried. Little Japan astonished the world by defeating its giant foe. More important, the campaigns brought to light the inefficiency and corruption of the czarist government. The Russian armies at the front lacked adequate weapons, clothing, medical supplies, and even food. They suffered heavy losses. In the fighting at sea, poor leadership was responsible for the destruction of two great Russian fleets.

News of these disasters led to the outbreak of revolution in Russia. Demonstrations and riots occurred in the cities. In the country districts, peasants looted and burned the homes of rich landowners. Uprisings broke out in Poland, and in other non-Russian provinces. The climax came in October, 1905, when the workers called a general strike which brought all economic activity in the country to a halt.

At last, Nicholas was frightened into making concessions. He ended the censorship and granted freedom of speech, press, and assembly. He legalized the unions. He canceled the peasants' land payments. Most important of all, he promised to hold elections for a popular parliament or Duma. Since the Duma alone would have the power to pass laws, Russia seemed about to become a constitutional monarchy.

A New Period of Reaction. The Czar's reforms were received with great public re-

joicing. Many of the moderates were won over to his support. However, events soon showed how little his promises were worth. After the war ended, loyal troop units were brought back from the Far East. The government succeeded in regaining control of the situation. Large numbers of suspected revolutionaries were arrested. Hundreds were shot. Many more were imprisoned or sent off to Siberia. Most of the gains won earlier were swept away.

Nicholas II did summon the Duma as he had promised earlier to do. However, he took away much of the Duma's power. When it demanded liberal reforms, the Czar ordered it dissolved. The second Duma, which also demanded reforms, soon met with the same fate. Finally, in 1907, by revising the election laws so that only the upper classes could vote, the Czar obtained a Duma which meekly carried out his wishes. The revolution of 1905 had failed. The Czar was still an absolute ruler. Nevertheless, by breaking his promises, he lost the confidence of most of his subjects and strengthened the revolutionary movement in Russia.

Overthrow of the Czarist Regime, March, 1917. In the years which followed, there was a great deal of unrest throughout the Empire. Peasants and workers, intellectuals and businessmen—all were dissatisfied with Nicholas' reactionary policies. The minority nationalities seethed with discontent because of their unfair treatment. The Czar, for his part, continued to rely on the police and army to maintain order. At the same time, he looked about for new foreign adventures to regain his prestige. His ambitions in the Balkans helped to bring on World War I (see pp. 544-545).

Once again, war revealed tragic mismanagement on the part of the government.

The Russian armies ran short of guns, shells, and other essential equipment. Many of the commanders proved incompetent. Millions of soldiers were killed, wounded, or taken prisoner by the enemy. On the home front, the transportation system broke down. Food and fuel became scarce. In Petrograd, formerly St. Petersburg, thousands of hungry workers walked out on strike. Even the hand-picked Duma dared to demand reforms.

The Czar's only remedy was more repression. In March, 1917, he dismissed the Duma and ordered the strikers back to work. Large-scale rioting now broke out in the capital. Soldiers, when ordered to fire on the strikers, defied their officers and hoisted the red flag of revolution. In the course of a few days, the imperial regime collapsed completely. The Czar was compelled to abdicate and the Duma formed a provisional government. So ended the rule of the "Autocrat of All the Russias." The Czar's lack of concern for the welfare of his subjects had cost him his throne and was later to cost him his life as well. His overthrow was to be followed by an even more troubled chapter in Russia's long and unhappy history.

The Triumph of Modern Nationalism

The Results of Modern Nationalism

Different Aspects of Modern Nationalism. During the course of the nineteenth century, nationalism swept over Europe like a tidal wave. It changed the face of the entire continent. However, in different places it had different effects. In the Italian peninsula and in Germany, the inhabitants became aware of the common bonds which made them distinct nationalities. They swept

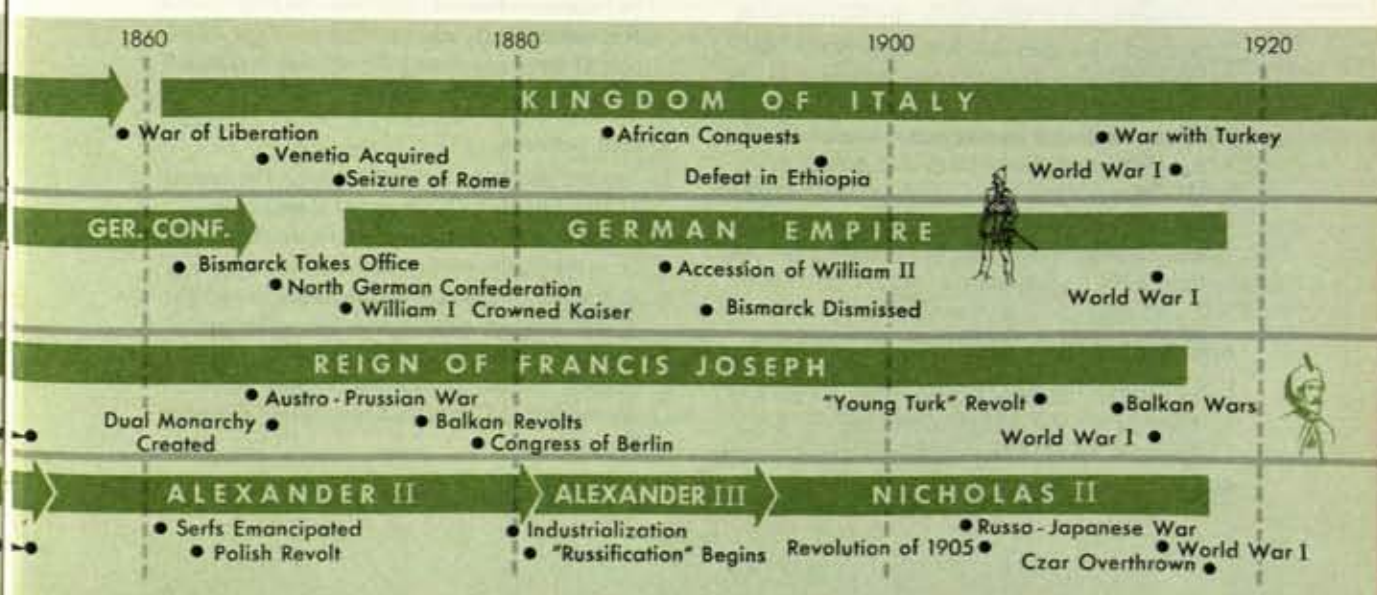
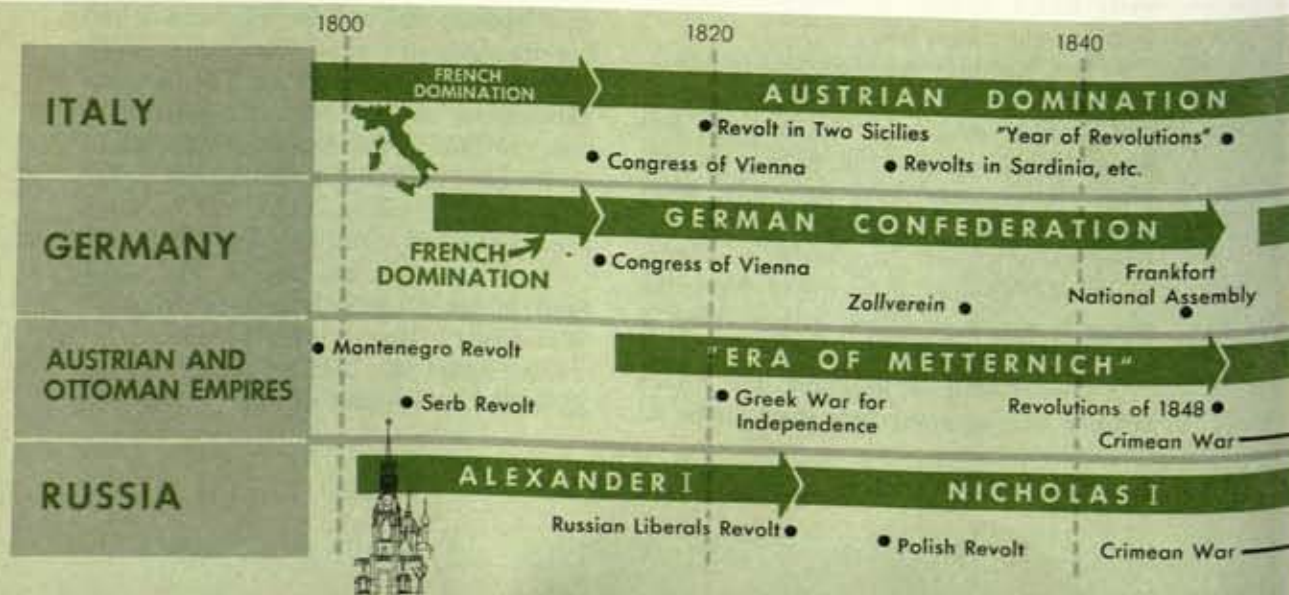
aside the barriers dividing them and formed new unified nations.

In the Austrian and Ottoman empires, on the other hand, nationalism proved a force for disunity. The subject nationalities sought to gain freedom from foreign rule. When their efforts finally proved successful, both of these large empires ceased to exist. A number of new small nations appeared in their stead. The situation was much the same in the Russian Empire. The minority nationalities there played an important part in the fight against czarist absolutism. Later, as we shall see, some of them also succeeded in forming independent states.

Other Examples of Nationalism. These were not the only examples of change brought about by modern nationalism. As we have seen, the Norwegians broke away from Sweden in 1905. The Irish, after centuries of struggle against English rule, achieved self-government in 1921 (see p. 533). During the past half-century or so, nationalist movements have also appeared among many other peoples, particularly in Asia and Africa. The more important of these movements will be described later.

An Evaluation of Nationalism. Nationalism has proved a very powerful force in modern history. It led oppressed and disunited peoples to seek the right to determine their own destiny. It inspired patriots to dedicate themselves to the service of their nation. It stimulated writers, artists, and musicians to produce great works which enriched their nation's culture. In these ways, nationalism undoubtedly served as a force for progress.

However, nationalism has not been an unmixed blessing for mankind. When carried to excess, it has aggravated differences among peoples and has given rise to conflict. Extreme nationalists tried to achieve "greatness" for their country through military strength and conquest. They boasted of their superiority to minority peoples and subjected them to mistreatment. Sometimes, they deliberately stirred up an international crisis in order to turn public attention away from domestic problems. Extreme nationalists of this sort always posed as patriots and as defenders of their country's interests. In reality, they often proved to be its very worst enemies.





54 / Lesson Review

Checking the facts

1. Explain: emancipation of the serfs; Russification; pogroms; Revolution of 1905; Duma; March Revolution (1917).
2. Identify: Alexander I; Nicholas I; Alexander II; Alexander III; Nicholas II; Terrorists; Constitutional Democrats; Social Revolutionaries; Social Democrats.
3. What were the major nationalities and religious groups in the Russian Empire?
4. Discuss political and economic conditions in early nineteenth-century Russia. How did the Crimean War reveal the weaknesses of Russian society?
5. What important reforms did Czar Alexander II introduce? Why did he lose interest in reform?
6. Why did Alexander III adopt a policy of harsh repression? How did he seek to divert his subjects' attention from domestic problems?
7. Why did the peasants' discontent increase during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries? Why were the factory workers and the middle class also dissatisfied? How did the discontented groups seek to bring about change?
8. What was the immediate cause of the Revolution of 1905? Why did it fail?
9. What were the reasons for Czar Nicholas II's abdication in March, 1917? How was Russia governed for the next few months?

Applying history

1. Catherine the Great once said, "The only way to save our empire from the encroachment of the people is to engage in war and

thus substitute national passions for social aspirations." Explain her reasoning. What evidence is there that later Russian rulers followed this policy?

2. Compare conditions in early twentieth-century Russia with those in France under the Old Regime (pp. 332-333). Evaluate the observation that Russia was "an eighteenth-century despotism in the twentieth-century world."
3. Why did the Russian Terrorists resort to violence? Why did their methods fail to bring about reform?
4. Why was czarist Russia called a "police state"? Why did the czars' harsh rule prove ineffective in preventing revolution?
5. Discuss: The Industrial Revolution did more to destroy czarist absolutism than all the Terrorists and other revolutionary groups combined. Do you think the czars should have tried to prevent industrialization instead of promoting it? Justify your answer.
6. Why has the Revolution of 1905 been called "a dress rehearsal for the March 1917 Revolution"? By what measures might Nicholas II have prevented the second outbreak?

Special activities

1. Draw a poster or cartoon to show the causes of the March 1917 Russian Revolution.
2. Read to the class passages from the works of nineteenth-century Russian writers, such as Tolstoi or Dostoevski, to show the plight of the Russian people and the sufferings of political prisoners in Siberia.
3. Prepare a class report on the life of Czar Alexander I, Czar Nicholas II, or Gregory Rasputin.

Summarizing Unit 11

1. Complete the chart:

Nation	Benefits of nationalism	Harmful effects
Italy		
Germany		
Austrian Empire		
Ottoman Empire		
Russian Empire		

2. Play a map game in which the players take turns in locating the places mentioned in Unit 11.
3. Find examples of nationalistic movements in the current news.
4. In your history notebook, outline the main political developments in each of the major countries discussed in this unit.
5. Debate: Nationalism was an all-important factor in promoting European progress during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Books to Read

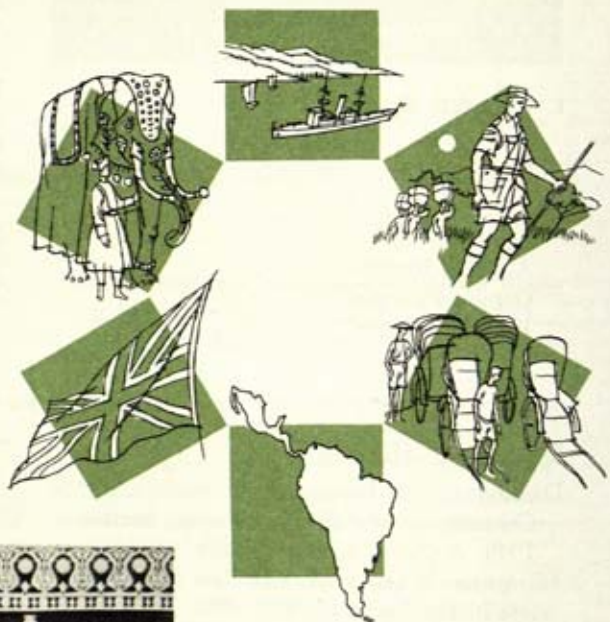
Specialized Accounts

- DARMSTAEDTER, FRIEDRICH. *Bismarck and the Creation of the Second Reich*. Methuen, 1949. A sound, scholarly study.
- *GEWEHR, WESLEY M. *The Rise of Nationalism in the Balkans, 1800-1930*. Holt, 1931. An excellent brief survey.
- *GLADSTONE, E. W., E. R. ST. AUBYN, and B. REES. *The Unification of Italy*. Macmillan, 1955. Well written and full of interesting detail.
- *HAYES, CARLTON J. H. *Essays on Nationalism*. Macmillan, 1926.
- . *The Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism*. Macmillan, 1949. Thoughtful studies of modern nationalism by an eminent American historian.
- KARPOVICH, MICHAEL. *Imperial Russia, 1801-1917*. Holt, 1932. A brief, scholarly treatment.
- *KOHN, HANS. *The Idea of Nationalism*. Macmillan, 1944.
- *———. *Nationalism, Its Meaning and History*. Van Nostrand, 1955. Thorough analyses by a distinguished modern specialist.
- NAZAROFF, ALEXANDER I. *The Land of the Russian People*. Lippincott, 1944. A brief, clear account of Russian geography and political developments.
- SHUSTER, G. and A. BERGSTRAESSER. *Germany: A Short History*. Norton, 1944. A brief, readable survey.

- TREVELYAN, GEORGE M. *Garibaldi and the Thousand*. Longmans, Green, 1948.
- . *Garibaldi and the Making of Italy*. Longmans, Green, 1948. Vivid accounts of the exploits of the hero of Italian unification.
- WHYTE, A. J. B. *The Evolution of Modern Italy*. Blackwell, 1944. An excellent scholarly treatment.

Biographies and Historical Fiction

- *BAKER, NINA B. *Garibaldi*. Vanguard, 1944. Simple, pleasant reading.
- BARR, STRINGFELLOW. *Mazzini: Portrait of an Exile*. Holt, 1935. Lively biography of a colorful figure in the movement for Italian unification.
- CARR, ALBERT. *Men of Power: A Book of Dictators*. Viking, 1956. Includes brief biographies of Bismarck and Cavour.
- *MARIA PAVLOVNA, GRAND DUCHESS OF RUSSIA. *The Education of a Princess*. Viking, 1931. Life at the imperial Russian court and the coming of the Revolution.
- MARRIOT, JOHN A. R. *Makers of Modern Italy: Napoleon to Mussolini*. Oxford, 1931. Especially valuable for its description of the leaders of Italian unification.
- TAYLOR, A. J. P. *Bismarck: The Man and the Statesman*. Knopf, 1955. A scholarly, interesting biography.
- TOLSTOI, LEO. *Anna Karenina*. Various editions. A novel about the life of the upper classes in late nineteenth-century Russia.



UNIT 12

MODERN IMPERIALISM: THE CLIMAX OF EUROPEAN EXPANSION

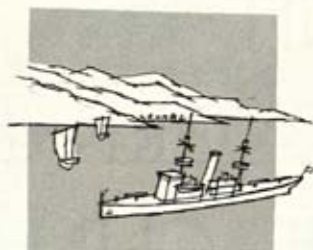
Imperialism means, literally, the building of an empire. It has existed, in one form or another, since the dawn of history. European imperialism began with the famous Voyages of Discovery and Exploration at the end of the fifteenth century (see pp. 256-260). During the next few centuries, Europeans founded trading stations along the coasts of Africa and India, engaged in commerce with China and Japan, and planted settlements in the New World. This first stage of European expansion, which reached its climax in the eighteenth century, is usually referred to as the "old imperialism."

For a time, especially in the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century, interest in the building of colonial empires declined. Then, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, there began the greatest scramble for territory in history. In little more than a generation, European powers annexed virtually all of Africa and brought large portions of Asia under their control. This second stage of expansion has been labeled the modern or "new imperialism." It is this new imperialism which is the subject of the present unit.

Some important questions are:

1. Why was there a revival of interest in imperialism in the late nineteenth century?
2. How did the Europeans carve out great empires for themselves in Africa?
3. Why did China and Japan respond differently to Western imperialism?
4. How did the European powers gain control of other parts of Asia?
5. Why was Latin America able to safeguard its independence from imperialist threats?
6. How did the British combine imperialism with democracy in some of their colonies?

55 / THE NATURE OF MODERN IMPERIALISM



Europe is one of the smaller continents, a mere fraction in size and population of its huge neighbor, Asia. Yet, during the past four and a half centuries, European ways of life have been spread throughout the world. North America, South America, and Australia were all explored and settled by peoples of European origin. Africa was an easy prey to European conquest, and most of Asia also fell under the control of Europeans for a time. Even the frozen wastes of the Arctic and Antarctic were not safe from their restless explorations. For the first time in history, the entire globe came to be dominated by a single culture.

FROM THE OLD IMPERIALISM TO THE NEW

The Old Imperialism. The old imperialism had been inspired by a variety of factors (see p. 256). Most important was the desire for wealth and power. Under the mercantile theory, colonies were considered valuable assets. Their commerce was strictly regulated by the mother country in the interests of its own businessmen. The merchants of other countries, barred from lawful trade, had to resort to smuggling and piracy in an effort to gain a share of the profits. Conflicts over colonies and com-

merce stained red the pages of Europe's history in the early modern era.

Portugal, Spain, Holland, France, and England—each of these nations vied for colonial supremacy. Victory was won by the strongest sea power, England. By the close of the Seven Years' War in 1763 (see pp. 303–309), that country had gained dominance in North America and in India. It had also acquired numerous colonies in other parts of the world. Though its former rivals retained some of their holdings, they could no longer hope to challenge England's leadership.

Decline of the Old Imperialism. The century or so which followed witnessed a reaction against imperialism. During most of the nineteenth century, Europeans were absorbed in internal affairs. The continent was torn by political conflicts stemming from the French Revolution, the Napoleonic Wars, and the struggles for Italian and German unification. At the same time, the coming of the Industrial Revolution provided businessmen with plenty of opportunities to make money close at home.

Changing economic ideas were also important. The old mercantile theory was gradually swept away as laissez-faire doctrines (see p. 321) took hold in Europe. Businessmen, especially in England, favored

a policy of free trade. That is, they wished to trade freely with other nations without government interference. As tariffs and other trade restrictions were relaxed, the value of colonies decreased. "Why should we bear the expense of governing colonies," many people asked, "when their trade is open to all nations on equal terms?"

Moreover, the old imperialism suffered a severe setback when a series of revolutions occurred in the New World. Great Britain's American colonies broke away and won their independence in 1783. Within half a century, the Spanish and Portuguese colonies in Latin America had gained their freedom. Several small revolts also occurred in Canada in 1837. The lesson seemed clear. People compared colonies to the fruits of a tree, which fall off when they grow ripe. One famous British statesman expressed this point of view when he said, "These wretched colonies will all be independent in a few years, and are a millstone around our necks."

Reasons for the Revival of Imperialism. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, another important reversal of opinion occurred. Imperialism again became very popular. Once more, the urge to explore and expand, to get new colonies, gripped the imagination of individuals and nations. Within a few decades, the imperialist European powers staked out their claims to most of the globe.

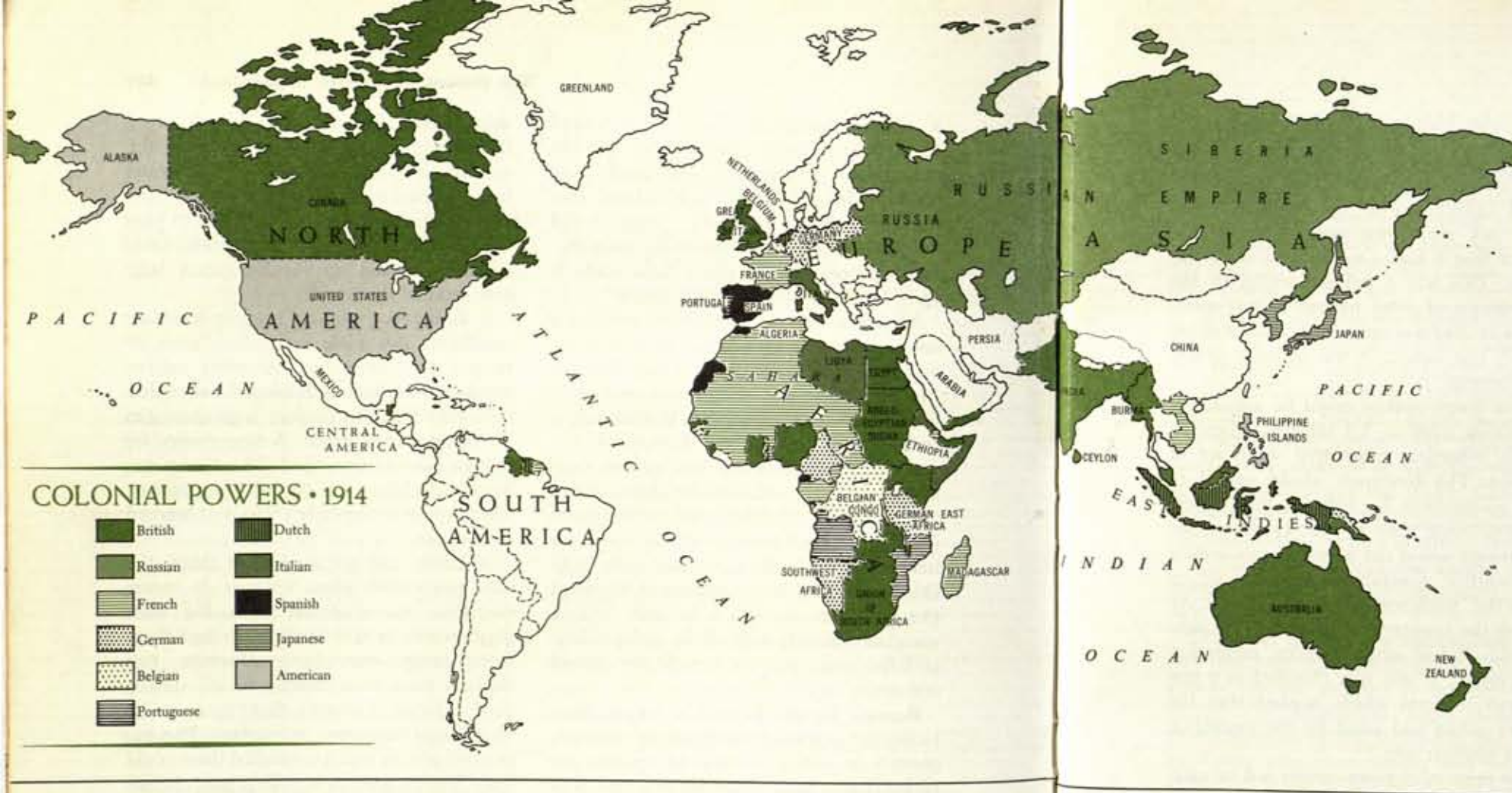
1. *Europe's scientific and technical advances.* The revival of imperialism was partly the result of the scientific and technical advances of the growing Industrial Revolution. Improvements in transportation and communication brought the entire world closer together. Railroads could cross deserts and penetrate tropical forests. Steel steam-

ships could transport large cargoes across the oceans at low cost. Medical men discovered preventives or remedies for diseases found in backward areas. Finally, new types of weapons made it much easier to deal with hostile natives. Taken together, these advances opened up for Europeans large new areas of the world.

2. *Economic reasons.* Changing economic conditions also made imperialism more attractive to businessmen. As other nations besides Great Britain developed new industries, they began to produce large quantities of manufactured goods. A new rivalry for foreign markets developed. This rivalry was heightened by a great economic depression, which began in the early 1870's and dragged on for years.

As *laissez faire* lost much of its charm, the old mercantilist ideas revived. In many countries, manufacturers persuaded their governments to raise tariffs to protect them from foreign competition. However, this made it even more difficult to sell surplus goods abroad. Colonies then came to be increasingly important as markets. The imperialist powers which controlled them could grant favored treatment to their own citizens and could keep out the goods of rival nations. "Trade follows the flag" was a slogan often used by businessmen to justify the acquisition of colonies.

Colonies also became desirable as sources of valuable raw materials and foodstuffs. Industry found many new uses for rubber, hemp, coconut oil, and other materials not produced in Europe. Consumers increased their demand for coffee, tea, cocoa, sugar, and tropical fruits. Because these could be obtained cheaply from colonial areas, Europeans were able to enjoy a higher standard of living than in the past.



In order to secure these products, it was usually necessary to cultivate plantations, improve harbors, and build railroads and telegraph lines. Foreign businessmen had to invest large amounts of capital for these purposes. The risks involved in conducting business enterprises in backward regions were often great. Many businessmen lost their money and some even lost their lives. However, since native labor was cheap, a successful enterprise in the colonies would make much larger profits than in Europe. The desire to invest capital profitably was another economic reason for imperialism.

3. *Nationalism as a factor.* Growing nationalism was also a factor in the revival of imperialism. Super-patriots believed that a nation had to own colonies in order to be considered a great power. Their hearts swelled with pride at the thought of extensive possessions in distant lands. The story is told of a penniless London beggar who looked at a map of the British Empire and proudly boasted, "We British own the world!"

Military men, and other people as well, supported the nationalist arguments on various grounds. Colonies in strategic locations

could serve as military or naval bases. Those with a large population could supply recruits for the colonial power's armed forces. Those which were sparsely settled could provide an outlet for the nation's surplus population. The emigrants would be able to settle under their own flag, instead of being lost to foreign lands. Finally, almost any colony could be called a military asset if it provided raw materials the mother country would need in time of war.

4. *Humanitarian reasons.* Still another reason for spreading imperialism was humanitarianism. As we have seen (see p. 401), this

was a powerful influence in nineteenth-century Europe. Inspired by progress within their own countries, humanitarians spoke confidently of bringing education, sanitation, and other blessings of Western culture to backward peoples. It was, they said, "the white man's burden" to civilize "his little brown brothers."

Missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant, went forth in ever increasing numbers to preach the Christian gospel. Some, trained as medical men, also served the natives by treating their bodily ailments. Others established schools which spread Western ideas along with Western religious doctrines. Through their devoted efforts, the missionaries succeeded in winning many millions of converts to Christianity.

5. *The romance of imperialism.* Lastly, the desire for excitement and adventure also played a role in the revival of imperialism. Men and women of all ages thrilled at the thought of travel to strange and distant lands. The very names of some of these places—Mandalay, Tibet, Bali, and Timbaktu, for example—seemed a challenge to those who longed to escape the humdrum activities of civilized existence. Books by travelers, explorers, and foreign missionaries became best-sellers of the day in Europe and America. Even Queen Victoria of England fell under the spell and proudly assumed a new romantic title, "Empress of India."

FEATURES OF THE NEW IMPERIALISM

A Comparison Between the Old Imperialism and the New. In several respects, the new imperialism seemed like the old. Both were motivated by "gospel, gold, and glory," though in each case the desire for

wealth was probably strongest. Both were also marked by bitter rivalries among nations, which frequently led to diplomatic clashes and even to wars.

However, there were some important differences between the two. Under the old imperialism, European conquests were generally limited to temperate and sparsely settled lands like the New World. In the densely populated civilized countries of the Far East or in the disease-ridden tropical portions of Africa, the white men were confined to trading posts along the coasts. The new imperialism was considerably more thorough and far-reaching. Thanks to the scientific progress of the nineteenth century, the Europeans were able to overcome the obstacles which had stopped them earlier. They now penetrated the interior of Africa and Asia and imposed their political and economic control over both continents.

Methods of the New Imperialism. The methods used by the new imperialists varied from one place to another. In central Africa and in other backward areas, an explorer or merchant might give a native chief a few trinkets or other trifling gifts. In return, the chief would sign away his land or grant special trading rights. In more advanced regions, such as Egypt, it was bankers who often served as the spearhead of imperialism. Extravagant rulers would contract large loans at ruinous interest rates. When they found it impossible to repay their debts, they would have to grant all sorts of privileges to the foreign capitalists. The latter would be given contracts to build railways, to drill oil wells, or to carry on other profitable activities. Such contracts were known as concessions. A concession would run for a long period of time, usually fifty or ninety-nine years.

The foreign capitalists were naturally anxious to keep out rivals. They could sometimes achieve this goal if they gained sufficient influence over the ruler. Or they might ask their own government to announce that it had a special interest in the region. This was a polite warning to the businessmen of other nations to stay away. When an area was open to the businessmen of only one nation, it was called a sphere of influence.

More direct control might be imposed if the native ruler or his subjects, resenting foreign influence, committed some act of violence. The foreigners would appeal to their government for help. A military expedition would then be sent to the rescue. The troops would not be withdrawn until a "trustworthy" government had been set up under the "guidance" of foreign advisers. Although the country still seemed to be independent, it had actually fallen under foreign control. It was now classified as a protectorate, a term which implied that the weaker nation had asked for the protection of the stronger one.

The imperialist power might not be satisfied with this kind of arrangement. It might prefer to annex formally the undeveloped country as a colony. In such a case, the final result of imperialist activity was open conquest. However, protectorates, spheres of influence, and concessions were also forms of imperialism. Once Europeans became interested in a backward country, it usually ceased to be independent.

The Fruits of Imperialism. By using methods like those described above, a number of nations succeeded in acquiring vast imperial holdings throughout the world. Great Britain, long the leading naval and colonial power, gained the lion's share. By

1914, its possessions comprised more than one-fifth of the total land surface of the globe and contained an amazing variety of races, nationalities, religions, and cultures. Since its colonies were to be found in every continent and ocean, it was truly said, "The sun never sets on the British Empire." (See map, p. 490.)

Second in size was the Russian Empire, which included most of northern and central Asia. Unlike all the others, it consisted of a single large land mass. The French held the third largest empire. Though more than half was barren desert (the Sahara), it contained a number of valuable colonies scattered throughout the world. Germany, Belgium, and Portugal also possessed sizable colonial holdings, mainly in Africa. Holland, Italy, Spain, Japan, and the United States completed the list of colonial powers in the early twentieth century.

Criticisms of the New Imperialism. The fact that so many nations were anxious to acquire colonies attested to the popularity of the new imperialism. Most Europeans were impressed by the arguments put forth by businessmen, nationalists, and missionaries in its favor. Moreover, the last decades of the nineteenth century were a period of economic progress and rising living standards in Europe. People took it for granted that they were reaping the benefits of imperialism. Many thought that the natives in the colonies were also benefiting through contact with the more advanced civilization of the West.

However, there were some Europeans who strongly opposed imperialism. They argued that in practice "the white man's burden" was usually borne by "his little brown brothers." Imperialists took away the natives' land, deprived them of their

freedom, and forced them to work for a few cents a day. Their traditional way of life was completely upset. According to its opponents, imperialism brought mainly poverty and misery to the natives.

The foes of imperialism also denied that colonies were an economic asset for the controlling power. They insisted that only a few individuals reaped the profits, while the great mass of their countrymen had to bear the costs. They said, too, that it would be better for the nation if businessmen invested in the development of industries at home rather than in foreign lands. By creating more jobs and raising wages, they could improve the standard of living of their own citizens. A prosperous people would be the most reliable market for the output of the factories. As for raw materials, businessmen would be able to buy them at the market price regardless of where or by whom they were produced.

Lastly, the anti-imperialists pointed out the dangers of imperialism to peace. The natives frequently revolted in an effort to regain their freedom, and expensive military expeditions were necessary to "pacify" them. Even more dangerous was the growing colonial rivalry among the great powers. The final results of the new imperialism, as of the old, might well be another series of world-wide wars.

Both the foes of imperialism and its defenders tended to take extreme positions, that is, they failed to see more than one aspect of the problem. Actually, the results varied greatly from place to place. In the remainder of the unit, we shall study some of the outstanding examples of modern imperialism. From these, the reader may draw his own conclusions as to its benefits and drawbacks.



55 / Lesson Review

Checking the facts

1. Explain: imperialism; "Europeanization"; free trade; "white man's burden"; surplus population; surplus goods; concession; sphere of influence; protectorate.
2. Why did the old imperialism decline during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries?
3. Explain how each of these factors had a role in the revival of imperialism during the last quarter of the nineteenth century: Europe's scientific and technical advances; rivalries among businessmen of different nations; rising nationalism and militarism; humanitarianism.
4. Describe briefly the methods used by late-nineteenth-century imperialists to gain control of backward areas. Give an example of each.
5. What arguments did the advocates of the new imperialism offer to justify their policy? What criticisms were directed against imperialism by its opponents?

Applying history

1. Explain and evaluate:
 - a. History tells of a perpetual struggle among different peoples for control of the earth's food supply and other natural resources.
 - b. If it had not been for the Industrial Revolution, modern imperialism would have been impossible.
 - c. The methods of modern imperialism are more humane than those used in any previous civilization.
2. In the sixteenth century, Europeans admired the Orient for its wealth and ancient wisdom. In the nineteenth century, they spoke of "bringing civilization to its backward peoples." Why did the Europeans' viewpoint change?
3. Advocates of imperialism say that "trade follows the flag"; its opponents say that "the

flag follows trade." Explain and evaluate each statement.

4. Marxists say that modern imperialism is the inevitable result of competition among the capitalists of the advanced industrial nations. How does the imperialism of the Russians and Italians in the late nineteenth century offer evidence to disprove this theory?
5. What risks does a businessman take when he invests in a backward area? Why were many businessmen willing to take these risks in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries? Why has foreign investment in underdeveloped areas fallen off sharply in recent years?

History and geography

1. List and locate (map, p. 490) the important colonial holdings of these powers in 1914: Great Britain; Russia; France; Germany; Italy; Japan.
2. Why were the British able to boast that "the sun never sets on the British Empire" (map, p. 490)?
3. What was the fundamental geographic difference between the British and Russian empires (map, p. 490)? How was Great Britain able to insure the security of its farflung colonies?

Special activities

1. Arrange an exhibit of raw materials which the United States must import from underdeveloped areas. Show why they are important to our economy.
2. Draw a poster or cartoon to illustrate what the European powers expected to gain from imperialism in Asia and Africa.
3. Stage a debate between advocates of imperialism and anti-imperialists on the proposition: The new imperialism brought beneficial results to both the imperialist powers and the native peoples.



Africa is the second largest of the continents. Its vast area contains a wide variety of climate and soils—humid tropical lowlands and cool healthful plateaus, arid deserts and thick rain forests, grass-covered plains and fertile regions suitable for agriculture. There are many valuable mineral deposits, including diamonds, gold, copper, and iron ore. Its rich resources, along with the backwardness of most of the native peoples, made Africa an attractive field for European imperialism.

In the late fifteenth century, the Portuguese established trading stations along Africa's west coast (see p. 258). From these they obtained gold, ivory, and Negro slaves. Spain and other European nations soon followed Portugal's lead and established trading stations of their own in West Africa. At the southern tip of the continent, the Dutch founded the Cape Colony as a supply base for ships making the long voyage to the East Indies. Despite these early settlements, however, Africa was long known as "the Dark Continent." Its vast interior remained a mystery, unvisited by Europeans and untouched by Western civilization.

THE PARTITION OF TROPICAL AFRICA

Obstacles to Exploration. European penetration of Africa was delayed mainly by geographical obstacles. Advance from the north was blocked by the trackless wastes of the world's largest desert, the Sahara. Along the west coast were tropical lowlands, so hot and disease-infested that they became known as "the white man's grave." Elsewhere, the coast was lined with steep mountains, through which rivers plunged downward in a series of impassable rapids and waterfalls. It was not until the nineteenth century that a handful of brave explorers succeeded in overcoming these difficulties and in opening the way for European imperialism.

The Explorations of Livingstone and Stanley. The greatest of these early explorers was a courageous and kindly British missionary, David Livingstone. Sent to Africa in 1840, Livingstone became deeply interested in the problems of the natives. In order to open the continent to civilizing influences, he embarked on one long trip after another

deep into the interior. Livingstone traveled an estimated thirty thousand miles over a period of thirty years! He explored a huge area, the basin of the Zambezi River and the lake country to the north.

A second great African explorer was the adventurous American journalist, Henry M. Stanley. Stanley first gained fame by finding Livingstone, who for a time was believed lost in the wilds of Africa. A few years later, he organized another expedition and explored the basin of the mighty Congo River. Stanley's books and lectures won a wide audience because of their stirring tales of adventure. More important, they awakened promoters and businessmen to the rich economic possibilities of tropical Africa.

Division of the Congo Basin. First to act was the king of the Belgians, Leopold II. Leopold posed as a humanitarian. In 1876, he called an international conference to aid him in a crusade "to pierce the darkness" and "open to civilization the only part of our globe where it has not yet penetrated." Leopold gained numerous supporters, organized a company, and hired Stanley to act as his agent.

The noted explorer slowly pushed his way inland along the Congo River. He built roads, established trading posts, and signed treaties with the native chiefs. Meanwhile, the French became suspicious. They sent out an expedition which also negotiated treaties with a number of chiefs. The rival claims were settled a few years later by a division of the disputed territories. The region to the north of the river went to France and became known as the French Congo. That to the south came under the personal rule of Leopold II and became known as the Congo Free State (map, p. 502).

Establishment of the Belgian Congo. Leopold hastened to exploit the natural

wealth of his new territory. But there was one great difficulty—the natives were unwilling to work for their distant ruler. A tax was therefore imposed on each village, payable in ivory and rubber. If the tax was not paid, the village was set afire and the inhabitants were beaten or murdered. The native population decreased rapidly as a result of these cruel policies. However, in the course of a few years, Leopold made a huge fortune.

In time, these atrocities came to Europe's attention. They gave rise to a storm of protest. Leopold was obliged to turn over his African holdings to the Belgian government in 1908. The Belgian parliament then introduced a number of important reforms. The cruel punishments imposed earlier were outlawed. Taxes were reduced and the natives were paid wages for their work. To help raise their living standards, schools and hospitals were built. The Belgian Congo eventually became a leading example of the policy of "enlightened imperialism."

Other European Acquisitions in West Africa. Leopold's success in tapping the wealth of the Congo touched off a scramble for colonies all over Africa. In the large and fertile Niger Valley, British and French trading companies engaged in a struggle for control. In the end, the British won out and annexed most of the area known as Nigeria. The French proceeded to take over most of the territory to the north, including the Sahara. Germany, which entered the colonial race rather late, also managed to acquire several important colonies in West Africa, notably South-west Africa, Togoland, and the Cameroons.

The Partition of East Africa. In the partition of East Africa, German imperialists took the lead. An energetic young German, Karl Peters, secretly landed there and per-

sued the native chiefs to sign away more than sixty thousand square miles in ten days! This feat aroused the British and French, who hurried to stake out their own claims. To avoid conflict, a deal was soon arranged. Germany and Great Britain divided the mainland territories between them, while France took control of the large island of Madagascar (map, p. 502).

Italy also gained a share of East Africa—two small barren colonies on the Red Sea coast, Eritrea and Somaliland. Later, in 1896, an Italian army attempted to conquer the large neighboring country of Ethiopia. However, it was attacked and destroyed by the natives. For the time being, the Italians had to rest content with their meager holdings.

Imperialist Diplomacy in Africa. As long as there was enough land in Africa for everyone, the rival powers were able to work out their differences peacefully. Early in the colonial race, they held an important conference in Berlin to deal with African questions. The Berlin Conference of 1884–1885 settled the disputes in the Congo Basin and in other areas of West Africa. Moreover, it laid down certain rules for acquiring colonies in the future. The powers agreed not to claim new territories until they had established “effective occupation” and had given due notice to other governments. They also promised to protect the natives and to suppress slavery and the slave trade. In general, the powers attempted to adhere to the rules drawn up by the Berlin Conference.

Later, the powers also managed to reach agreement on the division of East Africa. Their differences increased, however, as the amount of available territory diminished. In North and South Africa, the rivalry of the powers gave rise to bitter crises. On several

occasions, as we shall see, war was averted by only the narrowest of margins.

IMPERIALISM IN OTHER PORTIONS OF AFRICA

Conditions in North Africa. North Africa possesses a healthful climate, fertile farmlands, and valuable mineral resources. Unlike tropical Africa, it is inhabited mainly by Moslem peoples belonging to the white race and was once the home of great civilizations. In modern times, however, the region has declined steadily in importance. Large areas have been ruined by poor methods of herding and farming. The rulers have generally been incompetent and extravagant. They have favored a small class of wealthy landowners, while the vast majority of the population have lived in extreme poverty. In North Africa, as in other regions, weakness and backwardness served as an invitation to European conquest.

French Control over Algeria and Tunisia. France, Great Britain, Germany, and Italy were all rivals for power in North Africa. The French enjoyed an advantage because they had gained an early foothold in Algeria in 1830. Through a series of wars against the native tribes, they gradually extended their control until they occupied an area larger than France itself.

From Algeria, the French turned eastward to Tunisia, the site of ancient Carthage. Italy also had ambitions in this region, and Italian businessmen had obtained important concessions from the ruler. However, it was the French who eventually won out. Using border raids by Tunisian tribesmen as an excuse, they sent an army into the country. The ruler was forced to accept French advisers. Tunisia became a French protectorate in 1881.

The British in Egypt. The richest prize in North Africa, the fertile Nile Valley, fell to the British. Its ruler, Ismail "the Spendthrift," had borrowed huge sums from British and French bankers. When he found it impossible to repay his creditors, they took control of Egypt's finances. They cut the ruler's spending sharply and demanded that he appoint Europeans as his ministers. When he objected, they had him deposed.

These high-handed actions aroused the Egyptian people. With cries of "Down with the foreigners!" and "Egypt for the Egyptians!" they began to riot and kill the Europeans. The British government, after vainly seeking to secure French co-operation, finally came to the rescue. A British fleet bombarded Alexandria, and British troops occupied the entire country. Egypt became, in effect, a protectorate of Great Britain in 1882.

The British inaugurated an era of good government for Egypt. A sound financial system was established. Dishonest officials were discharged. Many public improvements were built, notably dams on the Nile to harness its floodwaters for irrigation. The population, thanks to modern health measures and a better food supply, increased rapidly. Nevertheless, the Egyptian people remained discontented because they were under the rule of the British, whom they regarded as "foreign infidels."

Other European Acquisitions in North Africa. Later, the British moved southward into the vast Sudan region, which controlled the headwaters of the Nile. They crushed a group of Moslem fanatics, the "whirling dervishes," who had earlier thrown off Egyptian rule. Meantime, the French, who had ambitions to build on "east-west empire" across the width of Africa, also sent an expedition into the Sudan. When the two

forces met at the tiny village of Fashoda in 1898, war seemed imminent. The crisis was ended only when the French gave way and withdrew from the region.

A few years later, in 1904, the two governments managed to settle their many colonial differences. Among other things, the French recognized British control in Egypt. The British in return gave France a "free hand" in Morocco, the large and valuable territory to the west of Algeria. The French soon took steps to establish their control over Morocco. But the Germans, who also had important interests there, challenged the French actions. On two occasions, war was only narrowly avoided. (For details of the Moroccan crises, see p. 544.) Eventually, in 1912, Morocco became a French protectorate.

Earlier, Italy had agreed to support France in Morocco. In return, the French promised Italy a free hand in Libya. The Italians acquired this large but barren territory after a brief war with Turkey (1911-1912). With the Italian conquest of Libya, all of North Africa came under European control.

British Versus Boers in South Africa. The temperate and healthful southern portion of Africa fell to Great Britain. During the Napoleonic Wars, that power had taken over the Cape Colony from Holland. However, the Boers, the descendants of the original Dutch settlers, were not happy under British rule. In the 1830's, after the British forced them to free their Negro slaves, thousands of them moved northward in a picturesque mass migration. They established two independent republics, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State.

Many years later, diamonds and gold were discovered in Boer territory. A horde of foreign prospectors, mainly British, flocked into the region. The Boers, fearing that they would lose control of their homeland, dis-

AFRICA

Base map © 1956 by Jeppesen and Co., Denver, Colorado.

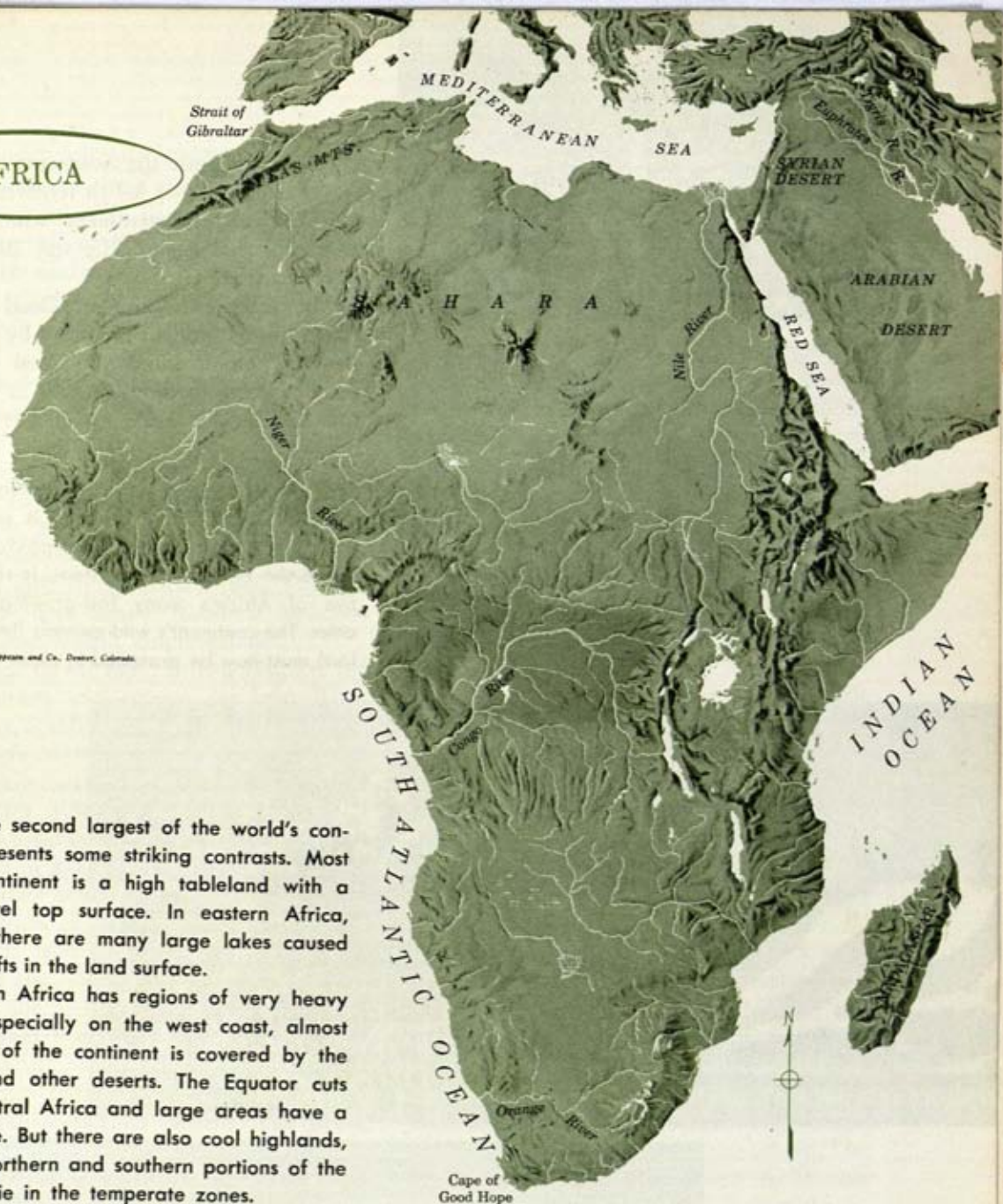
Africa, the second largest of the world's continents, presents some striking contrasts. Most of the continent is a high tableland with a nearly level top surface. In eastern Africa, however, there are many large lakes caused by deep rifts in the land surface.

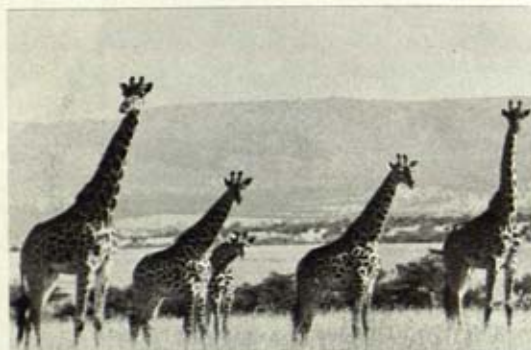
Although Africa has regions of very heavy rainfall, especially on the west coast, almost a quarter of the continent is covered by the Sahara and other deserts. The Equator cuts across central Africa and large areas have a hot climate. But there are also cool highlands, and the northern and southern portions of the continent lie in the temperate zones.

The Nile valley was the seat of one of the earliest civilizations in history. Overland caravan routes have joined the widely spaced smaller oases since ancient times.

Despite the development of civilization in the northeast, Africa long remained the "Dark

Continent": its interior was one of the last parts of the world to be explored. Once exploration was begun, enormous mineral wealth was found and, in some areas, rich soil for crops.





criminated against the newcomers in many ways. Their policies led to renewed friction with the British government, which repeatedly protested against the way its citizens were treated.

The Empire-Building of Cecil Rhodes. Matters were brought to a head by a famous British "empire-builder," Cecil Rhodes. Rhodes went to South Africa as a young man and quickly made a huge fortune from

The "Dark Continent" is being rapidly modernized. The Suez Canal (bottom) is one of the world's busiest waterways. Léopoldville, capital of the Belgian Congo (top), is representative of Africa's many fast-growing, modern cities. The continent's wild animals (left and below) must now be protected in game preserves.



the diamond and gold mines. Then he entered politics in the Cape Colony and became prime minister. Rhodes' ambition was to acquire all of South Africa for Great Britain. He also dreamed of a Cape-to-Cairo Railway, which would establish British dominance from one end of the continent to the other.

As a first step, Rhodes took over the large nearby territory of Bechuanaland. He persuaded the scattered Negro tribes, who were threatened by the gradual advance of Boer farmers, to place themselves under British protection. Then, moving northward, he acquired control of a far larger territory by generous gifts to the native ruler. This territory was later named Rhodesia in honor of the great British empire-builder.

Alarmed by the rapid British advance, the Boers turned to Germany for help. They granted a number of important concessions to German businessmen. At the same time, they discriminated even more openly against the British. Rhodes finally abandoned all hope for a peaceful settlement. In 1895, he smuggled in arms to the British miners and organized an armed expedition to help them seize control of the government. However, the Boers learned of the plot and easily captured the raiders. Rhodes was disgraced and was forced to retire from public life.

The Boer War, 1899-1902. This incident increased the hostile feeling on both sides. The British pressed their demands for better treatment of their citizens. The Boers, confident of Germany's support, refused to give way. When the British sent large numbers of troops to the Cape Colony, the Boers broke off negotiations and declared war. To their disappointment, however, Germany, which had recently signed a secret colonial agreement with Great Britain, refused to come to their aid. The two little Boer repub-

lics found themselves fighting alone against the mighty British Empire.

At the outset of the struggle, the Boers won a series of surprising victories. Then, when large British reinforcements drove them back, they resorted to guerrilla warfare. To cut off aid for the guerrillas, the British rounded up the inhabitants and placed them in detention camps. The Boers were finally forced to make peace. The two republics were annexed by Great Britain, which now held most of South Africa.

Problems of South Africa. The British proved generous victors. They promised the Boers self-government, recognized their language as equal to English, and granted them a large sum for reconstruction. Later, in 1910, the Boer and British states were combined to form the Union of South Africa. The Boers, who were more numerous than the settlers of British ancestry, soon achieved a dominant position in the new government. Nevertheless, bitter memories of the Boer War remained to divide the two peoples.

There was one issue, however, on which both groups were basically agreed. They were determined to keep down the natives, who outnumbered the white population by more than four to one. The Negroes were driven into small overcrowded reservations or compelled to seek employment on the white man's farms or in his mines. They were paid very low wages and were denied political rights. To complicate matters further, large numbers of laborers were brought in from India to help work the mines. The bad treatment they received led the Hindus to engage in frequent strikes and riots. In many respects, the Union of South Africa was the most advanced country of the African continent. Nevertheless, unsolved racial problems hung over its future like a dark cloud.





56 / Lesson Review

Checking the facts

1. Explain: Cape Colony; Berlin Conference (1884–1885); Fashoda crisis; Boers; Cape-to-Cairo Railway; Boer War.
2. Identify: Livingstone; Stanley; Leopold II; Karl Peters; Ismail “the Spendthrift”; Cecil Rhodes.
3. Why was Africa known as the “Dark Continent” during the early nineteenth century? What were the obstacles to its exploration?
4. Explain the part played by each of these men in the conquest of Africa: Livingstone; Stanley; King Leopold; Karl Peters.
5. How was the French–Italian rivalry over Tunisia settled? the British–French rivalry over the Sudan? the British–Boer conflict in South Africa?
6. Judging by the Belgian Congo and Egypt, what benefits did European imperialism bring the African natives? What new problems did it create?

Applying history

1. Discuss and evaluate: The careers of Livingstone and Stanley illustrate a number of the different motives for modern imperialism.
2. Why did tropical Africa prove a rich field for European imperialism? Why did the natives generally accept European rule at the outset? Why did many later rebel?
3. How did the Berlin Conference (1884–1885) seek to prevent European conflicts over Africa? Was it successful? Explain.
4. How did the British justify the establishment of a protectorate over Egypt? What benefits did their occupation bring the Egyptian people? Why were many Egyptians dissatisfied with British rule?

5. Discuss this statement, attributed to Cecil Rhodes: “Philanthropy is all very well in its way, but philanthropy plus five per cent is a good deal better.”

History and geography

1. Locate (map, p. 502): Cape Colony; French Congo; Belgian Congo; Nigeria; Southwest Africa; Togoland; Cameroons; Madagascar; Eritrea; Italian Somaliland; Ethiopia; Algeria; Tunisia; Sudan; Morocco; Libya; Transvaal; Orange Free State; Bechuanaland; Rhodesia; Union of South Africa.
2. List and locate the major possessions of the European powers in Africa in 1914 (map, p. 502). Which European powers had acquired the largest territories? Why was the French empire in Africa of considerably less value than the British?
3. Locate the important rivers of Africa (map, p. 499). Why were the European powers anxious to gain control of these waterways?

Special activities

1. Arrange a class exhibit on Africa’s geography, animal and plant life, and varied cultures.
2. Present brief class reports on important events in the life of Livingstone, Stanley, or some other important figure of African exploration and imperialism.
3. Read passages from travel books that describe the important regions of Africa. Discuss the differences between these descriptions and the average American’s mental picture of that continent.
4. Make a scrapbook of recent developments in Africa and report to the class on the most important of them. Discuss whether European rule has been successful or not.

57 / IMPERIALISM IN THE FAR EAST



When Marco Polo published his book about the Far East, he was called “the man of a million tales.” Europeans found it hard to believe that China was so much more advanced than Europe. However, after his story was confirmed by later travelers, they went to the other extreme. All sorts of legends grew up about the wealth and wisdom of the Chinese.

About 1350, not long after Marco Polo’s time, the Mongol Empire collapsed. The overland route across Asia was no longer safe for Europeans. Many years passed before the Portuguese discovered a new, all-water route to the Far East. Then, in the sixteenth century, Europeans again visited China. Once again, they were awe-struck by its achievements.

China at that time was the largest and richest country in the world. It was ruled by an able dynasty, the Mings. The Ming emperors built splendid palaces and beautified the great cities. Agriculture, industry, and commerce flourished. The Chinese produced many goods—notably tea, silk, porcelains, and fine art objects—which found an eager market in Europe. It was not surprising therefore that Europeans should show interest in visiting and doing business with China.

CHINA’S RESISTANCE TO CHANGE

The Chinese Attitude Toward the Europeans. The Chinese were naturally very proud of their ancient culture. They regarded the Europeans as barbarians and laughed at their strange appearance and customs. Nevertheless, they were quite friendly to the newcomers. Traders and missionaries were allowed to carry on their activities without interference. Some were invited to the emperor’s court and a few even found employment in his service.

This tolerant attitude did not last long. European merchants engaged in dishonest business dealings. Sailors created disturbances and misbehaved in other ways. Even the missionaries aroused ill will by their constant quarreling among themselves. As feeling rose against the “foreign devils,” the Chinese government decided to drive them out. In the early eighteenth century, Europeans were refused permission to live in the country. Thenceforth they were allowed to carry on trade at only one port, Canton.

Growing Weakness of the Chinese Empire. This harsh antiforeign policy was imposed by the Manchus (see p. 165), who had conquered China less than a century earlier. Since the early Manchu emperors were

strong and efficient rulers, they had little difficulty in enforcing the measures against the Europeans. However, the situation changed considerably after the opening of the nineteenth century, when the cycle seen so often in China's long history repeated itself. One incompetent emperor after another ascended the throne. The imperial court became a center of intrigues and plots. Government officials neglected their duties or acted as petty tyrants. The country suffered greatly from heavy taxation and unjust government.

As the people became more and more dissatisfied, the government found it impossible to maintain order. Bandit gangs roamed the countryside, looting and murdering at will. The armies sent to catch them often got out of control and behaved like bandits themselves. The disorders reached their climax when discontented Chinese staged a great revolt to drive out the Manchus. For almost fifteen years (1850-1864), the country was torn by a great civil war known as the Taiping Rebellion. About twenty million people lost their lives before the rebellion was finally suppressed. It was during this period of Manchu decline that the Western powers succeeded in forcing open China's door.

The "Opening" of China. European countries had long felt a drain on their money supply as a result of their trade with China. The Chinese, having little desire for foreign goods, required the Westerners to pay for their purchases in silver. To solve this problem, British merchants began smuggling Indian-grown opium into the country. The illegal traffic in this harmful drug grew by leaps and bounds. The emperor finally ordered that strict measures be taken to stop the trade. Opium chests worth millions of dollars were seized from British merchants

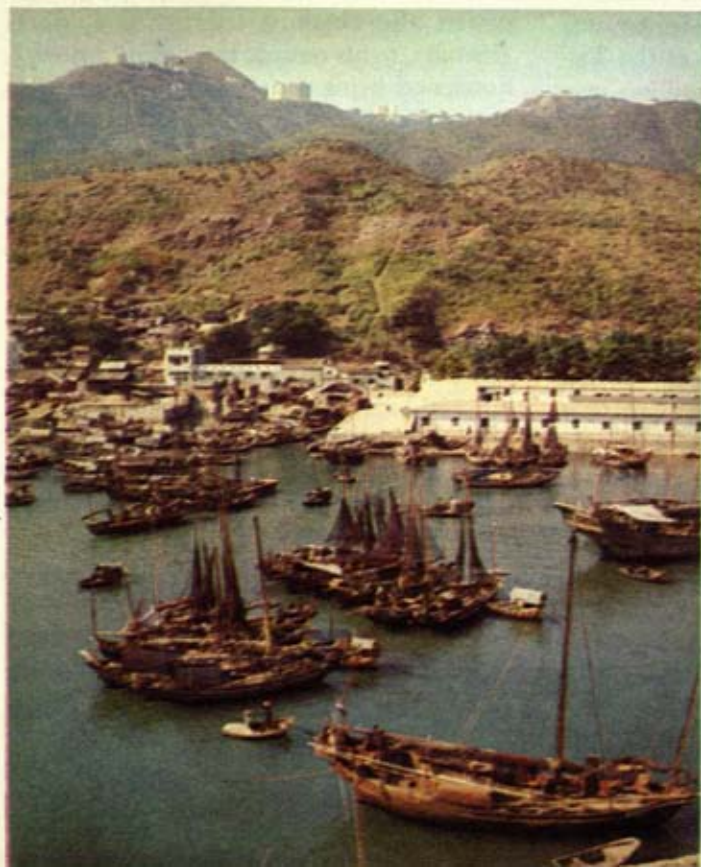
and destroyed. The British government replied by declaring war on China.

The "Opium War," 1840-1842, was a one-sided affair. British warships bombarded Canton and easily captured a number of forts. China was soon forced to sue for peace. It ceded the island of Hong Kong to Great Britain, opened five ports to foreign traders, and permitted the importation of opium. Fifteen years later, Great Britain, joined now by France, waged a second war against China. Again that country suffered defeat. The victors imposed a large indemnity, opened additional "treaty ports," and gained for Europeans the right to travel in the interior.

At each of the treaty ports, the Western powers obtained concessions of large areas for use by their businessmen. They protected these "foreign settlements" by stationing troops and gunboats there. To safeguard their citizens from harsh Chinese justice, the powers also obtained extraterritorial rights (literally, rights outside their own territory). Foreigners living or traveling in China were not responsible to the Chinese government for their actions. If they committed a crime, they were tried by their own courts and law.

Penetration and Dismemberment. Protected by their governments, the Europeans felt free to expand their activities. Missionaries were the first to penetrate the interior. Close behind them came traders looking for new markets and raw materials. Then bankers and other businessmen obtained concessions to build railroads and to develop the resources of surrounding districts. China, like Africa, became a vast field for modern economic imperialism.

Economic penetration, in turn, opened the way for political control. The powers began by nibbling away at China's outlying territories. (See map, p. 510.) Russia an-



The Manchu dynasty made Peking a splendid capital that contained magnificent temples and palaces and broad, tree-lined streets. The picture directly above shows the imperial Summer Palace. And Chinese craftsmen continued to produce superb porcelain (above, left).

Hong Kong (left), an island in Canton harbor, quickly became a thriving center for China's trade with the West after it had been acquired by Great Britain.

Volcanic Mount Fujiyama is one of the best-known examples of Japan's remarkable natural scenery. The country's mountainous terrain makes farming difficult, however, and there are frequent earthquakes and typhoons.



nexed the Maritime Provinces in the north in 1860. France took over all of Indo-China in 1885. Great Britain conquered Burma in 1886. This process of cutting up China was greatly hastened after Japan took a hand and became a competitor of the Western powers.

JAPAN'S IMITATION OF THE WEST

The Geography of Japan. Japan, like Great Britain, is an island nation. It consists of four main islands, which rise from the ocean off the eastern coast of Asia. It is a beautiful country, but rather a small and poor one. Its total area barely equals that of

the single American state of California. The land is so mountainous that only one-sixth of it can be cultivated. Except for some minerals and an abundance of sea food, Japan has few natural resources.

Early History. Little is known of Japan's early history. The islands were apparently settled by several different peoples from the mainland. According to legend, the country was united by a great emperor, Jimmo Tenny, whose mother was the sun goddess. All later emperors were supposed to be his direct descendants and were worshiped as gods. Emperor worship became an important feature of the Japanese state religion, Shinto. To die in battle for the ruler was the su-

preme honor. To fail him in any way was considered a great disgrace. It could be atoned for only by a ceremonial suicide known as *hara-kiri*. The Shinto religion thus encouraged a warlike spirit among the people.

Japan's culture was greatly influenced by its huge neighbor, China. Early in their history, the Japanese came into contact with the advanced Chinese civilization and adopted many of its features. They learned to cultivate rice, tea, and silk. They borrowed China's system of writing, its literature, and its arts. They also took over Buddhism, the family system, and the elaborate code of courtesy (see p. 59). However, the Japanese were not mere imitators. They shaped Chinese civilization to fit their own needs and way of life.

Rise of the Feudal System. Another important development in Japan's early history was the rise of a feudal system much like that of medieval Europe. In the twelfth century, the emperor lost his authority. He was still worshiped as a god but he lived in seclusion and exercised no control over the government. The real ruler was a powerful noble, the *shogun*. However, the shogun's authority was limited by the other nobles. Each noble maintained a band of fighting-men and sought to be independent in his own domain. The large majority of the people were poor serfs.

Japan's Isolation from the West. Japan, like China, was visited by Europeans in the sixteenth century. At first, the Western missionaries and merchants received a friendly welcome. However, the Japanese, long a civilized people, were soon antagonized by their visitors' rude behavior. In the seventeenth century they drove out the Europeans. Foreign contacts were then limited to a few Dutch traders at a single port. For

more than two hundred years, Japan was even more isolated than China.

The "Opening" of Japan, 1853. Around the middle of the nineteenth century, the United States became interested in opening up Japan to trade. It was also anxious to secure better treatment for American sailors, who had often been dealt with harshly when shipwrecked off the Japanese coast. A naval expedition, under Commodore Matthew C. Perry, was sent to Japan to negotiate a treaty dealing with these matters.

When the Japanese saw Perry's powerful warships, they were terrified. However, Perry sent word that he had come in peace. He also presented a variety of gifts to show the achievements of Western civilization. Then he explained the reasons for his visit.

The shogun asked for more time to reach a decision. Perry agreed but returned several months later with a larger fleet. The Japanese then consented to sign a favorable commercial treaty with the United States. Similar treaties were soon obtained by Russia, Great Britain, and other powers. Within a few years, Westerners were permitted to reside and trade freely in Japan. As in China, they also enjoyed extraterritorial rights.

Many of the Japanese nobles remained hostile. They encouraged the people to attack the foreigners. One powerful noble even dared to order the shelling of their vessels. To break the antiforeign movement, European and American warships bombarded several Japanese ports. The Japanese were finally convinced by this display of force and resolved to profit from the lesson. They opened wide the door to Western civilization.

The Westernization of Japan. The first sign of this changed attitude was a revolution in Japan's political life. The shogun agreed to surrender his power. A vigorous young emperor, Mutsuhito (1867-1912),

assumed direct control of the government. Under his far-sighted leadership, the Japanese plunged into the task of modernization. "All absurd old usages shall be abandoned," the Emperor informed his subjects. "Knowledge shall be sought throughout the world so that the foundations of the empire may be strengthened."

Able young Japanese were sent forth to Europe and America to study Western ways. Many prominent foreigners were invited in as teachers. The government made a series of far-reaching reforms to reshape the nation on the Western model. Feudalism was abolished. A new army and navy were organized. A constitution was issued and new codes of law were proclaimed. Public schools were built and education was made compulsory. Large factories and shipyards sprang into existence. Within a single generation, feudal Japan was transformed into a modern industrial nation. In recognition of this amazing progress, the Western powers agreed in 1899 to surrender their extraterritorial rights.

Reasons for Imperialism. The growth of industry resulted in higher living standards for Japan. However, it also gave rise to many problems. The country had to import raw materials for its factories. It also had to obtain food abroad because the population increased rapidly as a result of better medical care. To pay for these essential imports, Japan had to find foreign markets for its manufactured goods. Like the Europeans, many Japanese businessmen believed that they could solve these problems by obtaining colonies.

Japan's military leaders also strongly favored the policy of imperialism. They were still imbued with the fighting tradition of feudalism. Moreover, they were anxious to make Japan a great power. In response to

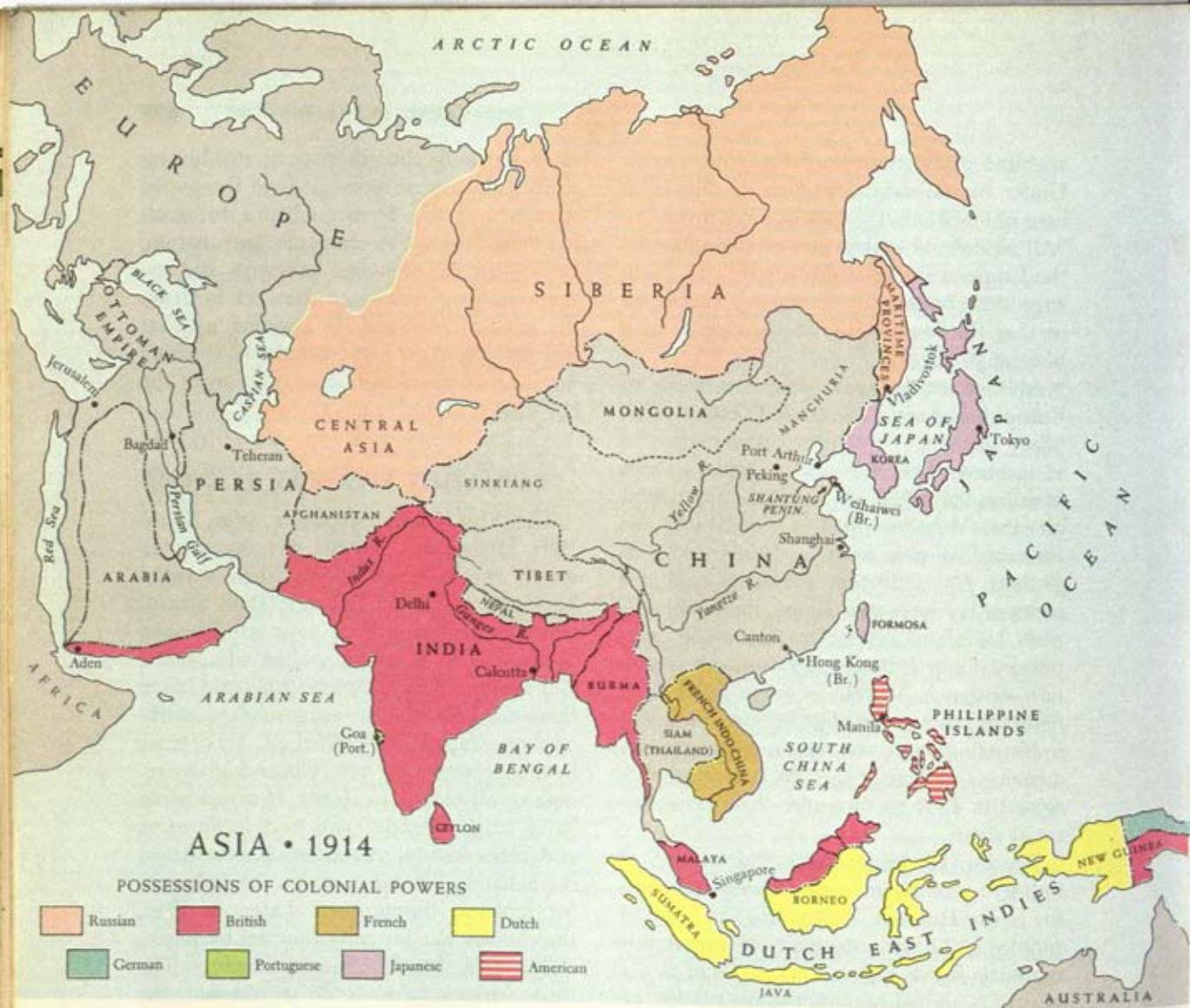
their demands, the government steadily expanded the armed forces. It used the public schools and the Shinto religion to teach fanatical loyalty to emperor and nation. Driven on by economic pressures and extreme nationalism, Japan soon set forth on the path of conquest. In opening up that country, the West had created a rival which was soon to menace its own position in the Far East.

IMPERIALIST RIVALRIES IN CHINA

The First Chinese-Japanese War, 1894-1895. Japan's first imperialist move was directed against nearby Korea, then a vassal kingdom of China. To assert their claims, China and Japan both sent armies into Korea. When Japanese soldiers attacked a Chinese force, war between China and Japan followed. Little Japan, using modern methods and weapons, triumphed quickly over its huge but backward foe. China had to renounce all claims to Korea. It also had to pay a large indemnity and to cede Formosa and other coastal islands to Japan. Korea immediately became a sphere of influence for Japanese businessmen. Later, in 1910, the country was formally annexed by Japan.

The Scramble for Chinese Territory. The First Chinese-Japanese War revealed the full extent of China's weakness. As a result, the Western powers rushed to stake out their claims. The Russians set up a sphere of influence in the large northern province of Manchuria. The Germans obtained exclusive rights over the nearby Shantung peninsula. The British took over the strategic port of Weihaiwei and acquired control of the rich Yangtze River valley. The French set up their sphere in southern China.

The United States, whose merchants in China were being discriminated against by



the European powers, opposed the partition of China into exclusive spheres of influence. In a note sent to the other powers in 1899, it announced the "Open Door" Policy. This stated that China's "territorial integrity and independence" should be preserved and that there should be "equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations." Great Britain, which also stood to gain if all of China was kept open to foreign traders, sup-

ported this policy. However, the other powers merely accepted it "in principle." Despite America's Open Door Policy, China seemed doomed to partition as the nineteenth century drew to a close.

The Boxer Uprising, 1899-1900. Chinese officials now resorted to desperate measures in an effort to stop the advance of the imperialist powers. They encouraged secret patriotic societies, known as the "Boxers," to

attack foreigners and their property. Hundreds of missionaries and merchants were murdered. Many others fled to the foreign legation buildings in Peking, where they were besieged by the Boxers. Chinese government troops, instead of trying to crush the uprising, joined in the siege. The various European powers, together with Japan and the United States, quickly prepared a rescue expedition. The international army fought its way into the capital, saved the Westerners, and crushed the Boxer Uprising.

As punishment, the Chinese government had to dismiss a number of high officials and pay an indemnity of \$330,000,000. The foreign powers insured payment by taking control of Chinese customs and other revenues. The final result of the Boxer Uprising was to fasten the yoke of imperialism even more securely on the Chinese people.

The Russo-Japanese War, 1904-1905. Soon afterwards, Russia and Japan clashed over the control of Manchuria. The Japanese opened the war with a surprise attack which badly damaged the Russian Pacific fleet at Port Arthur. On the mainland of China they inflicted a series of severe defeats on their foe. In an effort to turn the tide of battle, the Russian government sent the large Baltic Sea fleet all the way to the Far East. As the Russian ships finally approached their destination, they were attacked and destroyed by the Japanese.

By that time, both sides were anxious for peace. A revolution had broken out in Russia (see p. 481). Japan had also suffered considerable losses and was nearing exhaustion. The two warring powers welcomed an American offer from President Theodore Roosevelt to help arrange a settlement. By the terms of peace, the czar agreed to surrender all Russian concessions in southern Manchuria and to cede Port Arthur and other

territory to Japan. Its startling victory over Russia won for Japan recognition as a great power.

Overthrow of the Manchus, 1912. The Russo-Japanese War proved a fatal blow to the Manchu Empire. The Manchu rulers "lost face" because two foreign nations had fought a war on Chinese soil for Chinese territory. Moreover, many Chinese compared Japan's success in dealing with the Europeans with the failure of their own government. Criticism became particularly keen among young businessmen and students, who had been much impressed by Western ideas of democracy and nationalism. They formed "Young China" clubs with a view to modernizing their nation and to driving out the foreign exploiters. As the first step, they sought to get rid of the Manchus, whom they considered the greatest obstacle to China's progress.

The government tried in vain to crush the fast-spreading revolutionary movement. When repression failed, it agreed to a number of important reforms. But these came too late. Riots and rebellions became so widespread that the emperor was forced to abdicate. In 1912, China became a republic, under leaders dedicated to modernization.

Problems Confronting the New Chinese Republic. The overthrow of the Manchus indicated that China was at last awakening from its long slumber. However, the country's new leaders were confronted with many difficult problems. They had to create a stable and progressive government, raise the living standards of their people, and end interference by the imperialist powers. Later, we shall see that they found it impossible to overcome these difficulties. For many years, China continued to be an area of disorder and turmoil, one of the worst trouble spots in the world.



57 / Lesson Review

Checking the facts

1. Explain: Taiping Rebellion; Opium War; treaty ports; foreign settlements; extraterritorial rights; Shinto; First Chinese-Japanese War; Open Door Policy; Boxer Uprising; Russo-Japanese War; "Young China" movement.
2. Identify: shogun; Commodore Perry; Mutuhito.
3. Why did Europeans become interested in China? Why did the Chinese regard the Europeans as barbarians?
4. Why was China unable to resist imperialist penetration during the nineteenth century?
5. How did the Europeans obtain entry into China? How did they begin to take over the country?
6. How was Japan opened to western civilization?
7. How did Japan become "westernized"? Why did it become imperialistic?
8. How was China affected by the First Chinese-Japanese War? the Boxer uprising? the Russo-Japanese War?

Applying history

1. Compare the way Great Britain opened China with the way Commodore Perry opened Japan. What was the basic resemblance? What was the major difference?
2. Why did China resist the Europeans? Why did Japan adopt Western ways? Which policy proved wiser for the people concerned? Explain.
3. What were the causes of the Russo-Japanese War? What were the important results?

Why has this war been called a turning point in modern imperialism?

4. Explain and evaluate: "China is a sleeping giant. Let him sleep, for when he awakens he will move the world."

History and geography

1. Locate (map, p. 510): Canton; Hong Kong; Maritime Provinces; Indo-China; Burma; Korea; Formosa; Manchuria; Shantung Peninsula; Weihaiwei; Yangtze River; Peking; Port Arthur.
2. What were the important possessions of the imperialist powers in the Far East in 1914 (map, p. 510)? Which powers, by reason of their location, were in the best position to bring pressure on the Chinese government?
3. Explain why western China and Tibet were comparatively safe from imperialist penetration (map, pp. 46-47).

Special activities

1. Draw a poster or cartoon to show how the Western powers took advantage of China's weakness.
2. Arrange an exhibit comparing the Japanese way of life before and after "westernization."
3. Write an editorial on the Boxer Uprising and its effects for either a European or a Chinese newspaper.
4. Stage a debate between Manchu officials and members of "Young China" in 1905 on the question: Should China adopt Western ways?

/ IMPERIALISM IN SOUTHERN
AND WESTERN ASIA

"India," a nineteenth-century British prime minister once said, "is the most precious jewel in the crown of Empire." There were many reasons for his proud boast. India was the largest colonial territory in the world. In population, it far exceeded any other country except China. It supplied Great Britain with a large variety of raw materials, a vast market for manufactured goods, and a highly profitable field for the investment of capital. It also provided many recruits for the British fighting forces. In almost every respect, India could be regarded as a model imperial possession. British success in exploiting India inspired the European powers to extend their control over many other countries in southern and western Asia.

BRITISH IMPERIALISM IN INDIA

India's Problems. Even before the coming of the British, the average Indian had benefited little from his country's vast wealth and resources. Although the upper classes lived in luxury, a large majority of the population were poverty-stricken peasants, who considered themselves fortunate if they

raised enough to feed their families. India also suffered from extreme disunity. Its people were of different racial origins, spoke more than a dozen different major languages, and practiced a number of different religions. Deep hostility existed between the religious majority, the Hindus, and the largest minority, the Moslems. The Hindus themselves were divided along strict caste lines, with many millions belonging to the despised group known as the Untouchables (see pp. 52-53).

Politically, too, India had been divided during most of its history. In the early sixteenth century, Moslem invaders from the north, the Moguls, brought temporary unity to the country (see p. 156). However, when weak rulers came to the throne, the Mogul Empire crumbled. By the eighteenth century, India was reduced to a condition of feudal anarchy. Hundreds of local princes held control over portions of the country. They sought to expand their domains through constant wars with their neighbors. Just as in China and North Africa, political weakness opened the way for European conquest.

Early British Rule in India. Portugal, Holland, France, and Great Britain all gained a foothold in India. As we have seen (on p. 308), the British finally succeeded in defeating their rivals. The British East India Company, acting for the British government, became the ruler of a region several times the size of England. The company was mainly interested in its trading activities. Nevertheless, it gradually extended its holdings through "wars of self-defense" against unfriendly native rulers. By the middle of the nineteenth century, it directly governed about half of the vast country. The rest was governed by native princes, who had agreed to accept British control.

The Sepoy Mutiny, 1857. As the British extended their power, Indian discontent increased. The princes who had lost their territories wanted revenge. Millions of hand spinners and weavers, unable to compete with cheap machine-made cloth from Great Britain, resented the loss of their livelihood. Pious Hindus were deeply disturbed by the introduction of Western ideas. The British, for example, had outlawed the practice of *suttee*, whereby widows were burned alive on their husbands' funeral pyres. The activities of Christian missionaries and the use of English in the schools also seemed to threaten India's traditional way of life.

Trouble finally broke out over a religious issue. The British introduced a new type of rifle, with a cartridge whose end had to be bitten off by the soldiers. Resentment spread among the native troops, the sepoys, because of rumors that the cartridges were greased with animal fats which Hindus and Moslems were forbidden to eat. Rather than use the new rifles, many sepoys mutinied. Their action touched off large-scale riots and rebellions in northern and central India. Hundreds of Britons—men, women, and children—were massacred. Fortunately for the Brit-

ish, many of the sepoys and native princes remained loyal. Reinforcements were rushed in and the Sepoy Mutiny was crushed.

Later Policies of the British Government. Shaken by the rebellion, the British government in 1858 abolished the old East India Company and assumed direct control of Indian affairs itself. India was placed under the rule of a new British official, the viceroy. The viceroy had to answer for his actions to the British cabinet and Parliament. As before, the native princes were allowed to retain their thrones if they accepted British "advice."

The new government of India sought to win the approval of its subjects. It was careful not to disturb their religious feelings. It founded many new schools and universities. It also took an active role in promoting India's economic development. Irrigation projects opened large new areas to agriculture. New harbors and railroads stimulated trade and made it possible to send food quickly to famine-stricken areas. New factories were constructed with the aid of British capital. Modern sanitation and medical care were also introduced. As the death rate from famine and disease dropped, India's population increased rapidly.

The Rise of Indian Nationalism. Nevertheless, dissatisfaction with British rule continued to exist. As the population grew, the peasants' plots of land steadily decreased in size. Many lost their land or became virtual slaves of greedy moneylenders. Those who found employment in the new factories were paid very low wages and had to live in terrible slums. Leadership for the discontented was provided by educated young upper-class Indians, who had absorbed Western ideas in school. They complained bitterly that the British held all the high positions in the government and treated even high-caste Hindus as their inferiors. They insisted that India

should be given the opportunity to govern itself and to progress in its own way.

A nationalist organization, the All-Indian Party Congress, sprang into existence in 1886. The Congress held annual meetings, at which delegates from all parts of India could voice their grievances and demand reforms. The Moslems became alarmed because the Congress was dominated by Hindus. In 1906, they formed their own nationalist organization, the Moslem League. However, for a time, Hindu and Moslem nationalists found it possible to co-operate against the British.

First Steps to Self-Government. The British tried to satisfy the nationalists by granting a small measure of self-government. The Indian Councils Act of 1909 permitted Indians to elect representatives to the provincial legislatures. A few wealthy Indians were also admitted to the councils of the viceroy and provincial governors.

Indian nationalists considered these reforms inadequate. Nevertheless, most of them loyally supported the British during World War I, 1914–1918. Almost a million Indian troops fought on various battle fronts during that conflict. After the war, the nationalists renewed their agitation for political rights. Following a dramatic struggle which lasted many years, they won a greater degree of self-government. (For details, see pp. 571–572). Eventually, the British agreed to grant India complete independence.

GROWING IMPERIALIST RIVALRIES IN ASIA

British Advances in Southeast Asia. A noted historian once pointed out that a large empire is the best of all reasons for a larger one. British imperialism in Asia was a good illustration of this statement. The British started off with a few trading stations along

The region that includes Indo-China, Burma, and Thailand is "the rice bowl of Asia." Rich fields provide ample food for the inhabitants and large exports to heavily populated India and China.



the coast of India. Gradually, they took control of the entire country. Then, to expand their trade and to protect their "jewel" from other imperialist powers, they advanced beyond India's frontiers in various directions.

Burma first attracted the attention of the British when the Burmese ruler attacked a neighboring Indian state in 1824. War followed. Burma was defeated and was compelled to cede several provinces to the British. During the next half-century, quarrels frequently arose over the treatment of British merchants and over boundary questions. Alarmed by the aggressive British attitude, the king of Burma turned to the French and offered them generous concessions. These actions served only to arouse the British. They sent in an army, deposed the ruler, and took possession of the entire country in 1886.

Another area of British expansion was in Malaya. The British began their advance in this region when they established a trading station on the island of Singapore in 1819. Located near the southern tip of the Malay Peninsula, it commanded the busy water route from India to the Far East. Later, the British advanced inland and took control of the numerous native states. Though relatively small in size, Malaya proved very valuable to the British for its strategic position and rich supplies of tin and rubber.

French Expansion in Indo-China. Meanwhile, the French were busy carving out an empire in nearby Indo-China. In 1862, they gained a foothold in that region when Napoleon III sent an expedition to avenge the murder of a Roman Catholic missionary. Thereafter, the French steadily enlarged their holdings through a series of conflicts with unfriendly native rulers. China, which claimed control over Indo-China, objected and tried to expel the invaders. However, after a brief war in 1885, it was forced to recognize the French conquest.

Siam (Thailand) was now caught between the expanding French and British. The shrewd Siamese ruler sought to play off one against the other by granting concessions to both. His policy proved successful. When the French seized some Siamese territory, Great Britain vigorously protested. To prevent conflict, the rival powers agreed that Siam should retain its freedom. Thereafter, it served as a buffer state, separating their possessions in Burma and Indo-China.

Anglo-Russian Rivalry in the Middle East. While Great Britain and France were winning rich colonies in southeast Asia, the Russians were expanding their empire in central Asia. In the second half of the nineteenth century, they succeeded in subduing the warlike Moslem tribesmen in that region. Then they sought to establish their control in Persia, which could provide them with a warm-water port on the Persian Gulf. They also tried to extend their influence over Afghanistan and Tibet, which both bordered on India. (See map, p. 510.)

The British, ever suspicious of Russian designs, acted promptly to stop this threat. Their troops invaded Afghanistan and placed a puppet native prince on the throne. An impressive naval force visited the Persian Gulf, and a British oil promoter obtained valuable concessions from the Persian government. An armed mission fought its way into Tibet and secured a promise from the ruler not to grant any concessions without British permission.

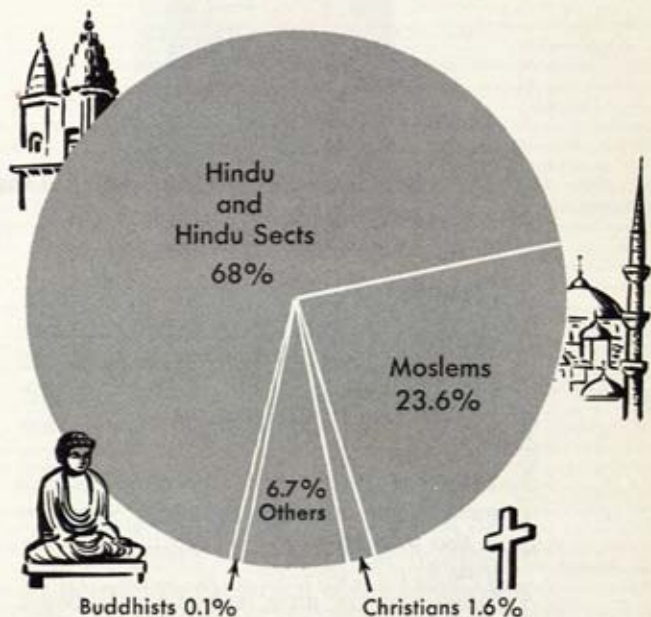
A few years later, in 1907, the two rivals, Britain and Russia, worked out a peaceful settlement of their imperialist differences. Both agreed to stay out of Tibet. Afghanistan was recognized as a British sphere of influence. Persia was divided between Russia and Great Britain. As is often the case, the friendship of the great powers was made possible at the expense of weaker peoples.

Imperialist Rivalries in the Near East.

Another dangerous rivalry arose in the Asiatic territories of the decaying Turkish Empire. For several centuries, as we have seen, the Russians had been pushing southward along the coasts of the Black Sea. Their goal was to make that sea a "Russian lake" and to gain control of the Straits at Constantinople. The British and French had also long been interested in expanding their influence in the Near East. Last to enter the competition here were the Germans. They soon proved the most ambitious of all. In the 1890's, Kaiser William II made several friendly visits to the sultan of Turkey. Through his efforts, German businessmen were able to obtain concessions for a series of rail lines opening to them the mineral resources and markets of all western Asia. This project became known as the Berlin-to-Bagdad Railway.

The German railway plan aroused the hostility of Great Britain. It competed with British economic interests in the Near East and seemed to endanger British control of the Persian Gulf. The Russians and French likewise stood to lose a great deal. They joined the British in blocking construction of the railway. Eventually, after years of bitter wrangling, the powers reached an agreement. France, Great Britain, and Russia withdrew their objections to the Berlin-to-Bagdad Railway. In return, Germany agreed to recognize their special interests. Even so, at the outbreak of World War I, Germany was the dominant power in the Near East.

Imperialism in the Pacific. Off the southeastern coast of Asia lie the East Indies, a chain of large islands stretching more than three thousand miles along the equator. The Dutch early gained a monopoly of the precious spice trade of these islands (see p 271). In the nineteenth century, they moved inland. They established plantations for rub-



INDIA'S MAJOR RELIGIONS
BEFORE PARTITION

ber and many other tropical agricultural products. Later, they also discovered rich petroleum deposits there. The East Indies were for a long time one of the most valuable colonial possessions in the world.

The Pacific Ocean is dotted by thousands of other islands, which geographers often refer to as Oceania. Most of them are inhabited by the Polynesians, whose simple natural way of life aroused the envy of Europe visitors. These distant "island paradises" fell under imperialist control when the powers decided that they might be useful as naval bases or as suppliers of tropical products. Great Britain, Germany, France, and the United States took over most of them. (See map, p. 510.) As the nineteenth century came to an end, only a few tiny islands, lost in the vast expanse of the Pacific, still remained unclaimed.



58 / Lesson Review

Checking the facts

1. Explain: Sepoy Mutiny; Indian Councils Act (1909); buffer state; Berlin-to-Bagdad Railway; Oceania.
2. Identify: All-Indian Party Congress; Moslem League.
3. Why was India called "the most precious jewel in the crown of Empire"? Why was it also referred to as "a collection of problems"?
4. What were the main reasons for the Sepoy Mutiny? What were the important results?
5. What improvements did the British government make after it took over control of India? Why were many Indians still dissatisfied with British rule?
6. What steps did the British take to meet the Indian Nationalists' demands for greater self-government?
7. How did the European powers extend their control over southeast Asia? the Middle East? western Asia?

Applying history

1. The government of British India was run by a few thousand British officials supervising a large number of natives. Why did relatively few Britons settle in India? Why did many of the native civil-service workers become nationalists?
2. An Indian could gain admittance to some British clubs in India only as a servant. Why did high-caste Hindus, especially, resent such discrimination? How might they express their resentment?
3. How did India's disunity and backwardness

make it easier for the British to conquer and rule the country? How did the British improvements continually result in a weakening of their control?

4. Why did the British claim that their actions in Afghanistan and Persia were acts of self-defense? Explain why you agree or disagree with this viewpoint.
5. Why were German imperialists eager to build the Berlin-to-Bagdad Railway? Why did other European powers oppose this project? How was the controversy finally settled?

History and geography

1. Locate (map, p. 510): India; Burma; Malaya; Singapore; Indo-China; Siam (Thailand); Persia; Afghanistan; Tibet; Persian Gulf; Bagdad; Dutch East Indies.
2. Locate the areas controlled by the European powers in southeast Asia and the Middle East in 1914 (map, p. 510).

Special activities

1. Arrange a debate between British officials and Indian nationalist leaders in 1910 on the question: Has British rule been good for India?
2. Read passages about British rule in India from the works of such writers as Rudyard Kipling, who favored imperialism, and Jawaharlal Nehru, who opposed it.
3. Discuss: A large empire is the best of all reasons for a larger one. Give examples from the history of nineteenth-century British expansion in southeast Asia.

59 / IMPERIALISM IN LATIN AMERICA



When we in this country speak of “Americans,” we generally refer to the inhabitants of the United States. But there are many other Americans—namely, the Canadians to the north and the various peoples of Latin America to the south. It is important for us to become better acquainted with these neighbors because geography and history have closely linked their destiny with our own. Here we shall tell the story of Latin America. Canada will be dealt with later in this unit.

THE INDEPENDENT NATIONS OF LATIN AMERICA

Our Neighbors to the South. As the map on p. 526 shows, there are twenty independent countries in Latin America. The countries on the mainland, and most of the islands in the Caribbean, have a similar culture, derived from their “Latin” mother countries, Spain and Portugal. All of these use the Spanish language except Brazil, and its language, Portuguese, is not very different from Spanish. All are almost wholly Roman Catholic in religion. All gained independence at about the same time and have faced much the same problems.

On the other hand, each of the Latin-American nations has certain distinguishing features. Mexico is a large country. It has valuable mineral resources and fertile lands

suitable for farming or grazing. The six tiny countries of Central America, often called the “banana republics,” raise quantities of fruit and other tropical products. The island nations of the Caribbean Sea, especially Cuba, are noted as producers of sugar and tobacco.

Looking next at the map of South America, the viewer’s eye is immediately attracted by Brazil. It is the largest of the Latin-American countries. A major portion of Brazil lies in the basin of the mighty Amazon River and consists mainly of humid tropical lowlands. However, Brazil also contains large areas of cool, fertile plateau country on which much of the world’s coffee is raised. Farther south are Argentina and Uruguay. Both are temperate countries, with rich wheat fields and broad plains supporting great herds of cattle. Chile and the other countries along the west coast are broken up by the towering Andes Mountains. Though thinly settled and underdeveloped, they export a wealth of important minerals. Chile is especially important for its nitrates, Bolivia for its tin, and Peru for its copper. Two other South American countries, Venezuela and Colombia, are major producers of petroleum. On the whole, Latin America contains some of the world’s most valuable natural resources.

The Background of Revolution. For three centuries, most of Latin America’s wealth

was drained off by Spain and Portugal. Under the mercantilist system (see p. 267), the colonies were required to sell their exports to merchants from the mother country and to buy manufactured goods only from them. The prices set by these merchants enabled them to grow rich at the colonies' expense. The mercantilist system naturally gave rise to widespread discontent.

Another basic cause of discontent was the system of government. Governors and other high officials were sent over from the mother country. They ruled with little regard for the wishes of the people, whom they considered their inferiors. Taxes were heavy, and corruption was widespread. The colonists resented these conditions and sought to gain a larger share in the management of their affairs.

The Wars for Independence. The American and French revolutions inspired the peoples of Latin America to hope for independence. The Napoleonic Wars finally gave them their opportunity to break away. When Napoleon Bonaparte deposed the king of Spain and set his own brother on the throne in 1808, the Spanish colonies refused to recognize the new ruler. They set up governing councils and for a few years enjoyed the benefits of self-government. During this period, they built up a large and thriving trade with Great Britain.

After Napoleon's defeat, the reactionary Spanish King Ferdinand VII (see p. 359) regained his throne. Blind to the changes which had taken place, he insisted on restoring the old Spanish colonial system. The Latin Americans rose in revolt against the royal officials and fought the armies which the King sent against them. After years of bitter struggle, they finally succeeded in winning their independence. All that remained of Spain's once-mighty empire in

the New World was a few islands in the Caribbean.

Brazil achieved independence in somewhat different fashion. When Napoleon took over Portugal, the royal family fled to Brazil. As the new center of the Portuguese Empire, that country was freed of mercantilist restrictions and enjoyed other special privileges. However, after the king returned to Portugal, he again sought to treat Brazil as a colony. The Brazilians rose in revolt and proclaimed their independence. The king's eldest son, Dom Pedro, who had been left behind as regent, sided with the rebels. He became emperor of Brazil in 1822. It was only many years later, in 1889, that Brazil abolished the empire and became a republic like its neighbors.

The Monroe Doctrine, 1823. Before the independence of Latin America was secure, it was confronted with a new threat. The members of Metternich's Quadruple Alliance (see p. 357) met and discussed plans for crushing the rebellions. Danger existed that France, and perhaps Russia, might reconquer the former Spanish colonies and take some of them as a reward. The United States, mindful of its own war for independence, favored the cause of the Latin-American republics. Moreover, it was greatly alarmed at the prospect of having either France or Russia as a neighbor. Great Britain was also concerned because it stood to lose the profitable trade it had built up with Latin America.

Great Britain made the first move. It proposed to the United States that the two governments issue a joint warning to the European powers. However, the United States preferred to act alone. In a message to Congress, President Monroe warned the monarchs of Europe not to interfere in the Western Hemisphere. "The American con-

tinents," he explained, "... are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers." The Monroe Doctrine, supported by Great Britain, achieved its purpose. The Quadruple Alliance abandoned the idea of intervention, and the infant republics of Latin America remained free to work out their own destiny.

Political Problems of the Young Nations. The new nations still faced difficult problems. Most important, they had little experience in self-government. Though they adopted liberal constitutions, they could not make them work. Government officials used their positions to enrich themselves and their friends. Rival leaders, pledging themselves to reform, organized plots to overthrow the group in power. However, once they took office, they usually followed the same practices.

In some countries, "revolutions" of this sort occurred with amazing frequency. For example, there were fifty-seven changes of government in Mexico in about fifty years. "Strong men," usually army leaders, often took advantage of the confused situation to establish themselves as dictators. Only a few of the Latin-American nations succeeded in establishing governments which were both stable and democratic.

Progress During the Late Nineteenth Century. As time passed, conditions gradually began to improve. Large numbers of immigrants arrived from Europe, especially from Italy and Germany. They settled mainly in the temperate countries, where they contributed greatly to economic development and political stability. European businessmen also invested large sums in internal improvements, such as mines and railroads. Beautiful capital cities sprang up. Latin America seemed to be entering on a period of rapid progress.

However, foreign investors had trouble with some of the Latin-American governments. It was easy enough to lend money at high interest rates. It was quite different when the time came for repayment. When new regimes took over, they often refused to recognize their obligations. The European powers, in turn, threatened to send in troops to protect the interests of their citizens. The situation was indeed a dangerous one. As in Africa and Asia, the combination of rich resources and weak governments posed an invitation to foreign conquest.

RELATIONS BETWEEN LATIN AMERICA AND THE UNITED STATES

Enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine. Latin America was saved from European imperialism by the United States. This country had first asserted its intention of protecting Latin America in the Monroe Doctrine. It was soon called upon to fulfill its pledge. At the close of the War Between the States, the American government forced Napoleon III to withdraw his troops from Mexico (see p. 426). Again, in 1895, it took vigorous action when British troops occupied a disputed area on the border between British Guiana and Venezuela (map, p. 526). When the United States issued a sharp warning, the British government backed down. It agreed to submit the boundary dispute to arbitration.

The Spanish-American War, 1898. Interest in the welfare of neighboring Cuba also led to a bitter dispute with Spain. Cuban revolutionaries, long anxious to rid themselves of oppressive Spanish rule, launched a struggle for independence in 1895. The American public was soon aroused by sensational newspaper stories which told of cruel atrocities

inflicted on the people of Cuba by Spanish troops. Moreover, American businessmen who had made heavy investments in the island were angered because their property was severely damaged by the fighting. Feeling in this country reached a feverish state when an American battleship, the *Maine*, was mysteriously blown up in Havana harbor. Despite a last-minute Spanish surrender to virtually all American demands, the United States declared war.

The Spanish-American War lasted only a few months. The first blow was struck in the Philippine Islands, halfway around the world from Cuba. An American naval squadron under Admiral Dewey surprised a Spanish fleet in the harbor of Manila and easily sank it. A second Spanish fleet was later destroyed off the coast of Cuba. American soldiers quickly occupied that island and neighboring Puerto Rico. Spain was soon forced to sue for peace.

By the peace terms, the United States acquired Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and the small Pacific island of Guam. It also secured recognition of Cuba as an independent nation. However, as a condition of American withdrawal from the island, the new Cuban government had to grant naval bases to the United States. The latter was also given the right to intervene whenever necessary "to preserve Cuban independence and to protect life, property, and individual liberty." In effect, Cuba now became a protectorate of the United States.

Growing Interference by the United States. The Spanish-American War opened a new phase in the foreign policy of the United States. This country emerged as a world power and the possessor of a sizable overseas empire. Thereafter, its attitude toward its southern neighbors also changed. To safeguard its interests in the Caribbean

area, the United States began to intervene in the internal affairs of the Latin-American nations.

One incident which revealed the new trend occurred in Panama. That region, then part of Colombia, had been chosen as the site for a canal linking the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. President Theodore Roosevelt arranged for a lease with the Colombian government. But the Senate of that country delayed ratification. Finally, in 1903, a revolution was organized in Panama. With the aid of United States marines, the revolutionaries quickly won their independence.

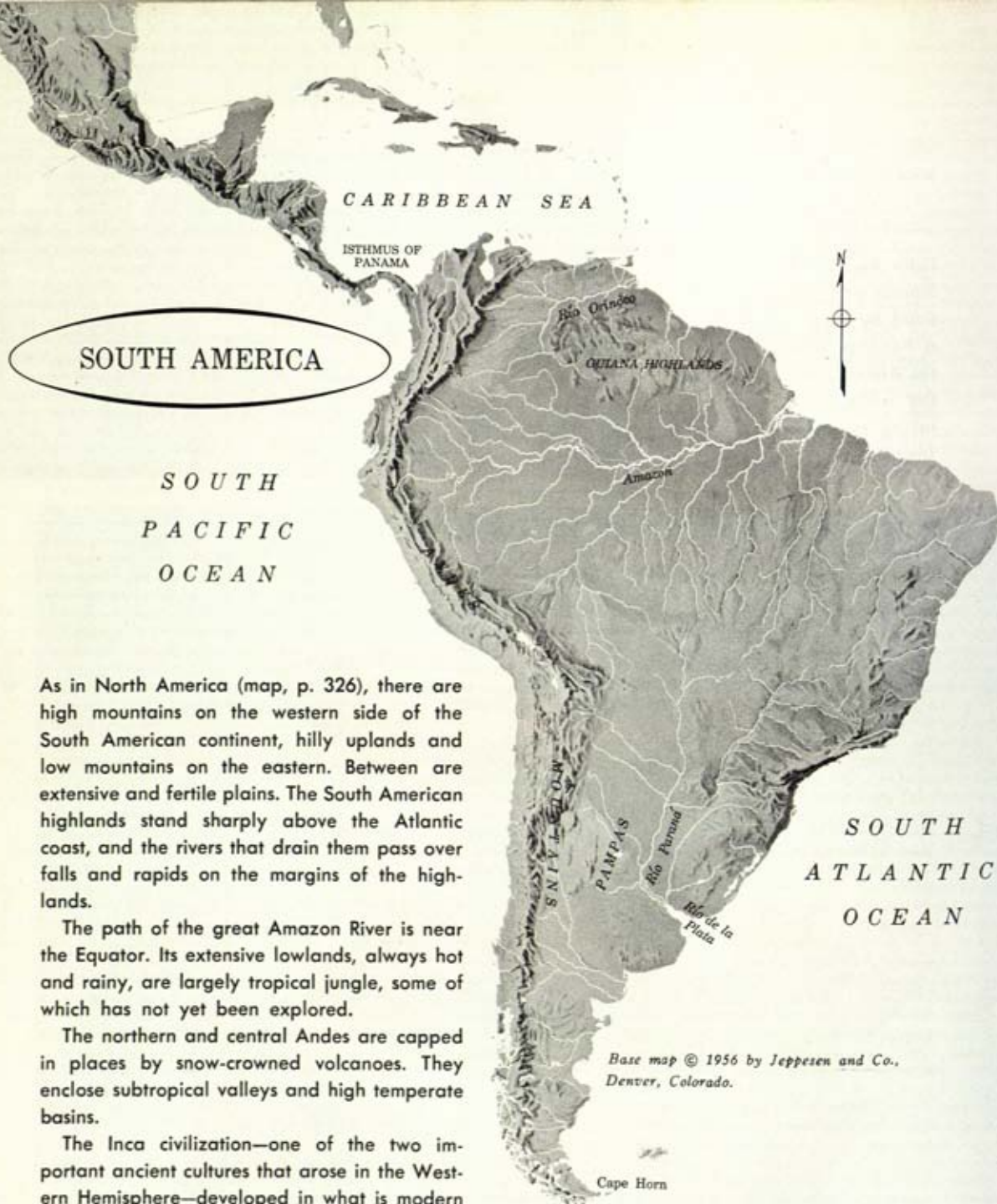
The new government of Panama gave the United States a permanent lease on the canal site. It also granted the United States the right to protect the country. Later, President Roosevelt explained his policy in Panama. He stated that he had been compelled to act promptly in order to get the canal started. However, many Latin Americans considered the Panama affair a flagrant example of "Yankee imperialism."

Extension of the Monroe Doctrine. Another policy adopted by President Roosevelt further increased the Latin Americans' suspicions of the "Colossus [giant] of the North." Venezuela again became involved in a dispute, this time with a group of European bankers whose loans it refused to repay. To force payment, Great Britain, Germany, and Italy set up a blockade of that country's ports. President Roosevelt intervened and persuaded the three powers to submit the dispute to arbitration.

To avoid similar trouble in the future, the American President extended the scope of the Monroe Doctrine. He announced that "chronic wrongdoing" by any of the Latin-American countries might compel the United States to act as "an international police power." This meant that the United

Latin America is a region of intense contrasts, as emphasized by these two pictures—a Peruvian Indian woman in the Andes, spinning thread as she walks, and the breathtaking panorama of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.





As in North America (map, p. 326), there are high mountains on the western side of the South American continent, hilly uplands and low mountains on the eastern. Between are extensive and fertile plains. The South American highlands stand sharply above the Atlantic coast, and the rivers that drain them pass over falls and rapids on the margins of the highlands.

The path of the great Amazon River is near the Equator. Its extensive lowlands, always hot and rainy, are largely tropical jungle, some of which has not yet been explored.

The northern and central Andes are capped in places by snow-crowned volcanoes. They enclose subtropical valleys and high temperate basins.

The Inca civilization—one of the two important ancient cultures that arose in the Western Hemisphere—developed in what is modern Peru.

European exploration of South America, especially the search for gold and precious stones, progressed more rapidly at first than did

that of the North American continent. But North America became the main focus of attention for colonization in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Base map © 1956 by Jeppesen and Co.,
Denver, Colorado.

States would itself take charge of any Latin-American nation which was threatened with European intervention.

Shortly afterward, in 1904, the tiny Dominican Republic declared itself unable to pay its debts. Roosevelt sent troops and financial experts there. They took control of customs, repaid debts, and established an efficient government. During the next thirty years, the United States also sent troops and advisers to several other Caribbean countries, notably Cuba, Haiti, Honduras, and Nicaragua. (See map, p. 526.) Critics called this policy "dollar diplomacy," a name implying that the United States was acting mainly to serve the interests of its own bankers and businessmen.

Trouble with Mexico. During this same period, American relations with Mexico became very strained. For many years, from 1876 to 1911, dictator Porfirio Diaz had ruled that country with an iron hand. Following his overthrow, widespread disorder developed as rival military leaders struggled to gain power. In the course of the fighting, American citizens lost their lives and American property was destroyed. Mexican raiders even crossed the border into the United States. On two occasions, in 1914 and again in 1916, the United States sent armed expeditions into Mexico. Relations between the two countries continued to be tense for years. They began to improve only when Mexico regained a stable government and the United States adopted a different policy toward its neighbors to the south.

A New Policy of Co-operation. The seed of a new policy of co-operation had been planted many years earlier. In 1889, an American secretary of state, James G. Blaine, took the lead in establishing the Pan American Union. This organization was eventually joined by all of the American republics. Its purpose was to promote commerce, friendly

understanding, and peace among its members. However, it could not achieve very much so long as the other members remained suspicious of the United States.

As time passed, more and more people in this country came to realize the disadvantages of the existing state of affairs. They urged the government to win the good will of the Latin-American peoples by co-operating with them on the basis of equality. Finally, in 1933, President Franklin D. Roosevelt announced the Good Neighbor Policy. As a "good neighbor," the United States withdrew its troops and gave up the right to intervene in the affairs of the Latin-American nations. Instead, all of the American republics agreed to act together whenever problems arose in the Western Hemisphere. They also agreed to co-operate in defending it from outside attack.

Moreover, the United States made generous loans directly to the Latin-American governments for public improvements. Education and sanitation were introduced in the villages to help the lower classes. New roads, railroads, and air lines met the need for better transportation. New mines were opened and new industries were started. Under the Monroe Doctrine, the United States had protected the Latin-American nations from European political control. Under the Good Neighbor Policy, it also helped them to achieve economic independence.

The United States gained from Latin America's progress. It obtained larger quantities of important raw materials and sold more of its manufactured goods there. Private loans and investments increased. When the United States was drawn into World War II, almost all of the Latin-American nations came to its assistance. The Good Neighbor Policy was clear proof of the benefits to be achieved through the willing co-operation of free peoples.





Checking the facts

1. Explain: "banana republics"; Monroe Doctrine; sinking of the *Maine*; Spanish-American War; Panama Canal; "Colossus of the North"; "dollar diplomacy"; Pan-American Union; Good Neighbor Policy.
2. Identify: Dom Pedro; Blaine; Franklin D. Roosevelt.
3. What common characteristics do most of the Latin American countries have? In what important respects are they different?
4. Why did the Latin Americans rebel against their European rulers?
5. How did Great Britain and the United States help the Latin Americans achieve independence?
6. Describe briefly the main political, social, and economic problems which confronted the new Latin American nations. What progress did they make in overcoming these problems during the nineteenth century?
7. How did the United States protect Latin America from European imperialism during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries? Why did Latin Americans accuse this country of being imperialistic?
8. How has the United States helped Latin America during the past generation?

Applying history

1. How was Latin America affected by the American and French Revolutions? the wars of Napoleon I? Why was it so greatly influenced by events in other continents?
2. Why was British support essential to make the Monroe Doctrine effective? Why did Great Britain remain influential in Latin America throughout the nineteenth century? Why has United States influence become more important in this century?
3. Why did the United States protect Latin America from European imperialism? How did this policy strengthen the security of the United States?

4. In what important respects do the Latin American nations differ from the United States? Why have the nations of the Western Hemisphere found it desirable to co-operate closely?
5. Compare President Franklin D. Roosevelt's policy toward Latin America with that of his predecessors. How did the United States benefit from this new policy? the Latin American nations?

History and geography

1. Locate (map, p. 526): Caribbean Sea; Mexico; Brazil; Amazon River; Argentina; Uruguay; Chile; Bolivia; Peru; Venezuela; Colombia; British Guiana; Cuba; Puerto Rico; Panama; Dominican Republic; Haiti; Honduras; Nicaragua.
2. Name and locate the two largest countries in Latin America (map, p. 526). Where are the smallest Latin American countries located? Why would control of the latter by a great foreign power jeopardize the security of the United States?
3. Why did the United States build the canal connecting the Atlantic and Pacific oceans across Panama (map, p. 524)?
4. Locate and trace the Amazon River and its tributaries (map, p. 526). Why do all these rivers flow toward the Atlantic coast, rather than to the west?
5. Explain why Chile is such a remarkably long, narrow country (map, p. 524).

Special activities

1. Write a short biography of one of the leaders of the Latin American wars for independence, such as Simón Bolívar or José de San Martín.
2. Arrange an exhibit on present-day Latin America and its problems.
3. Debate: The future security of the United States depends on our maintaining friendly relations with our neighbors to the south.

/ IMPERIALISM AND THE
BRITISH DOMINIONS

One of the most popular arguments for imperialism in the late nineteenth century was the "white man's burden." Europeans, impressed by their own remarkable progress, believed themselves justified in imposing their rule on backward peoples. The natives' loss of independence, it was asserted, was of far less importance than the benefits they enjoyed from the introduction of Western civilization.

Obviously, this line of reasoning did not apply to the colonies settled by Europeans. Here the people were already civilized. Once they established themselves in their new lands, they were capable of managing their own affairs. In such cases, the mother country was confronted with a difficult choice. If it agreed to the colonists' demands for self-government, would it not eventually lose control? On the other hand, if it rejected their demands, might not the colonists rebel and might it not lose control anyway?

Great Britain, in particular, had to face this problem because it held numerous "colonies of settlement." It failed in the first test, and the American Revolution was the result. The loss of the thirteen colonies taught the British a valuable lesson. Believing that it was only a matter of time before they would lose the other colonies, they gradually relaxed their control. This lenient

policy had unexpected results. The colonies did not break away. Instead, they chose to become dominions. That is, they governed themselves but remained within the Empire as partners of Great Britain.

EVOLUTION OF THE COMMON-WEALTH OF NATIONS

Early British Rule in Canada. This remarkable new form of imperialism was first developed by the British in Canada. As we have seen, Great Britain acquired this territory from France at the close of the Seven Years' War in 1763. The inhabitants were placed under the rule of a royal governor, sent out from England. The Quebec Act, passed by Parliament in 1774, guaranteed them the right to their own language, religion, and laws. This proved a generous and a wise measure. During the American Revolution, the French Canadians remained loyal to Great Britain.

As a result of that war, thousands of "Tories" fled from the United States to Canada. The British government compensated them for their losses with generous land grants. To prevent friction between the newcomers and the French Canadians, it divided the colony into two separate provinces—French-speaking, Catholic Lower

Canada (now known as Quebec) and English-speaking, Protestant Upper Canada (now called Ontario). Each province was placed under the rule of a British governor but was permitted to elect an assembly to deal with local problems.

"The Great Charter of the British Empire," 1839. During the next half-century, the colonists became increasingly dissatisfied with the rule of the royal governors. Finally, in 1837, revolts broke out in both Upper and Lower Canada. These were easily crushed. However, the British still remembered the American Revolution. They sent over an energetic and enlightened statesman, the Earl of Durham, to deal with Canada's problems.

Durham's report to the British Parliament contained a number of recommendations to prevent future outbreaks. Durham favored the union of Upper and Lower Canada. More important, he advised that the royal governor should co-operate with the Canadian assembly and should choose ministers acceptable to a majority of the members. This would give the colonists almost complete control over their domestic affairs. The Durham Report was approved by Parliament. It has been hailed as "the Great Charter of the British Empire" because it pointed the way toward colonial self-government. Soon afterwards, Upper and Lower Canada were merged and responsible government was introduced in Canada. Later, responsible government was also introduced in many other British colonies.

Creation of the Dominion of Canada, 1867. The next important step forward was the creation of the Dominion of Canada, which joined together the scattered British holdings in North America. Canadian representatives met with delegates of several British colonies along the Atlantic coast. The

conference drafted a plan for the formation of a united country. With only minor changes, it was approved by the British Parliament.

The British North America Act of 1867 provides the basis of Canada's government to this day. It created a federal parliament consisting of two houses, the Senate and the House of Commons. Executive power was entrusted to the prime minister and cabinet, who were responsible to the lower house. Each of the provinces continued to take care of local matters. The federal government dealt with the problems of Canada as a whole.

This act also defined more clearly relations between Canada and Great Britain. The dominion government was granted almost complete control of Canadian affairs. Great Britain retained the final voice only in foreign policy and in a few other matters. Canada was now "daughter . . . in her mother's house, but mistress in her own."

Canada's Progress. The new Dominion of Canada made rapid progress. Immigrants were welcomed into the country and population increased considerably. An excellent railway system bound the country closer together and opened the western territories to quick settlement. A number of new provinces were admitted to the federation. Shortly, Canada became one of the world's great exporters of grain and meat. With the aid of British and American capital, it also became an important industrial nation. Great Britain's experiment in extending self-government to Canada proved a phenomenal success.

The Development of Australia and New Zealand. Great Britain's other colonies of settlement followed the course set by Canada. Australia had been claimed by Great Britain on the basis of explorations by Cap-



Australia, the smallest continent, and the islands to the east and northeast (called collectively Oceania) together cover an area considerably smaller than that of Europe.

Northern Australia is hot all year, with heavy summer monsoon rainfall, and is forested. Southwestern Australia and the lower Murray-Darling River Basin have a Mediterranean climate, with scrub forest and sparse grasses.

Bordering the eastern coast, the broad Eastern Highlands consist of plateaus and low mountain ranges. To the west of these high-

lands are rolling grasslands, the Great Plains. The remainder of Australia, nearly two-thirds of it, is desert, with sand dunes, bare rocky tablelands, and salt lakes.

The islands of Oceania vary greatly in character. New Zealand, for instance, has rugged terrain and is mild, rainy, and richly forested. New Guinea is rugged, rainy, hot, and mostly forested. The smaller islands range from rugged volcanoes to small low-lying coral atolls.

The first important European exploration in this area took place in the late eighteenth century.

tain James Cook, in the 1770's. At the outset, it was used as a colony for convicts. The introduction of sheep raising, and later, in 1851, the discovery of gold, attracted large numbers of free British immigrants. Within a few years, there existed a half-dozen separate colonies, located mainly in the temperate southern region. In each, the settlers soon gained the right to manage local affairs. Eventually, in 1901, the different colonies united to form the Commonwealth of Australia, which received dominion status like Canada.

The islands of New Zealand, a thousand miles to the east, were discovered about the same time as Australia. Though a natural paradise of fertile valleys and forested mountains, for a time they attracted few Europeans. Then, in 1839, a British company was formed to carry on colonizing activities. The settlers soon established orderly communities and received considerable power of self-government. The New Zealanders' prosperity was assured when refrigerator ships, which came into use in the 1880's, enabled them to

become major exporters of meat and dairy products to Great Britain. In 1907, a few years after Australia, New Zealand also achieved dominion status.

Many of the settlers in both Australia and New Zealand brought radical political and economic ideas with them from the mother country. As a result, quite early in their history, the two dominions became known as "laboratories of social reform." Australia was one of the first countries to use the secret ("Australian") ballot, and New Zealand was a leader in woman suffrage. Both were also pioneers in introducing strong trade unions, social insurance laws, and government ownership of major industries. However, because of their very strict immigration laws, aimed primarily at keeping out low-paid laborers from the Orient, both dominions remained rather thinly populated.

Establishment of the Commonwealth of Nations. A fourth dominion, the Union of South Africa, was also created before World War I (see p. 501). Throughout that

Canada's Parliament meets in Ottawa. Like our Congress, it makes laws for the entire country. Some members speak English and others French; all pride themselves on being loyal Canadians.



conflict, the dominions loyally supported the mother country. Afterwards, however, disputes arose, mainly over the control of foreign policy. The British finally gave way and surrendered all their remaining rights. By the Statute of Westminster, passed by Parliament in 1931, they granted the dominions full legal equality with Great Britain. All became "sister nations," joined together in a voluntary federation, the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Still other changes took place soon after World War II. Three new dominions were created in Asia—India, Pakistan, and Ceylon. Since these were all non-British in character, the title of the federation was changed. The word "British" was dropped, making it simply the Commonwealth of Nations. The British government also took steps to prepare several other colonies for dominion status. The intention was, wherever possible, to replace old-fashioned imperialism, based on economic and political domination, with the Commonwealth system of voluntary cooperation.

IRELAND'S STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE

Centuries of Conflict. There is a very sharp contrast between the story of the dominions and that of Ireland, another former British possession. Almost from the beginning of the English conquest in the twelfth century, friction developed because the Irish and English peoples differed in language, customs, and temperament. Religion became an additional source of conflict after the Protestant Revolution. English rulers attempted to force the Church of Ireland, a branch of the Church of England, on the Irish people. The latter only clung more closely to their Catholic faith.

During the seventeenth century, frequent rebellions led the English to take extremely harsh measures. They drove south the inhabitants of northern Ireland and planted colonies of English and Scottish Protestants in their place. During the American Revolution and the wars of the French Revolution, the Irish seized the opportunity to stage new revolts. As a result, the Act of Union was passed in 1800. This act merged the Irish parliament with that of Great Britain. Legally, Ireland now ceased to exist as a separate nation.

Irish Grievances. In the early nineteenth century, the Irish people had three major grievances. First, they were governed by the British Parliament, in which the Irish members were a minority. They therefore asked for "home rule," that is, the restoration of their own parliament.

Second, a large majority of the Irish people suffered severe discrimination because they were Catholics. For example, Catholics could not sit in Parliament, hold other public office, serve on juries, or attend a university. They wanted the British government to end all forms of religious discrimination, including the privileged position of the official Church of Ireland.

Third, most Irishmen complained about the unfair system of landownership. Large areas of the country were owned by absentee Anglo-Irish landlords, who lived in England and rarely visited their Irish estates. Their agents sought to squeeze the largest possible income out of the tenants. If a tenant made an improvement, such as a new fence or pigsty, his rent was raised. If he could not or would not pay, he was dispossessed, even though this meant the loss of his home and livelihood.

The land problem became worse as the result of a rapid increase in Ireland's popu-

lation during the first half of the nineteenth century. The average tenant was barely able to pay his rent and feed his family. Then, for two successive years, in 1845 and 1846, crops were ruined by bad weather. A terrible famine resulted. Many thousands died of hunger and more than a million fled to the United States. The survivors, impoverished and bitter, blamed the British for the tragedy. They demanded fundamental changes in the system of landownership.

The Irish used a variety of different methods to obtain their demands. Some formed secret societies and resorted to violence. They mutilated livestock, burned barns, assassinated officials, and started rebellions. Others made life miserable for British officials, landlords, and agents by refusing to co-operate with them in any way. Still others relied on political agitation to win reforms from Parliament. Though differing in their tactics, all played an important role in securing the removal of Ireland's grievances.

Religious and Land Reforms. The first great Irish victory came when Parliament passed the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829, which removed practically all restrictions on office holding by Catholics. More than a generation later, in 1869, the Church of Ireland was disestablished—it no longer enjoyed special privileges, and Catholics did not have to pay tithes to support it.

The land problem was gradually solved during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. First, Parliament enacted laws to secure better treatment of tenants by the landlords. When these proved inadequate, it adopted a more far-reaching policy. Under the Land Purchase Acts, the British government bought up the estates of large landowners and sold small plots to the tenants. The terms were very favorable. The annual payments were smaller than the rents

they had formerly paid. Irish peasants soon began to enjoy a good deal of prosperity.

The Fight for Home Rule. All the while, the Irish continued their fight for a separate government. This proved the most difficult struggle of all. The Liberal prime minister, Gladstone (see p. 419), was anxious to eliminate the causes of Irish discontent. He had been responsible for two early measures to aid the Irish tenants. However, when he proposed a home-rule bill in 1886, the Liberal party split over the issue. Gladstone was forced to resign from office.

Many years later, in 1914, the Liberals finally succeeded in pushing a home-rule measure through Parliament. Then new difficulties developed. The Protestants in northern Ireland threatened civil war, rather than submit to the control of the Irish Catholic majority. In the midst of the controversy, World War I broke out. The government suspended the law granting home rule.

During the war, extreme Irish nationalists started an uprising with German help. The British crushed the rebellion, executed some of the leaders, and adopted repressive measures. Widespread Irish resentment led to new trouble after the war ended. The nationalists set up their own independent government for Ireland. They urged people to stop paying taxes and to resist the British in every way. The latter sent in special troops, the "Black and Tans," to suppress the rebels.

For several years, cruel and bloody guerrilla fighting raged on the island. Finally, in 1921, both sides agreed to a compromise. Ireland was divided into two parts. Southern Ireland was granted separate dominion status like Canada and became known as the Irish Free State. Protestant northern Ireland chose to remain united with Great Britain. This union is officially called the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Modern Imperialism: The Climax of European Expansion

The Results of Modern Imperialism

The Scope of Modern Imperialism. By a combination of methods—exploration and settlement, economic penetration, and outright conquest—a few Western nations gained control of vast territories on other continents. They divided among themselves virtually all of Africa. They annexed parts of China and cut up the remainder into spheres of influence. They took over most of the other countries of Asia and the islands in the Pacific.

On the other hand, during this same period, a number of countries succeeded in escaping from imperialist control. Japan liberated itself—by adopting Western ways and becoming a great power. The Latin-American nations, though at times suffering threats to their hard-won independence, benefited from the protection of the United States. Four British colonies settled mainly by Europeans—Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa—achieved the status of self-governing dominions. Growing nationalism threatened European rule in India and elsewhere. Nevertheless, at the outbreak of World War I, the imperialist powers still controlled more than half of the world.

Advantages and Disadvantages for the Imperialist Powers. Imperialism was certainly a tremendous factor in the evolution of our modern world. But what were its results? Did it benefit the imperialist powers? Were the natives better off? What new problems did it create for mankind generally? It is extremely difficult to answer these questions, especially since conditions varied greatly from place to place. It is possible only to make a few broad general statements.

From the viewpoint of the imperialist powers, imperialism undoubtedly brought

some benefits. Many colonies provided valuable raw materials, markets for manufactured goods, and opportunities for profitable investment. Businessmen and colonial officials benefited directly, and the rest of the population often enjoyed higher living standards. Too, the imperialist nation gained prestige and sometimes increased its military strength.

On the other hand, the imperialist powers incurred heavy expenses—in acquiring colonies, constructing public works, and suppressing native rebellions. Some colonies, particularly those of Italy, operated at a heavy loss. In many cases, it was very doubtful whether the benefits of possessing colonies really made up for the costs involved.

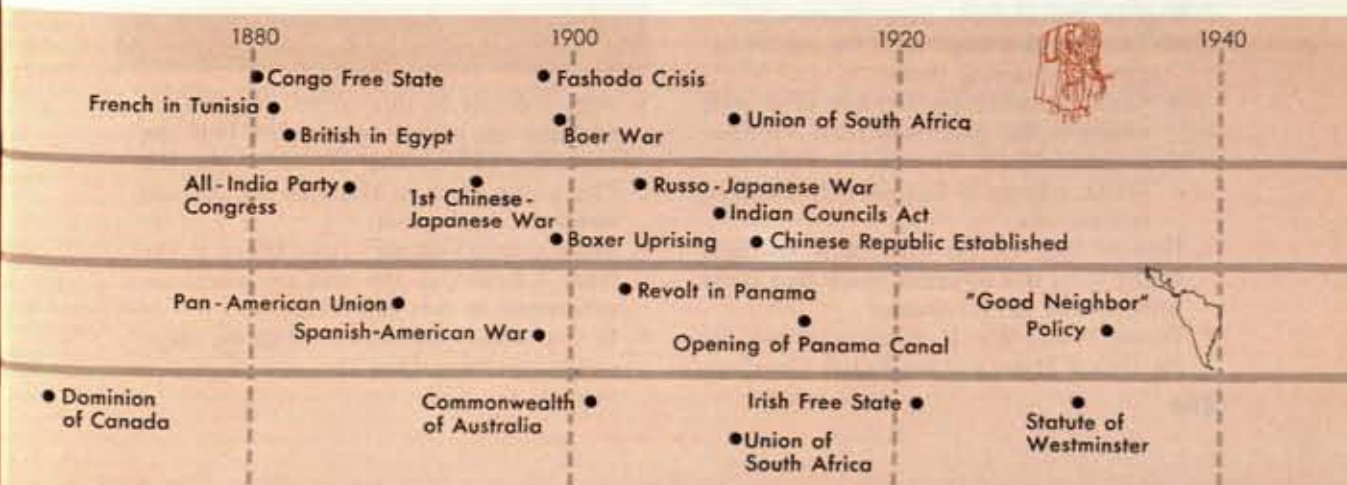
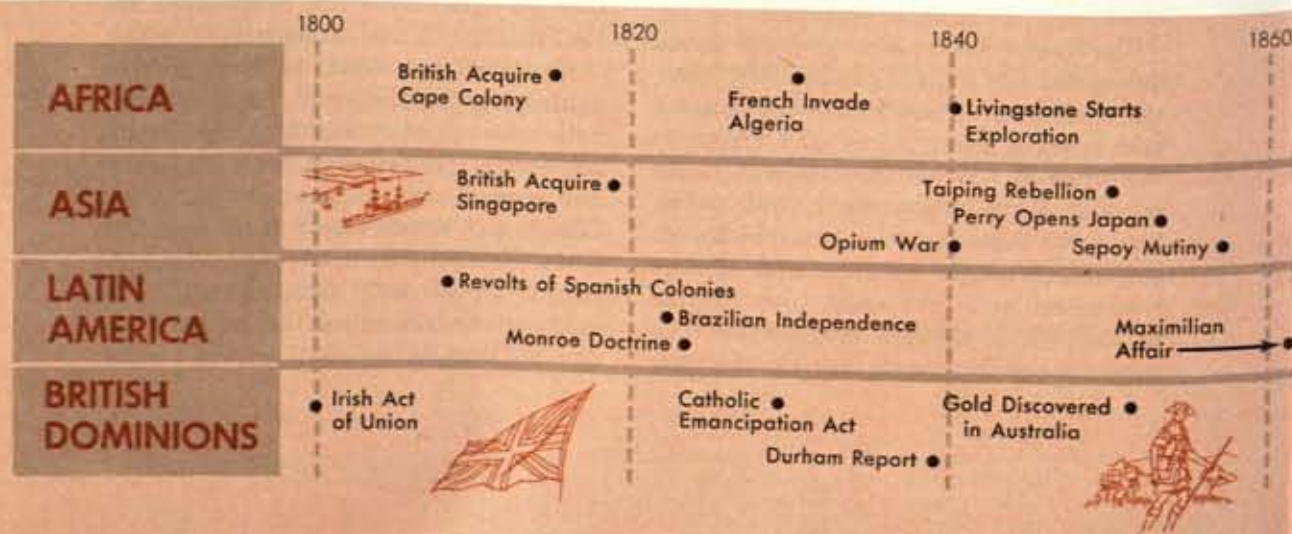
Imperialism and the Natives. For the natives, too, imperialism proved a mixed blessing. The imperialist powers introduced Western concepts of law and order and abolished slavery. They introduced modern sanitation, checked disease, and improved transportation and communication. Missionaries taught the natives Christianity and built schools and hospitals for them.

The natives paid a high price for these benefits. They were usually the victims of harsh exploitation. They were often deprived of their lands and forced to work for very

low wages. Their traditional way of life was destroyed, and they fell victim to European vices. Many were worse off than before the coming of the Europeans.

Effects on Mankind Generally. Imperialism also gave rise to difficult problems for mankind generally. Imperialist rivalries led to many clashes among the powers and were a major cause of the two world wars of the twentieth century. As Europe was weakened by these wars, the peoples of Asia and Africa began to rise against their foreign rulers. Much of the turmoil and confusion of our own time is caused by this revolt against imperialism.

On the other hand, imperialism may be viewed as a phase of the historic migrations and conquests which have played such a vital role in mankind's history. The mingling of many cultures may be expected to enrich all concerned. The progressive spirit and technical advances of the West have begun to transform the rest of the world. We of the West, in turn, can learn much from the closer study of other peoples. Already, in our own day, a new relationship is emerging which promises well for the future. Equality of peoples, not domination of one by another, is the basis of peace for all mankind.





60 / Lesson Review

Checking the facts

1. Explain: colonies of settlement; dominions; Quebec Act; Durham Report; British North American Act; Australian ballot; Statute of Westminster; Commonwealth of Nations; Act of Union; home rule; absentee landlord; Land Purchase Acts; Irish Free State.
2. Why did the British government send the Earl of Durham to Canada? What recommendations did he make to prevent future trouble there?
3. Describe briefly the steps by which Canada progressed from a British-controlled colony to a self-governing dominion.
4. How did Australia, New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa attain dominion status?
5. What were the major Irish grievances against the British during the nineteenth century? Explain how each of these was finally eliminated.

Applying history

1. Compare Great Britain's policy toward Canada with its treatment of the thirteen colonies in the late eighteenth century (pp. 327-329). Might the American Revolution have been prevented by such concessions as those granted to Canada? Justify your opinion.
2. Explain and evaluate these statements:
 - a. The British strengthened the ties of empire by loosening them.
 - b. Great Britain today is more of a sister nation to the dominions than a mother country.
 - c. British reforms in Ireland were too little and too late.
3. How is each of the dominions governed today? Why is it incorrect to say that Great Britain *owns* the dominions?
4. During World War II, it was suggested that the United States and the British Common-

wealth of Nations join together in a single union. What would be the advantages and disadvantages of such a union for both partners?

History and geography

1. Locate (map, p. 490): Canada; Australia; New Zealand; Union of South Africa.
2. Which was the largest of the British dominions in 1914 (map, p. 490)? the smallest? Why was northern Canada considered unsuitable for permanent European settlement?
3. Explain why most of the important cities and populated areas in Australia are found in the southeast (map, p. 530).

Special activities

1. Show, by a drawing, the relationship between Great Britain and the other members of the Commonwealth.
2. Arrange a class exhibit showing recent developments in the Commonwealth of Nations.
3. Prepare a class report on Charles Stewart Parnell or another Irish Nationalist leader.
4. On the basis of outside reading, describe briefly the relations between England and Ireland since the time Ireland attained dominion status.

Summarizing Unit 12

1. Stage a debate on this subject: Modern imperialism has proved beneficial to both the imperialist powers and the native peoples.
2. Play a map game to locate all the colonies mentioned in this unit.
3. Make a scrapbook on "Imperialism in the News." Report to the class on recent developments in Asia and Africa.
4. In your history notebook, outline the major events covered in Unit 12.

Books to Read

Specialized Accounts

- DILTS, MARION M. *The Pageant of Japanese History*. Longmans, Green, 1947. Written especially for younger readers.
- DULLES, FOSTER R. *America's Rise to World Power*. Harper, 1955.
- . *The Imperial Years*. Crowell, 1956. Popular histories that deal with America's foreign policy.
- GOETZ, DELIA. *Neighbors to the South*. Harcourt, Brace, 1956. A description of the Latin American nations.
- GOODRICH, LUTHER C. *A Short History of the Chinese People*. Harper, 1943. A brief survey, emphasizing political developments.
- KIRK, GEORGE E. *A Short History of the Middle East from the Rise of Islam to Modern Times*. Praeger, 1955. Deals mainly with the period since 1800.
- LATOURETTE, KENNETH S. *A Short History of the Far East*. Macmillan, 1951. A well-written, comprehensive account, especially of China and Japan.
- *MOON, PARKER T. *Imperialism and World Politics*. Macmillan, 1939. An outstanding analysis of modern imperialism.
- OWEN, DAVID E. *Imperialism and Nationalism in the Far East*. Holt, 1929. A helpful brief survey.
- *PATON, ALAN. *The Land and People of South Africa*. Lippincott, 1955. An excellent study of the history of South Africa and its race problem.
- PERKINS, DEXTER. *A History of the Monroe Doctrine*. Little, Brown, 1955. An authoritative historical survey of this basic American policy.
- RAU, SANTHA RAMA. *East of Home*. Harper, 1950.

- . *This is India*. Harper, 1954. A British-educated Indian girl describes her homeland and neighboring countries.
- TROTTER, REGINALD. *The British Empire-Commonwealth*. Holt, 1932. A brief, scholarly study.

Biographies and Historical Fiction

- CORBETT, JAMES E. *My India*. Oxford, 1952. A famous tiger hunter tells of his long, adventurous years in India.
- *EATON, JEANNETTE. *David Livingstone*. Morrow, 1947. A simple biography of the great missionary-explorer.
- FARWELL, BYRON. *The Man Who Presumed: A Biography of Henry M. Stanley*. Holt, 1958. The fascinating life story of the noted African explorer.
- *FORESTER, C. S. *The Sky and the Forest*. Little, Brown, 1948. An absorbing novel about native life in Africa and the impact of the white man's arrival.
- GOLLOMB, JOSEPH. *Albert Schweitzer: Genius in the Jungle*. Vanguard, 1949. An excellent biography of the great philosopher and humanitarian.
- GROSS, FELIX. *Rhodes of Africa*. Praeger, 1958. An interesting biography of the colorful British empire builder.
- KIPLING, RUDYARD. *Kim*. Doubleday, 1954. The adventurous life of an Irish soldier's orphan son in India.
- *PATON, ALAN. *Cry, the Beloved Country*. Scribner's, 1948. A moving novel of South Africa.
- SUGIMOTO, ETSUI. *A Daughter of the Samurai*. Doubleday, 1925. The autobiography of a Japanese girl brought up in the traditional way of life.



UNIT 13

WORLD WAR I AND ITS AFTERMATH

No civilization in history has ever succeeded in solving the problem of war. Probably the best record was achieved by the ancient Romans during the *Pax Romana*, when their empire was at its height. It is true that there was frequent fighting along the frontiers even then. However, these military campaigns were fought by relatively small armies far from the centers of Roman civilization. For several centuries, most of the people of the Mediterranean world had the opportunity to live out their lives in peace.

The situation was quite different in later Europe. During the Middle Ages, petty wars raged constantly among the feudal nobles. The resulting disorder and turmoil did much to slow the progress of Western civilization. Wars became less frequent after the rise of modern nations. But they were fought on a larger and larger scale. In the twentieth century were fought two catastrophic world wars which cost the lives of millions of people, caused untold misery, and destroyed vast amounts of property. Today, the very survival of mankind is threatened by atomic and hydrogen bombs and by other deadly weapons.

Scholars, like many other people, have long been concerned with this terrible evil. They have sought to find out why wars occur and how their causes can be eliminated. In this unit, we shall study World War I. We shall seek answers to these questions:

1. What were the causes of World War I?
2. How did the Allies defeat the Central Powers?
3. Why were the victors unable to establish a lasting peace?
4. What were the important domestic and colonial problems which troubled the democracies after the war?

61 / THE COMING OF WORLD WAR I



Older people often speak of the "good old days" when they were young. As they look back, it seems to them that everything was better then. Actually, each age has its own problems. But people tend to forget the troubles of the past and to remember mainly the pleasant features.

In much the same fashion, it has become customary for people in our day to regard the nineteenth century as the "Golden Age of Europe." It was indeed a period of remarkable progress in many ways. Europe was the center of the world. Its population grew rapidly, living standards rose, and culture flourished. The peoples of other continents looked to it for leadership, and their labors helped to increase its wealth. Europeans had reason to face the future with confidence.

Another cause for optimism was the comparatively peaceful nature of this period. Wars were fought, but most of them took place on other continents. In western Europe, long periods of peace prevailed. The few conflicts which were waged consisted of only one or two brief campaigns. As in the Golden Age of ancient Rome, most people never experienced the horrors of war. Some historians, comparing these conditions with the present troubled state of affairs, have called the period between the Napoleonic Wars and the First World War the "ninety-nine years of peace."

THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

The Concert of Europe. One important factor in limiting European wars was the Concert of Europe, a system whereby the great powers sought to preserve peace by holding conferences to discuss problems of common concern. The Concert came into existence after the Congress of Vienna, as a result of the meetings of Metternich's Quadruple Alliance. It survived until the outbreak of the First World War. During the century of its existence, the Concert of Europe settled a number of disputes and negotiated several peace settlements. One example of its work was the Congress of Berlin of 1878 (see p. 473). The Concert strengthened the idea that the powers should consider not only their own interests but also the welfare of Europe as a whole.

Growing International Co-operation. There were other signs of growing international co-operation during this period. Tariffs were generally low, by present-day standards, and trade among the nations increased rapidly. Bankers and other businessmen carried on their activities with little regard for national boundaries. Travelers passed freely from one country to another. Religious leaders, scholars, Socialists, and other groups often held conferences attended by delegates from many lands. Common economic and

cultural interests formed a web which bound nations closely together.

Governments met the needs of their citizens by forming a number of international organizations. Notable among these were the International Red Cross, the International Telegraph Union, and the Universal Postal Union. A system of standardized weights and measures, the metric system, was also adopted by many countries. Commissions were established to deal with other problems involving groups of nations, like navigation on the Danube River. Dozens of treaties were negotiated to promote trade and to settle disputes by peaceful arbitration.

The Hague Conferences. With a view to reducing armaments, the powers also held two international conferences at The Hague in Holland in 1899 and 1907. Although the delegates were unable to reach agreement on any armament cuts, they did succeed in adopting a number of humane rules to govern the conduct of nations engaged in war. They pledged themselves, for example, not to use poison gas or explosive bullets, to treat prisoners of war better, and to protect civilians from injury.

The powers also established the Hague Court of Arbitration to encourage the peaceful settlement of disputes. Instead of permanent judges, this "court" had a long list of distinguished experts in international law. If two countries engaged in a controversy, they could select several of the experts to study the issue. However, no machinery was created to compel governments to refer their disputes to the Hague Court or to accept the settlement it recommended.

Advocates of Peace. In almost every country, the trend toward international co-operation had the support of large and influential groups. Pacifists, opposed to war under any condition, insisted that nations must settle

their differences by peaceful negotiation. Churchmen, Protestants and Catholics alike, reminded their listeners that Christianity stood for peace and brotherly love. The Socialists openly called on the workers of all countries to prevent another "capitalist war" and to refuse to serve in armies or work in munitions factories. Businessmen and property owners, along with people of other classes, objected to paying heavy taxes for the support of large armies and navies. To some observers, it seemed that no government would lead its nation into war in the face of such strong popular opposition.

Underlying Causes of Conflict. The picture of Europe's "Golden Age" is incomplete without a description of its problems. The forces making for peace were really not as strong as they appeared. Beneath the surface, other forces were at work undermining the structure of international co-operation. They eventually proved the stronger. War, not peace, was to be the destiny of Europe.

1. **Nationalism.** One of the forces making for trouble was extreme nationalism. This was a very powerful emotion. People who fell under its spell were willing to take any action which they deemed advantageous to their own nation, regardless of its effects on others. To promote their nation's interests, they were even ready to start wars.

It was nationalism, along with other motives, which inspired Bismarck's war with France and the German seizure of Alsace and Lorraine (pp. 427-428). Franco-German relations suffered badly as a result. French nationalists could not rest so long as other Frenchmen remained under the rule of the hated Germans. Decade after decade, they preached a war of revenge to regain the "lost provinces."

Nationalism also stirred up rivalries in the Balkan Peninsula. Russia, for example, used

the propaganda of Pan-Slavism (see p. 479) to extend its influence there. It also supported the claims of the little Kingdom of Serbia, which dreamed of uniting all the South Slavs under its rule. These actions aroused the bitter enmity of the Austro-Hungarian leaders. They realized that the Dual Monarchy would fall apart if the millions of Slav subjects broke away.

2. *Imperialism.* Imperialism also led to frequent quarrels among the powers. Disputes over colonies and commerce created deep-rooted tensions and were a constant threat to peace. Imperialism was responsible for the Boer War, the Russo-Japanese War, the Libyan War, and many other conflicts during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As we shall see, it was one of the important factors leading to World War I.

3. *Militarism.* Another threat to peace arose from the existence of large armies and navies and a small but powerful military class. Professional military leaders insisted that preparedness for war was the only way to insure peace. As long as a nation was strong, they asserted, its enemies would not dare to attack it. If a war did start, the nation would be able to defend itself successfully. Nationalists, imperialists, and armaments makers supported these arguments and succeeded in convincing many people. The result was an arms race, in which each power constantly built up its armed forces in an effort to have a bigger and deadlier war machine than its neighbors had.

4. *Secret alliances.* Nations also sought to increase their strength by gaining allies. Europe was eventually crisscrossed by rival systems of military alliances. Some of the treaties were not published at all. Others were made public, but important provisions

were kept secret. These secret alliances were dangerous because they heightened the atmosphere of suspicion and fear. Moreover, they meant that a war between two nations was likely to involve many others.

5. *Lack of international order.* On the whole, Europe was like a small house inhabited by a score or so of different families. Each had its own language, customs, and ambitions. Since each sought to advance its own selfish interests, quarrels were frequent. Most of the time, they managed to talk things over and reach a compromise. However, there were no police or courts to prevent them from fighting or to force them to accept a peaceful settlement. As long as there was no system to keep order among nations, the danger always existed that their conflicts would lead to war.

THE ROAD TO WAR

Bismarck's System of Alliances. When World War I broke out in 1914, it was only the last link in a long chain of events. After the Franco-Prussian War, Bismarck realized that France wanted a war of revenge. He was not afraid of that country alone, since Germany had just defeated it. However, if France gained one of the other powers as an ally, Germany might have to fight on two fronts. This danger Bismarck was determined to prevent. The keynote of his foreign policy, therefore, was to keep France isolated in Europe.

During his years in office, Bismarck managed to secure the friendship of all the other European powers. He signed an alliance with Austria-Hungary, which wanted help in case of trouble with Russia in the Balkans. Italy shortly asked to join because it resented France's actions, especially in Tunisia (see

p. 497). Thereby the Triple Alliance came into existence in 1882. Bismarck also signed a secret alliance with Russia and was careful to stay on good terms with Great Britain. France was left powerless to make trouble for Germany.

The Division of Europe. Holding together so many nations proved a difficult task, even for a gifted statesman like Bismarck. When the old Chancellor was dismissed in 1890, his system of alliances soon collapsed. The young emperor, William II, refused to renew the Russian treaty because it seemed to conflict with the treaty with Austria-Hungary. Russia, offended by this change of policy, welcomed France's offers of friendship. An alliance was concluded between these two powers in 1894.

The German Emperor and his advisers made a second serious error by antagonizing Great Britain. In many parts of the world, Germany became the main British competitor for trade and colonies. Even more im-

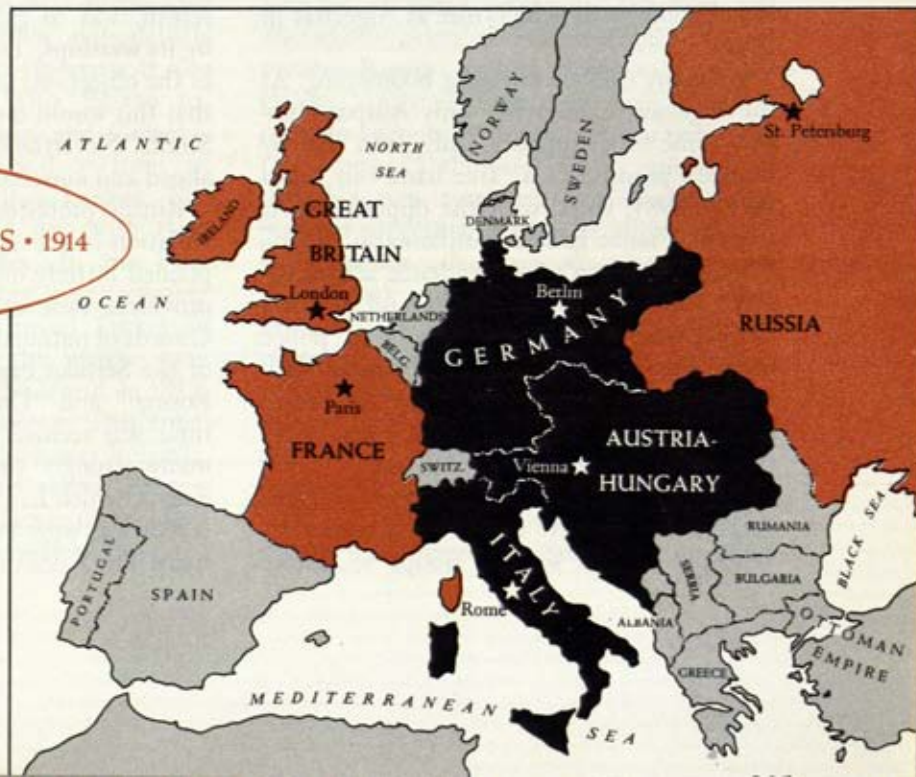
portant, it began to build a powerful navy. The British, whose very survival seemed to depend on their control of the seas, drew closer to France. In 1904, the two countries settled their colonial rivalries and reached a "cordial diplomatic understanding," the *Entente Cordiale*.

The final step in this diplomatic revolution was taken by Great Britain and Russia. The two powers signed an agreement in 1907 settling their long-standing imperialistic differences in Persia and in other parts of Asia. Europe was now divided between two powerful rival diplomatic groups: the Triple Alliance—Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy—and the Triple Entente—Great Britain, France, Russia. (See map below.)

Increased Tension in Europe. Each member had supposedly joined with its partners only to defend itself. However, the net result was a great increase in fear and suspicion on both sides. The two diplomatic groupings plunged into a costly arms race. Heavy taxes

RIVAL EUROPEAN BLOCS • 1914

- ★ Triple Entente
- ★ Triple Alliance



were levied, the term of military training for citizens was lengthened, and the production of weapons was speeded up. To arouse their peoples, military leaders frequently paraded their troops and made warlike speeches. They boasted of their own armed strength but at the same time warned of danger from "the enemy." They also drew up detailed plans for immediate action in case of war. "Europe is a powder keg," wrote one informed observer. "All it needs is a spark to explode."

The Moroccan Crises. The first of a series of dangerous international crises occurred in 1905, when France tried to extend its influence over Morocco (map, p. 502). Germany, feeling that it should be consulted, challenged the move. The German Emperor visited Morocco and encouraged its sultan to reject the French demands. French newspapers violently denounced his actions as interference in France's affairs. For weeks the situation remained tense. The crisis passed only when France agreed to submit the Moroccan problem to an international conference, which met at Algeciras in Spain.

Germany's policy proved a boomerang. At the Algeciras Conference only Austria-Hungary came to its support. Italy, won over by France's promise of a "free hand" in Libya (see p. 498), voted with the opposition. As a result, France gained a diplomatic victory. Though Morocco's independence was recognized "in principle," French and Spanish officers were placed in charge of its police force. The French were also entrusted with the task of straightening out Morocco's tangled finances. In effect, that country became a French sphere of influence.

A second Moroccan crisis occurred a few years later, in 1911. Following a native revolt, the French sent in troops to restore

order. This time, Germany sent a small warship to a Moroccan port, supposedly to protect German citizens. France made a strong protest. Great Britain came to its support and openly threatened war. This in turn aroused a storm of indignation in Germany. Eventually a compromise was arranged. Germany consented to a French protectorate over Morocco in return for a sizable slice of French territory in the Congo. War had twice been successfully averted. However, the Moroccan crises greatly increased the antagonisms between the rival European powers.

Crises in the Balkans. A series of crises also arose in that storm center of nationalistic rivalries, the Balkan Peninsula. The first crisis occurred shortly after the Young Turk Revolution in 1908. Seeking to profit from the confusion, the foreign ministers of Russia and Austria-Hungary struck a secret bargain. Austria-Hungary was to annex two Turkish provinces, Bosnia and Herzegovina, which years earlier had been placed under its administration (see p. 473). Russia, in return, was to gain free use of the Straits by its warships. The plan miscarried because of the objections of other powers, who feared that this would mean Russian control of the Straits. Nevertheless, Austria-Hungary went ahead and annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Russia protested that this action was a violation of the agreement. Serbia also complained bitterly on the ground that the two provinces were inhabited mainly by Serbs. Crowds of nationalists gathered in the streets of the Serbian capital, shouting, "We want Bosnia!" and "Down with Austria!" For a time, war seemed inevitable. However, Germany strongly supported Austria-Hungary. Russia, which had not yet recovered from its recent war with Japan, was compelled to retreat. The Russian officials advised the Serbs

The Archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian throne, and his wife were photographed leaving the Sarajevo city hall on June 28, 1914. A few minutes later their automobile was attacked by young Bosnian nationalists, one of whom fired the fatal shots that touched off the first world war.



to do likewise. "Be patient," they said. "Our days of joy will come."

Angered by its defeat, Russia encouraged the Serbs to continue their nationalistic propaganda against Austria-Hungary. It also induced Serbia and the other Balkan nations—Montenegro, Bulgaria, and Greece—to put aside their feuds and to form an alliance known as the Balkan League. The little allies soon started a war with their hated former ruler, Turkey. In the First Balkan War, 1912–1913, they won a number of startling victories and forced Turkey to sue for peace. However, the victors soon began quarreling over the spoils and, in 1913, the Second Balkan War began. This time, Serbia led its allies to a victory over Bulgaria.

While the Balkan Wars raged, Europe lived in fear that some unfortunate incident might touch off a general conflict. The great

powers, acting together as the Concert of Europe, held several meetings and drafted a number of peace proposals. However, the discussions revealed fundamental disagreements. Russia backed Serbia's territorial claims. Austria-Hungary opposed them in order to keep its little enemy from becoming too strong. In the end, Serbia gained considerable new territory. But Austrian opposition prevented it from acquiring an outlet to the sea.

Outbreak of the First World War, 1914. Serbian nationalists, elated by their recent victories, greatly increased their agitation among their fellow Slavs in the Balkans. To combat this Serbian agitation, the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, and his wife made a visit to the troubled province of Bosnia. The results were tragic. In Sarajevo, the chief

city of that province, a young Bosnian student assassinated the royal couple. This proved to be the spark which exploded the European powder keg and set off the First World War.

The murders were committed on Austrian soil by an Austrian subject. But the plot itself had been hatched in the Serbian capital by a Serbian nationalist society. After a hasty investigation, Austria-Hungary accused the government of Serbia of responsibility. It decided that the time had finally come to crush that little country, which it considered a menace to its survival.

First, Austria-Hungary secured a promise of support for its policy from its ally, Germany. Then it sent a harsh ultimatum to Serbia. Among other things, the Serbian government was required to dissolve all anti-Austrian societies, to dismiss all anti-Austrian officials, to punish all those involved in the assassination plot, and to permit Austrian representatives to supervise its actions. In its answer, Serbia denied responsibility for the assassination. However, it accepted many of the Austrian demands and offered to submit the rest to arbitration. Austria-Hungary pronounced the reply unsatisfactory. On July 28, 1914, it declared war on Serbia.

Throughout the crisis, European statesmen had worked feverishly to preserve peace. They had made numerous suggestions for conferences or compromise agreements. Their efforts were in vain, for Austria-Hungary was determined to fight Serbia. The Austro-Hungarian government even turned down several last-minute peace proposals put forth by Germany.

Spread of the Conflict. Austria-Hungary hoped for a small, "localized war." However, Russia had previously warned that it would not allow that country "to gobble up Serbia."

Following the Austrian declaration of war, the czar ordered that the Russian armies be mobilized along the Austrian and German frontiers. Germany, considering this action a threat to its security, promptly sent an ultimatum to Russia. It demanded that the mobilization be stopped. When Russia refused, Germany declared war. In the meantime, Germany had also asked France whether it would remain neutral in the event of a Russo-German conflict. When France gave an evasive answer, Germany also declared war on that power.

Some years earlier, the German general staff had drafted a plan to smash France before Russia could fully mobilize. This plan required their armies to pass through Belgium, despite the fact that Belgian neutrality was guaranteed by an agreement among the powers (see p. 445). When German troops invaded that country, Great Britain decided to join its Entente partners and declared war on Germany. The conflict continued to spread until it included not only most of the European nations but also many countries on other continents. It was truly a global conflict.

The Question of Responsibility. Whose fault was the First World War? Historians have written many books on this subject and have reached many different conclusions. However, almost all agree that no country wanted a world war and none was solely responsible for what occurred. European civilization suffered, as we have already seen, from certain basic weaknesses—nationalism, imperialism, militarism, secret alliances, and the lack of international order. These were responsible for the frequent crises of the prewar period. In the last analysis, it was these same conditions which in 1914 plunged Europe into a deadly conflict from which it has never fully recovered.

61 / Lesson Review



Checking the facts

1. Explain: Concert of Europe; Hague Conferences; Hague Court; pacifism; Triple Alliance; Triple Entente; Moroccan crises; Balkan crises; ultimatum.
2. What was the evidence of growing international co-operation during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries?
3. Explain each of the following and tell why it was a reason for conflict among the European powers: nationalism; imperialism; militarism; secret alliances; lack of international order.
4. List the members of the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente. What reasons did each member nation have for joining the group it did?
5. Why was the existence of the two rival diplomatic blocs a threat to European peace?
6. How did the crises in Morocco and in the Balkans before 1914 bring Europe close to general conflict? How, in each case, was war averted?
7. Why did Austria-Hungary declare war against Serbia in 1914? How was this local conflict transformed into a world war?

Applying history

1. How did international co-operation in economic, scientific, and cultural matters during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries strengthen the forces that were seeking world peace? Why were the advocates of peace unable to prevent war in 1914?
2. What were the main features of Bismarck's diplomatic system? How did this system break down after Bismarck's dismissal?
3. "Peace is likely to result when one power is stronger than other nations but is satisfied with the territories it possesses." What evidence to support this statement can be found in Bismarck's alliance system? in the experience of the nations of North America?
4. Discuss and evaluate:
 - a. No power wanted a world war. The conflict resulted from a series of chance incidents and diplomatic blunders.
 - b. Even if the Austrian archduke had not been assassinated, World War I would have occurred anyway.

History and geography

1. What important geographic advantage did the Triple Alliance have which the Triple Entente did not (map, p. 543)?
2. What geographic factor threatened Germany's security if war broke out between the rival European blocs (map, p. 543)?

Special activities

1. Consult an encyclopedia or other reference work, then report to the class on the achievements of the Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907.
2. Draw a poster, sketch, or cartoon to show both the immediate and the underlying causes of the first world war.
3. Write a series of newspaper headlines dealing with the important diplomatic events that led to the outbreak of World War I.
4. Write an editorial on the outbreak of the war for a newspaper in France, Germany, or a then-neutral nation such as the United States.



War is like a gigantic gambling game, in which the players stake their future on a number of untried and uncertain factors. This was especially true in 1914. None of the great powers except Russia had engaged in a major conflict for more than a generation. Yet both sides were confident that they would win a quick and easy victory.

The Central Powers were Germany, Austria-Hungary, and later Turkey and Bulgaria. (See map, p. 550.) Their hopes of victory rested mainly on the German army. The discipline and morale of the Kaiser's soldiers, the excellence of their equipment, and the quality of their officers made that army the world's strongest fighting force. Behind it was the production of Germany's great industries and the ingenuity of German scientists and engineers. Moreover, Germany's strategic location in the center of Europe enabled it to shift troops quickly from one battle front to another. In recognition of this superiority, the other Central Powers quickly placed their armies under German direction to form a single powerful military machine.

At the start of the war, the Allies included Russia, France, Great Britain, Serbia, Montenegro, and Belgium. They were geographically divided and were unable to achieve the same degree of co-operation as the Central Powers. On the other hand, there were sev-

eral important factors favoring them. France had a first-class army. The Russian forces, though poorly equipped and poorly led, were larger than all of the enemy armies combined. Great Britain was one of the world's leading industrial powers. The British fleet dominated the seas, and the Allies could draw on the British and French empires and on the neutral nations for supplies. As the war dragged on, many other countries rallied to their cause, including Japan, Italy, and the United States. In the end, the Allies overwhelmed their foes by sheer weight of numbers.

EARLY SUCCESSES OF THE CENTRAL POWERS

The First Offensive, 1914. For most of the war, the Germans had the advantage of being able to strike first. Their original plan was to knock out France before the huge Russian armies could be fully mobilized. To avoid the strong French border fortifications, they attacked through neutral Belgium. The French, caught by surprise, hastily shifted their troops northward to stop the invaders. Fortunately for them, the German commander failed to throw his full strength into the main offensive. With the aid of a small British expeditionary force, the French stopped the Germans at the Marne River,

only a few miles from Paris (map, p. 550). For the moment, France was saved.

Trench Warfare. Having failed to crush the French armies, the Germans were compelled to develop a new strategy. On the western front, from Switzerland to the North Sea, they dug trenches—zigzag lines of deep ditches connected with one another by underground tunnels. In front of the trenches were rows of barbed wire; in them were infantrymen armed with rifles and hand grenades; on the flanks were machine-gun posts; and behind them was artillery. After some futile attempts to break through these formidable defenses, the Allies dug similar lines of trenches. Both sides then settled down to a long war.

This situation was very favorable to the Germans. They held all of Belgium and the northeastern part of France. This large area contained valuable coal and iron mines and a number of important industries. Moreover, the fighting took place in France, which suffered heavy damage while Germany went unharmed. Needing only part of their strength to hold the western Allies, the Germans were able to move large forces to the east to deal with the growing Russian threat.

The War in the East, 1914–1915. Shortly after the start of the war, the Russians had launched powerful offensives against both Germany and Austria-Hungary. They had begun operations before they were fully mobilized, to relieve the heavy German pressure on France. Their haste proved costly. One Russian army was trapped and wiped out by the Germans in the marshes of Tannenberg in East Prussia (map, p. 550). A second Russian army in East Prussia was defeated and forced to retreat. Other Russian forces continued to advance into Austria-Hungary until checked by German reinforcements from the western front.

Early the next year, the Turks attacked the Russians from the rear. Soon after, the Germans and Austrians struck at the main Russian armies. The Central Powers won a series of impressive victories. They inflicted crippling losses on the Russians and drove them out of Austria-Hungary and Poland. With the aid of Bulgaria, which now entered the war, the Central Powers also succeeded in crushing Serbia. The entire eastern front seemed on the verge of collapse.

Unsuccessful Offensives of the Western Powers, 1915. Meanwhile, the western Allies launched an expedition to force open the Straits, through which much-needed supplies might be sent to Russia. Their attempt, known as the Gallipoli Campaign, proved a disastrous failure. Three times the British and “Anzacs” (Australians and New Zealanders) tried to smash or capture the Turkish forts. They suffered heavy losses in ships and men and finally had to abandon the plan. The southern supply route to Russia remained closed throughout the war.

The French and British also tried to ease the pressure on Russia by repeated attacks on the German trench lines in the west. These offensives were repulsed with heavy casualties. Offensives were also launched by Italy, which had been induced to join the Allies by secret promises of territory after the war. But the Italian army was not strong enough to break through Austria’s defenses in the Alps. The weakness of the Allies in the west gave the Germans an opportunity to knock Russia out of the war. Instead, their high command made the mistake of renewing the attack against France.

Stalemate, 1916. As the target of their new offensive, the Germans chose the strategic French fortress of Verdun. By attacking there, they hoped to “bleed the French white” and to crack their morale.

The defenders were forced to give ground at first. However, they soon rallied to the battle cry "They shall not pass!" After four months of terrible slaughter, the Germans had to give up their offensive. The western front remained unbroken.

The Russians had used the breathing space to reorganize their forces. They then staged a sudden new attack against Austria-Hungary and gained a good deal of territory before German reinforcements arrived to stall their drive. Rumania, impressed by the Russian victories and by Allied promises of territory, now entered the war. However, that country was quickly conquered by the Germans, who profited greatly from its grain

and oil. In the meantime, the British also launched a massive offensive along the Somme River in northern France. Their attack netted them only small gains at very heavy cost. Eventually, it bogged down completely in the autumn mud.

At the year's end, Russia was nearing exhaustion both in man power and in equipment. Cannon shells were rationed, and soldiers had to attack with bayonets because of the ammunition shortage! In Great Britain, the prime minister was forced to resign. In France and Italy, people began to talk of surrender. However, the Central Powers had also suffered heavy losses and were feeling the strains of war. Though they had won



many battles, victory seemed a will-o'-the-wisp, as impossible to grasp as ever.

THE TRIUMPH OF THE ALLIES

The War at Sea. Soon after the outbreak of the war, the Allies had gained control of the seas. This enabled them to cut off and conquer Germany's colonies in Africa and the Far East. It also enabled them to open new fronts against the weaker Central Powers. They launched attacks on Bulgaria through Greece and on Turkey through Mesopotamia and Palestine. Most important of all, they were able to impose a blockade on their foes in Europe. Foodstuffs and other essential commodities gradually became scarce in both Germany and Austria-Hungary. Though the war effort of these countries was not seriously hampered, the people's morale began to decline. The longer the war continued, the more decisive Allied naval power proved to be.

The Germans desperately sought countermeasures to break the Allied blockade. However, their battle fleet was kept bottled up in its home ports by the more powerful British navy. Their fast cruisers, sent out to prey on Allied merchant ships, were hunted down one by one and sunk. It soon became clear that the only weapon which offered them any real hope of success was the submarine or "U-boat."

Germany's Unrestricted Submarine Warfare. German submarines found it easy to slip through the Allied blockade and to attack Allied shipping. However, the submarine of that time was a frail craft. Even a freighter could sink it by shelling or ramming. For its own protection, it had to launch its torpedoes without warning. This was a clear violation of international law, which required that the safety of passengers

and crew be guaranteed. Nevertheless, in February, 1915, the German government announced its intention of engaging in unrestricted submarine warfare. It argued that this policy was justified because the Allied blockade was also illegal.

America's Entry into the War, April, 1917. Germany's unrestricted submarine warfare aroused the hostility of the most powerful neutral nation, the United States. The American people were horrified when a submarine sank the great British passenger liner *Lusitania*, in May, 1915. Twelve hundred persons, including more than one hundred Americans, were drowned. Allied propagandists fanned this ill-feeling by spreading exaggerated stories of German atrocities in Belgium and other occupied countries. In the face of growing American anger, the Berlin government announced that its submarines in the future would abide by the rules of international law.

However, Germany was still determined to stop the flow of American supplies to the Allies. German secret agents in this country stirred up strikes, blew up armament plants, and started fires on ships laden with war materials. A German plot was discovered to get Mexico to attack the United States if it entered the war against Germany. The climax came when the German government announced, early in 1917, that it intended to resume unrestricted submarine warfare. During the next few weeks, a number of American ships were sunk without warning. On April 6, 1917, the Congress of the United States, by an almost unanimous vote, declared war on Germany.

More Allied Disasters, 1917. Before the United States could send military aid on a large scale, the Allies suffered still more defeats. A huge Allied spring offensive on the western front was a bloody failure. Losses

were so heavy that part of the French army mutinied. The Italian army was routed by the Germans and Austrians at Caporetto and had to be strengthened by Allied reinforcements urgently needed elsewhere. German submarines sank so much Allied shipping that Great Britain for a time was in danger of starvation. Worst of all, revolution broke out in Russia. A radical group, the Bolsheviks or Communists, seized power a few months later and made a separate peace with Germany. (For details, see pp. 578–579). Thereafter, the Germans could concentrate their main strength in the west.

The Turning of the Tide. Nevertheless, time was on the side of the Allies. Though they had suffered severe losses, they could now count on America's ample manpower and resources. The Germans, on the other hand, had lost their best units in battle and were forced to use young boys and middle-aged men as replacements. On the home front, scarcities of food and raw materials became steadily worse.

The President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson, helped to weaken enemy morale by his idealistic speeches. He announced that he favored a fair and just peace, "in the interest of the populations concerned." Moreover, in the spring of 1918, large numbers of American troops began to arrive in Europe. The sight of the fresh and well-equipped newcomers boosted Allied confidence and weakened the will-to-fight of the battle-worn enemy. To save the situation, the German high command determined to stake everything on one last, all-out drive for victory.

Collapse of the Central Powers, 1918. The great German offensive struck the Allied lines with terrific force. For weeks it gained ground, though at extremely heavy cost. The Allies were so frightened that they finally

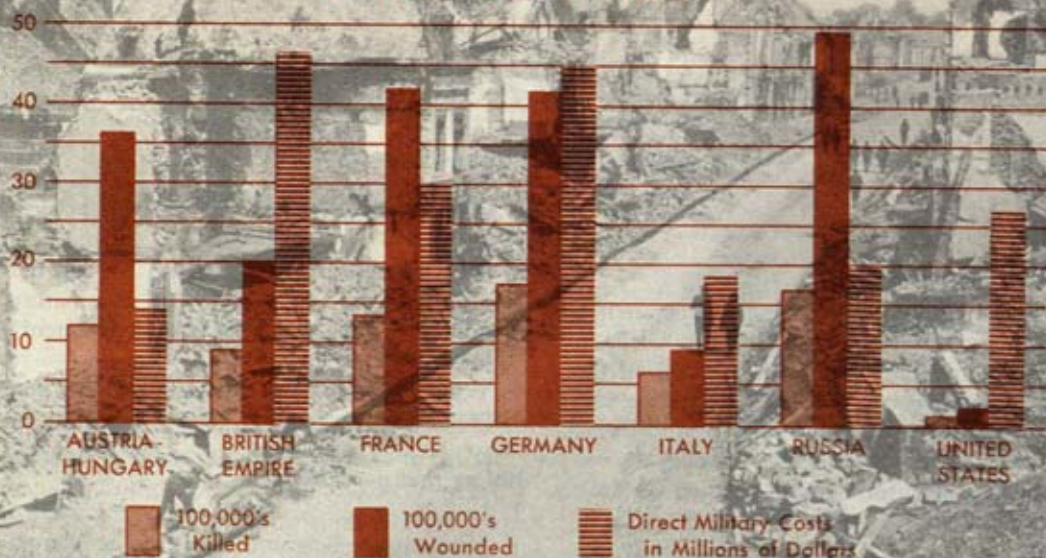
united their armies under one commander, General Ferdinand Foch of France. Under his direction, they finally succeeded in stopping the Germans in the Second Battle of the Marne. The Allies then promptly began a powerful counteroffensive of their own. Attacking without a letup, they cracked the Germans' main defenses and forced them back toward the Belgian frontier. Other Allied drives, in the Balkans and in Asia Minor, were also successful.

By the early autumn of 1918, the Central Powers realized that the end had come. Bulgaria surrendered to an Allied force which had invaded it from Greece. Turkey, cut off from outside help, soon followed suit. Austria-Hungary, menaced by an Italian invasion and by revolts of its subject nationalities, gave up a few days later. In Germany, a revolution broke out, the emperor was forced to abdicate, and the new government agreed to an armistice. On November 11, 1918, more than four years after the fatal shots were fired in Bosnia, World War I finally came to an end.

Costs of the War. The First World War was a total war, in which many nations pitted all their resources against one another. Vast numbers of men were drafted for military service. To equip, transport, and supply them required the efforts of other armies of workers on the home front. Factories turned out millions of tons of steel and explosives. Scientists and engineers developed deadly new weapons like the airplane, tank, and poison gas. For years, the energies of mankind were directed mainly to killing and destruction. The results were terrible beyond belief.

Altogether, 65,000,000 men bore arms during the war. Of these, about 9,000,000 lost their lives. Approximately 21,000,000, almost one-third of the total number, were crippled

COSTS OF WORLD WAR I



or wounded. In many European countries, it was hard to find a family which did not mourn the loss or injury of a loved one. Civilian casualties were also very heavy. With young men taken from the farms and large areas damaged by the fighting, it was impossible to raise enough food for Europe's huge population. Despite generous aid from the United States, large numbers died of famine or epidemics during the war and in the troubled postwar period.

The economic costs were also staggering. A vast sum—approximately \$186,000,000,000—was spent on armies and war materials. This figure was greatly increased by indirect costs, such as medical care for disabled veterans, pensions for widows and orphans, and interest on war bonds. Still another cost was the war damage to property, which was estimated at about \$150,000,000,000. The possessions which families had accumulated through years of hard work were destroyed in a few hours. Priceless treasures, such as cathedrals and libraries, were lost to future generations.

Impossible to measure were the moral costs of the war. By teaching people to hate and to kill their fellow men, it undermined the foundations of law and order on which civilization is built. For many years, crime and immorality increased all over the world. Worse still, the seeds of hatred, spread on the fertile soil of defeat and nourished by poverty, threatened some day to sprout into a new crop of deadly conflicts.

A Few Beneficial Results. What did the world gain in return? The leading democratic nations emerged victorious. The threat of German militarism was ended, at least for a time. The war also speeded many other changes which had long been brewing. Three autocratic monarchs—the czar of Russia and the emperors of Germany and Austria-Hungary—were forced to abdicate. The sultan of Turkey followed them a few years later. The empires they had ruled disappeared, and many of the subject nationalities were independent. By strengthening the forces of freedom and democracy, World War I seemed the beginning of a period of new progress.



62 / Lesson Review

Checking the facts

1. Explain: First Battle of the Marne; trench warfare; Battle of Tannenberg; Gallipoli Campaign; Battle of Verdun; Battle of the Somme; U-boat; unrestricted submarine warfare; sinking of the *Lusitania*; Second Battle of the Marne; total war; armistice.
2. Identify: Central Powers; Allied Powers; Marshal Foch.
3. List in parallel columns the military advantages of each side at the start of the First World War. Why was British sea power an important asset for the Allies?
4. Describe the major military developments from 1914 to 1917 on the western front; on the eastern front; at sea.
5. Discuss the major reasons that caused the United States to declare war on Germany. What were the important results of America's entry into the war?
6. Why did the Central Powers finally surrender in the autumn of 1918?
7. What were the human, economic, and moral costs of the First World War?

Applying history

1. The German government in 1914 justified its violation of Belgium's neutrality by contending that it was acting in self-defense. Do you agree or disagree with this argument? How did this action help the Allied propaganda against Germany?
2. How did Russia's backward economy contribute to its defeats during World War I? How might this weakness have been offset if the Allies had been victorious in the Gallipoli Campaign?
3. Explain the statement, "The United States waged neutrality against Germany." Might

the United States have stayed out of the war if it had adopted a more conciliatory policy toward the Kaiser's government? Explain.

4. Why is World War I considered the first "total war" in modern history?

History and geography

1. Locate (map, p. 550): Bulgaria; Serbia; Montenegro; Belgium; Battle of the Marne; North Sea; Battle of Tannenberg; the Straits; Battle of Gallipoli; Battle of Verdun; Rumania; Mesopotamia; Palestine; Battle of Caporetto.
2. Why were the Central Powers easily able to blockade European Russia's most important ports (map, p. 550)? How would Allied control of the Straits have helped to solve this problem?
3. On evidence from the map on pp. 170-171, give geographical reasons for Germany's violation of Belgium's neutrality; the rapidly shifting battle lines in eastern Europe; the Italians' failure to break through the Austro-Hungarian defenses.

Special activities

1. Draw a war poster for either the Allies or the Central Powers to arouse public opinion against the enemy. Discuss the harmful effects such wartime propaganda was likely to have after the war.
2. Read to the class accounts of one of the great battles of World War I or of life in the trenches between battles.
3. Debate: If President Wilson had maintained a strict policy of neutrality, this country would have succeeded in keeping out of World War I.

AFTER WORLD WAR I



In one respect, the nations which lost the war were perhaps more fortunate than the victors. They did not have to make the peace. For the task of rebuilding Europe after four long years of fighting was almost like putting Humpty Dumpty together again after his fall. Relief supplies had to be rushed to the inhabitants of devastated and disease-stricken areas. Peace terms had to be drafted for the defeated countries. Boundaries had to be drawn for the new nations which emerged from the wreckage of the Austro-Hungarian and Russian empires. Efforts had to be made to deal with the revolutions and minor wars which were everywhere breaking out. Amid all this turmoil and confusion, the Allies met in Paris to lay the foundations for a lasting peace.

THE PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE AND THE TERMS OF PEACE

The Paris Peace Conference, 1919–1920. The Paris Peace Conference was the largest and most distinguished diplomatic gathering in history. It was composed of the leading statesmen of all the Allied nations, each accompanied by a host of advisers and experts. Contrary to custom, the defeated nations were not allowed to send any representatives, or even to present their views, until the close of the Conference. The Allies,

mindful of the role played by Talleyrand at the Congress of Vienna (see p. 356), received the enemy representatives only after the final terms of peace were settled and ready to be signed.

There were not many formal meetings of the Conference. Instead, problems were referred to special committees, where the delegates concerned could argue their case. The final decisions were made, as usual, by the great powers. Of these, Italy and Japan played a relatively small role at the Conference. The main responsibility for making the peace rested on the “Big Three,” the leaders of the world’s most powerful nations—the United States, France, and Great Britain.

The Big Three. The United States was represented by the scholarly, idealistic President Wilson. A former history professor, Wilson considered problems from a long-range point of view. He favored a “peace without victory,” instead of the harsh terms usually imposed on defeated nations. In his famous wartime statement, the Fourteen Points, he had laid down a specific program to eliminate the basic causes of war. The American President called for an end to secret diplomacy, armament races, and imperialist rivalries. To deal with the problem of minority nationalities, he urged the principle of national self-determination—that

each nationality be allowed to decide its own future status. Finally, to create a system of international order, he proposed that a general association of nations be established with the power to settle international disputes.

The leader of the French delegation was the cynical Premier Clemenceau, whose sharp tongue and pen had earned him the nickname "The Tiger." Clemenceau, above all else, was anxious to achieve security for France. Twice within his lifetime, the Germans had invaded his homeland. To end forever this menace, he planned to crush Germany and to assure France's position as the strongest power on the continent. The French Premier bitterly attacked Wilson's

Clemenceau insisted that the German peace treaty be signed in the Hall of Mirrors of the Palace of Versailles, the room in which the German Empire had been proclaimed in 1871.

proposals, many of which were almost directly contrary to his own.

Great Britain's spokesman, the clever and skillful Prime Minister Lloyd George, occupied a very favorable position. Steering a middle course between the two opponents, he worked out many of the compromises which were finally adopted. Lloyd George supported most of Wilson's proposals in principle. But he insisted that Great Britain, France, and the other Allies were entitled to enemy territories in accordance with the secret treaties which they had signed during the war. He also insisted that Germany be made to pay reparations—compensation for the losses and damages suffered by the Allies.

The Peace Treaty with Germany. In all, there were five separate peace treaties. First, and most important, was the Treaty of Versailles imposed on Germany. That country lost about one-tenth of its territory and population in Europe. Alsace and Lorraine were returned to France. Several small border districts were transferred to Belgium and Denmark. A large area in the east was given to the new country of Poland. This included the "Polish Corridor," which cut Germany into two parts in order to give the Poles an outlet to the sea. The city of Danzig, the natural port for this region, was taken from Germany and placed under international control. In addition to these losses in Europe, all of Germany's colonies were taken away and divided among the victors.

The Treaty of Versailles contained a number of other important provisions. Germany, along with the other Central Powers, had to admit responsibility for having caused the war. It was therefore obligated to pay reparations for all the damage it had done. It was permitted to have only a very small army and navy. It agreed to let the Allies place on trial



those German officers, including the Kaiser himself, who had "committed acts in violation of the laws and customs of war." Finally, as a guarantee that the peace terms would be carried out, Allied troops were to occupy a large section of west Germany, the Rhineland, for a period of fifteen years.

As Wilson had feared, the German people deeply resented the treaty. On the other hand, Clemenceau and the French were also displeased. Germany was not really crushed. It remained superior to France in manpower, resources, and industry. By striking a compromise between the two opposing views, the Treaty of Versailles left Germany angry and humiliated, but still strong enough to hope for a war of revenge.

The Other Peace Agreements. Far worse was the fate of the once mighty Dual Monarchy. In the last days of the war, Austria-Hungary simply fell apart as the subject nationalities proclaimed their independence. The Czechs and Slovaks created the new nation of Czechoslovakia. The South Slavs united with Serbia to form the new Kingdom of Yugoslavia. The Austrian Poles joined with the Poles formerly under Russian and German rule to restore an independent Poland. (See map, p. 558.)

The Paris Peace Conference formally recognized these changes in the peace treaties with Austria and Hungary. In accordance with the secret treaties, it also awarded large territories to Italy and Rumania. Austria and Hungary were left as two small, separate, landlocked nations. Both were disarmed and required to pay reparations. Though many Austrians wanted to join Germany, union of the two countries was forbidden.

Bulgaria likewise lost some territory. It was also disarmed and had to pay reparations. A similar treaty was drawn up for

Turkey. But a new nationalist government came into power. It fought against acceptance of the treaty and finally managed to obtain better terms (see p. 568). Even so, Turkey was shorn of all its former possessions and became a small nation in Asia Minor.

Treatment of Russia. One of the most difficult problems confronting the peace conference was what to do about Russia. Originally, Russia had been one of the Allied powers. But the Bolshevik government, which had seized control during the war, had signed a separate peace with Germany. It had also denounced the secret treaties and had refused to recognize the large foreign debts of the czarist government. Most important, it was busily engaged in spreading Communist propaganda in central Europe.

As a result, the Allies were very hostile to the Bolshevik government. They refused to admit its representatives to the peace conference. They also recognized the independence of five nations—Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and Finland—which had freed themselves from Russian rule. The new nations were strongly anti-Bolshevik in character. It was hoped that they would serve as a "quarantine" to prevent the spread of communism.

Progressive Features of the Peace Treaties. Although the peace treaties contained many violations of President Wilson's principles, they also included a number of enlightened provisions which were inserted at his insistence. The frontiers of the "New Europe" were drawn mainly on the basis of nationality. Plebiscites, or special elections, were arranged in doubtful areas to enable the inhabitants to decide for themselves the exact boundary lines. As a result of these policies, the number of minority groups within European nations was greatly reduced. Moreover,

the remaining minorities were protected by special treaties which guaranteed them equal rights with the majority. The peacemakers thereby hoped to eliminate the nationalistic conflicts which had long been a threat to peace.

Another enlightened feature of the peace treaties was the special arrangement made for the former German colonies and the ter-

ritories taken from Turkey. These were divided among Great Britain, France, Belgium, and various other Allied countries. However, they did not become mere colonial possessions. Instead, they were granted a new status as mandates, that is, territories held in trust. The powers promised to govern the mandates in the interests of the native population and to prepare the more ad-



vanced peoples for early independence. A special international body, the Mandates Commission, was created to supervise their administration. Because of its efforts to help the natives, the mandates system marked an important step forward in modern imperialism.

The most idealistic feature of the Paris peace settlement was the creation of a new international organization, the League of Nations. President Wilson had agreed to many compromises in the peace treaties in order to secure its acceptance. The League was authorized to settle problems arising from the treaties and to revise them as circumstances required. It was also assigned many other functions in order to fulfill its long-term task, the building of a lasting peace. Details of the League of Nations will be discussed in a later unit.

THE FAILURE TO ACHIEVE PEACE

"The Peace That Failed." Only twenty years after the peace treaties were signed, the world was plunged into a second and even more destructive conflict. It has therefore become customary to refer to the Paris peace settlement as "the peace that failed." To a considerable extent, this failure was the fault of the victors. Because of their opposing viewpoints, they drafted treaties which neither crushed nor won over the defeated nations. Then they began to quarrel among themselves and failed to enforce the peace terms they had imposed. By reason of their inability to work together, the nations which had won the war eventually lost the peace.

Sore Spots of the Peace. From the start, Germany was the most dangerous foe of the peace settlement. The German people referred to the Treaty of Versailles as a "dic-

tated peace" because they had had no part in drafting it and had been forced to sign it by Allied threats. They denied that Germany and the other Central Powers were solely responsible for causing the war. They objected to the payment of reparations, the restrictions on their armed forces, and the loss of their colonial empire. Above all, they resented the loss of the Polish Corridor and the other territories inhabited by Germans.

The other defeated nations had similar grievances. Austria, deprived of most of its former territory and natural resources, faced bankruptcy and starvation. Hungary loudly protested the transfer to Rumania of a region inhabited by many Magyars. Bulgaria was unhappy because it had been deprived of access to the sea.

To make matters worse, two of the former Allied Powers were also dissatisfied with the peace settlement. Russia's new Bolshevik government was angered by its large territorial losses and by its treatment as a kind of international outlaw. Italy was hostile because it did not gain all the territory which it had hoped to receive for entering the war. These two countries, like the former Central Powers, were determined to revise the peace terms.

The peace settlement also gave rise to various other types of problems. The creation of many new nations in central Europe meant still more rivalries, still more boundary lines to quarrel over, and still more tariffs to interrupt the flow of trade. Moreover, most of the new nations aroused the hostility of their subject nationalities by violating the minorities treaties. In central Europe, at least, national self-determination failed to provide a durable basis for peace.

Disunity of the Victors. To preserve the peace settlement, the remaining Allies had to stick closely together. Instead, they soon

began to drift apart. First to break away was the United States. When President Wilson returned from Europe, he met with a storm of criticism. Some of his critics denounced the Paris peace settlement as an excessively harsh peace; others denounced it as too "soft." Still others, the isolationists, attacked the League of Nations on the ground that it was a "super-government" and that it would "entangle us in Europe's troubles." Many Republican leaders also opposed the Democratic President's policies for reasons of party politics—in order to win votes in the approaching presidential election.

The opposition was strong enough to keep the Senate from ratifying the Treaty of Versailles and joining the League of Nations. In the presidential election of 1920, the Republicans also won a landslide victory. The United States then made a separate peace with Germany. It refused even to recognize the existence of the League of Nations. The new administration returned to the prewar policy of isolation, that is, of taking no direct part in Europe's affairs.

The French, unable now to count on American support, were more frightened than ever that Germany might rise again. The British, on the other hand, felt secure because Germany was no longer a naval or colonial rival. They failed to understand why the French continued to fear their neighbor even after it had been weakened and disarmed. Moreover, British businessmen, anxious to increase their trade, became more and more interested in Germany's economic recovery. This difference in attitude led to an open split between the two powers.

German Evasions of the Peace Terms. The dangers of Allied disunity soon became apparent. Germany profited by ignoring or violating the treaty terms. For example, the Allies were supposed to try a large number

of war criminals. The German government refused to turn them over. Instead, it brought a few of the worst offenders to trial itself. When they pleaded that they had acted under orders in defense of the Fatherland, the courtroom audience burst into cheers. Only a handful of the accused were found guilty, and they were given light sentences.

The Germans also found ways to evade the military restrictions of the peace treaty. Despite the presence of Allied officials, they secretly built up their strength. The German general staff, though outlawed by the treaty, continued to exist. The small German army was carefully chosen, and the soldiers were thoroughly trained as future officers. Forbidden to build any large battleships, the Germans designed warships of a new type—smaller yet so powerful that they became known as "pocket battleships." Germany was not allowed to manufacture submarines or military aircraft, yet German experts carried on secret experiments in Russia and in other countries.

The Reparations Problem. Allied disunity also made it possible for Germany to escape payment of reparations. The Paris Peace Conference had been unable to agree on the amount Germany should be forced to pay. Instead, it turned the problem over to a body of experts, the Reparations Commission. That body finally decided on the very large sum of \$33,000,000,000, to be paid over a period of forty-two years. The Germans soon fell behind in their payments and asked to have them reduced. Their request led to new disputes among the victors.

Great Britain suggested a compromise. During and immediately after the war, the Allies had borrowed large sums—about \$10,000,000,000 in all—from the American

government. The British government now proposed that the United States should cancel these war debts and that reparations should be reduced. The United States rejected this proposal. It insisted that there was no connection between reparations and war debts, that the Allies must pay regardless of what Germany did.

The Occupation of the Ruhr, 1923. The French, supported by the Belgians and Italians, then took action to force Germany to pay in full. French troops occupied the Ruhr Valley, the industrial heart of Germany. The German government replied by stopping reparations completely. It also called on the people of the Ruhr to adopt a policy of "passive resistance" against the French. In answer to this appeal, the inhabitants went on strike or suddenly discovered that they were "too sick to work."

The French tried to break Germany's resistance by force. They imported thousands of foreign workers and attempted to establish a separate republic in the Rhineland. This tug of war between the two powers had disastrous results. Germany's economy collapsed completely and France too went through a severe financial crisis. All of Europe suffered as a result.

Attempted Solutions. Great Britain and the other powers finally stepped in to break the deadlock. At their suggestion, a committee of bankers and economists—headed by an American financier, Charles G. Dawes—was appointed to restudy the reparations problem. This committee soon succeeded in working out a satisfactory compromise. Germany agreed to resume reparations payments. Though its total obligation remained unchanged, its payments were cut in half and it received a large international loan to help restore its economy. France agreed to withdraw its troops from the Ruhr.

In the next few years, Germany floated numerous other loans abroad, mainly in the United States. With this foreign aid, it was able to make its payments to the Allies. The latter, in turn, used this money to pay the installments on their war debts to the United States. Nevertheless, the Germans continued to complain. In 1929, still another committee—headed by another American, Owen D. Young—was appointed to re-examine the reparations question. On its recommendation, the powers agreed to a sizable reduction in Germany's total obligation, from about \$33,000,000,000 to about \$8,000,000,000.

The End of Reparations. In 1929, the same year that the Young Committee drew up its report, a terrible economic depression began. The entire flimsy structure of post-war international finance collapsed. Germany found it impossible to secure new loans abroad. It could not make payments on reparations or even on its past loans. The Allies then stopped paying their war debts to the United States. Several attempts to agree on new arrangements failed completely. In 1932, the German government announced that it could not and would not pay any more reparations.

As it finally worked out, Germany paid only a small fraction of the amount originally imposed. Even this came, in effect, from the pockets of the Americans and the other foreigners who lent money to Germany and were not repaid. However, the effort to collect reparations had many harmful effects. It upset normal trade relations and threw Europe's economy completely out of gear. It widened the split between Great Britain and France and strengthened the spirit of isolationism in the United States. Worst of all, it made the Germans bitterly resentful of the peace treaty and more determined than ever to throw off its chains.



63 / Lesson Review

Checking the facts

1. Explain: Paris Peace Conference; Fourteen Points; national self-determination; secret treaties; Treaty of Versailles; reparations; minorities treaties; mandate system; League of Nations; "dictated peace"; war debts; occupation of the Ruhr.
2. Identify: "Big Three"; Clemenceau; Wilson; Lloyd George; war criminals.
3. Why did the Allied statesmen at Paris find it so difficult to draft a peace settlement after World War I?
4. What were the main provisions of the Versailles Treaty with Germany? of the treaties with the other Central Powers?
5. Why were Italy and Russia dissatisfied with the peace settlement?
6. Why did the United States Senate refuse to ratify the peace treaties?
7. What disagreements developed between Great Britain and France during the early postwar years? What were the consequences of these disagreements?
8. Describe briefly the history of the reparations problem from 1919 to 1932.

Applying history

1. "The Treaty of Versailles was neither sufficiently harsh to crush the Germans nor sufficiently conciliatory to induce them to accept defeat." Explain this statement. Why was it likely that such a compromise treaty would lead to trouble?
2. Explain why the French called Clemenceau *Père de la Victoire* (Father of the Victory) after the armistice and *Perd de la Victoire* (Loser of the Victory) after the Paris Peace Conference. Why was the French statesman obliged to accept a more lenient peace settlement than he favored?
3. Why was the Paris Peace Conference called "the executor of the Habsburg estate"? How

did President Wilson's principle of national self-determination strengthen the forces for disunity in central Europe?

4. What did French critics of the Treaty of Versailles mean when they said, "The English Channel is broader than the Rhine"? How does this statement help explain the disagreements between Great Britain and France over the treatment of Germany after the war?
5. Should the Allies have set such a high sum for German reparations? Should the United States have insisted that the Allies pay their war debts in full? Explain your answers.
6. Why did the United States adopt a policy of isolation from European affairs after World War I? How did America's stand affect the functioning of the League of Nations?

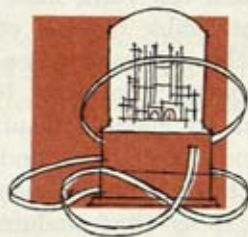
History and geography

1. Locate (map, p. 558): Alsace-Lorraine; Danzig; Czechoslovakia; Yugoslavia; Poland; Austria; Hungary; Bulgaria; Lithuania; Latvia; Estonia; Finland; Rumania.
2. List and locate the new nations which appeared in Europe after World War I (map, p. 558). To what nations had these territories belonged earlier?
3. Locate the "Polish Corridor" (map, p. 558). What geographic reason was offered by the Allied statesmen at Paris for separating East Prussia from the rest of Germany?

Special activities

1. Prepare a class report on the life of Woodrow Wilson, David Lloyd George, or Georges Clemenceau.
2. Debate: If television had existed in 1919, President Wilson might have won his fight for ratification of the peace treaties.

64 / THE DEMOCRACIES BETWEEN TWO WARS: DOMESTIC AND COLONIAL PROBLEMS



During World War I, people in many countries believed that peace would usher in a long period of prosperity and progress. Government leaders strengthened this feeling in speeches designed to raise popular morale. Prime Minister Lloyd George, for example, promised to make Great Britain "a fit place for heroes to live in." President Wilson predicted a world that would be made "safe for democracy." However, the optimistic spirit reflected in such statements was shattered by developments soon after the armistice.

POSTWAR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGES

Democratic Advances. For a time after the war ended, it seemed that the Allied statesmen's confidence in the future might be justified. The autocratic empires of central and eastern Europe collapsed. Germany and most of the new nations became democratic republics. Universal male suffrage was introduced throughout the continent. In many countries, women also gained the right to vote.

Democracy was strengthened in other ways. In parts of central and eastern Europe,

the large estates were divided among the peasants. In industrial countries, the labor shortage during the war strengthened the bargaining position of the workers. They received higher wages and, in some places, a voice in the management of industry. The war benefited women by opening to them many new fields of employment.

Economic Difficulties. On the other hand, the war left in its wake numerous serious economic problems. Governments staggered under a crushing burden of debt. Businessmen had to shift from wartime to peacetime production. In many cases, they found it difficult or even impossible to regain their former markets. Millions of war workers and returning veterans had trouble in finding new jobs.

Inflation was another problem resulting from the war. Governments, unable to meet their expenses through taxation, borrowed heavily and printed large amounts of paper money. The value of this money dropped rapidly, and prices rose accordingly. In a few extreme cases, as in Germany and Hungary, inflation continued until the currency became completely worthless. However, in most countries, governments succeeded in putting on the brakes. They cut expenses,

balanced the budget, and stabilized the value of their money. Prices dropped suddenly, and there was a short period of hard times until business adjusted to the new conditions.

For the next few years, most nations enjoyed a considerable measure of prosperity. Then, in 1929, the world was plunged into a terrible economic depression. International trade shrank to about half of its former value. Factories shut down and many millions were thrown out of work. Farmers were unable to sell their produce, while people in the cities starved. Governments resorted to all sorts of desperate measures to cope with these problems. After several years, the world gradually began to pull out of the Great Depression. However, its recovery was cut short by the outbreak of the Second World War.

The Threat to Democracy. The troubled economic conditions in the period between the two world wars weakened democracy in many countries. People were disappointed by the sharp contrast between wartime promises and conditions as they actually existed. Many put the blame on the existing democratic governments and turned to radical anticapitalistic movements. In some countries, including Great Britain and France, the Socialists became so strong that they were able to take office. The Communists, who were even more shrill in their denunciations of democracy and capitalism, also won many converts. However, in no country except Russia did they succeed in establishing control.

The growth of radicalism frightened the conservative upper classes. Many of them lost faith in democracy. To safeguard their lives and property, they looked for help to a new form of government called Fascism, which promised to crush not only the radi-

cals but the liberal movement as well. Fascist dictators gained power in a number of nations, notably in Italy and Germany. (For details, see Unit 14.) However, all of the older and more experienced democracies managed to survive.

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE WESTERN DEMOCRATIC NATIONS

Conservative Control in Great Britain. Great Britain, though one of the victor powers, found itself in a critical economic position at the close of the war. In order to pay for essential imports of food and raw materials, it had been forced to sell a large share of its foreign investments and had incurred a heavy debt to the United States. British manufacturers, compelled to produce arms and other goods needed at home, had lost many of their export markets to their competitors in other nations. Even after the war was over, some British industries, especially coal-mining and shipbuilding, suffered hard times for years. Large numbers of workers could not find jobs and had to be supported by the government.

The three main political parties sought to solve these problems in different ways. The Liberals wanted to return to free trade (pp. 488-489) and the other traditional policies under which Britain had grown great. The Conservatives advocated protective tariffs, lower property taxes, and direct government aid to business. The Laborites favored a Socialist program designed to help the lower classes. They wanted government ownership of important industries, a much broader system of social insurance, and higher taxes on the rich.

The first postwar government was a coalition of Liberals and Conservatives, headed by Lloyd George. To promote economic re-

covery, it signed favorable trade treaties with other countries. It also tried to protect British manufactures from unfair foreign competition. However, these measures failed to restore prosperity. The Conservatives withdrew their support and Lloyd George was forced to resign in 1922. Thereafter, the Liberal party declined steadily in importance. Many of its upper-class members turned to the Conservatives, who became the dominant party during the postwar period. Many workers, small shopkeepers, and intellectuals went over to Labor, which now became the second largest party in the country.

Except for a short-lived Labor cabinet in 1924, the Conservatives held power for the next half-dozen years. Economic conditions in Great Britain gradually improved and unemployment diminished. However, the Conservatives lost considerable popular support by their actions against organized labor. They broke up a large-scale strike, the General Strike of 1926, and passed a law restricting the activities of trade unions.

Following the next election, in 1929, the Laborites, under Ramsay MacDonald, were able to form their second cabinet. But, as in 1924, they lacked a majority in Parliament and had to depend on the Liberals for support. The result was that they were unable to put through any of their Socialist proposals. Moreover, the Great Depression began at this time and soon gave rise to an alarming financial crisis. In 1931, the Labor cabinet disagreed on the measures to be taken and was compelled to resign.

Prime Minister MacDonald then formed a national government, containing members of all three parties. This government was dominated by the Conservatives, who supplied most of its support in Parliament. In order to avert national bankruptcy, it cut salaries of government workers and payments

to the unemployed. To improve Great Britain's trade position, it lowered the value of the British currency, introduced protective tariffs, and strengthened the economic ties with the dominions. These policies helped to restore public confidence. However, Great Britain came out of the depression only after a new armaments race began.

Growing Class Conflicts in France. France, like Great Britain, lost heavily as a result of the war. Its casualties were the largest of any warring nation in proportion to population, and it suffered the greatest devastation. During most of the postwar period, it was confronted with serious economic problems. To make matters worse, it continued to suffer from its unstable system of government.

During the early postwar years of 1919-1924, the government was based on a coalition of conservative and moderate parties. Expecting to be repaid by German reparations, it floated large bond issues for the reconstruction of the devastated areas. When Germany fell behind in its payments, the French sent troops into the Ruhr valley (see p. 561). The failure of the Ruhr occupation led to the breakup of this coalition.

Another coalition was then formed by the more liberal parties. The new government agreed to withdraw the French troops from the Ruhr, and Germany promised to resume reparations payments. However, by this time a financial crisis had developed. The French treasury, unable to balance the budget and meet its expenses, had been forced to borrow heavily. As a result, businessmen lost confidence in the franc, which dropped rapidly in value. By 1926, it was worth only two cents, as compared with a prewar value of almost twenty cents. The government proposed to raise more revenue by increasing taxes on the rich. Its plan was approved by



Large-scale street fighting broke out in Paris in February, 1934, when leftist workers clashed with Fascist groups trying to seize power. Two cabinets fell before order was finally restored.

the Chamber of Deputies but was defeated by the conservative Senate.

Within a period of a few months, a half-dozen cabinets fell over this issue. The crisis was finally ended by a strong conservative leader, Raymond Poincaré, who formed a broad coalition government which included six former premiers. The new Premier adopted a drastic program of economy and succeeded in balancing the budget. Public confidence was restored and the value of the franc rose. In the next few years France enjoyed a brief period of prosperity and stability.

Grave economic and political problems again arose as a result of the Great Depres-

sion. The suffering workers turned in increasing numbers to the Socialists and Communists. Many members of the upper classes took alarm. They joined various Fascist organizations, which plotted to overthrow the government by force. Clashes between the two extremes occurred frequently. French cabinets, unable to deal with these problems, rose and fell in rapid succession.

As the Fascist threat grew stronger, the Socialists, Communists, and other parties of the left agreed to join forces. The new coalition, the "Popular Front," won a great victory in the election of 1936. Under a Socialist premier, Léon Blum, it put through an ambitious program of social and economic reform. Workers were granted the right of collective bargaining, a forty-hour week, and holidays with pay. The munitions industry was nationalized, that is, brought under the control of the government. The Bank of France, which was dominated by a small group of wealthy families, was also taken over by the government. These reforms aroused great dissatisfaction among the conservatives. After little more than a year, the Senate succeeded in forcing Premier Blum out of office.

Another period of political instability followed. In general, the new cabinets pursued a cautious middle-of-the-road policy. The forty-hour week and some of the other Popular Front reforms were repealed, with the result that the workers became more dissatisfied than ever. The extreme conservatives, for their part, continued to organize plots against the Third Republic. Democracy still existed in France. But the country was so weakened by class conflicts that it proved an easy victim for Germany when World War II came.

A Peaceful Revolution in the United States. The United States, unlike the nations

of Europe, emerged from the First World War richer and stronger than before. While the Europeans were busy fighting, American businessmen gained many new markets abroad. They expanded production to meet the needs of the Allied and American armed forces. They were able to pay off their European debts, and the American government made large loans to the Allies. As a result of the war, the United States became the world's leading creditor or lending nation and by far its greatest producer of manufactured goods.

After a brief postwar readjustment, American business soared to new heights of prosperity. The American people, during the 1920's, enjoyed a higher standard of living than ever before in their history. Unfortunately, this prosperity was built on very shaky foundations. Farmers, who had greatly expanded their output during the war, suffered from large crop surpluses and low prices. Industry also over-expanded and eventually had difficulty in finding profitable markets. Many Americans, hoping to get rich quickly, engaged in frenzied speculation on the stock exchange.

The entire structure of American prosperity collapsed late in 1929. Panic struck the stock market as thousands of people, becoming alarmed about future business developments, suddenly decided to sell their holdings. The Wall Street crash touched off the worst depression in America's history. Businessmen went bankrupt, farmers lost their land, and banks were forced to close their doors. The number of unemployed rose to the unprecedented total of 14,000,000, more than one-fourth of the entire labor force. The sight of bread lines in the world's richest country; of surplus crops destroyed while people starved; of men and machines idle while millions lacked the necessities of

life—all this provided powerful propaganda against capitalism and democracy.

The people of the United States, though shaken by these unhappy developments, retained their faith in the American way of life. Communism and Fascism made only slight gains. The Republicans were defeated in the next election and the Democrats gained control of the government. Then, under the leadership of President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1933-1945), Congress enacted a series of far-reaching measures known as the "New Deal." Banks were reopened and their depositors were insured by the government against loss. Millions of unemployed were provided jobs by a huge program of road building and other public works projects. Agricultural prices rose as the government paid farmers to grow less food and reduce other crop surpluses. Businessmen were encouraged to regulate production and to establish codes of fair competition. Unions were strengthened, an advanced system of social security providing for unemployment and old-age insurance was introduced, and workers were granted a minimum wage. Many other laws were passed to pull the nation out of the depression and to build a sounder basis for future prosperity.

The New Deal brought about a peaceful economic revolution in the United States. Farmers and wage earners benefited in particular. Their incomes rose considerably and they enjoyed greater economic security than ever in the past. On the other hand, millions of Americans still remained unemployed. Though taxes were increased, the national debt rose to a new high because of the expensive make-work program. Critics also complained that the government was interfering with business and was leading the nation toward socialism. The New Deal remained the main issue in American politics

until the very outbreak of the Second World War.

Developments in the Small Democracies. Like the great powers, the smaller democracies handled their problems in different ways. Some of them—Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, and Canada, for example—had moderate middle-class governments which placed their main emphasis on aiding business. Others—notably Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Australia, and New Zealand—had socialistic governments which showed special concern for labor. However, all of these governments were interested in fostering the welfare of their entire citizenry. They enacted measures to improve public education, to expand the system of social insurance, and to provide help to businessmen, farmers, and workers. Communism and Fascism made some gains in these countries during the Great Depression. However, in none of the small democracies did either become a serious threat. Since their governments were helping them to meet their problems, the people had little reason to exchange the real blessings of democracy for the supposed advantages of dictatorship.

THE REVOLT AGAINST IMPERIALISM

The Rise of Colonial Nationalism. The First World War, as we have seen, left a bitter heritage of economic problems to post-war Europe. It also weakened Europe in still another way—by strengthening nationalism in colonial areas. European prestige had already suffered a severe blow when Japan, a small Asian nation, defeated Russia in 1904–1905 (see p. 511). The spectacle of European nations fighting among themselves did even more to undermine the natives' respect.

Wartime promises by the Allied leaders, especially President Wilson's Fourteen Points, encouraged the colonial peoples to dream of independence. But when the war ended, most of these promises were forgotten. The old imperialist system continued almost unchanged. Moreover, the colonial peoples found themselves poorer than ever as the result of Europe's economic troubles. Widespread unrest developed quickly. New nationalist parties sprang up and existing ones gained additional supporters. Colonial nationalism threatened to destroy Europe's grip on many of its overseas possessions.

The Nationalist Revolution in Turkey. The first people to throw off foreign influence were the Turks. By the Paris peace settlement, Turkey was stripped of all its possessions by the Allies and was reduced to a small nation. Even part of Turkey itself was to be occupied by Greece. However, when Greek forces marched into the region, revolt broke out. A nationalist general, Mustafa Kemal, rallied the Turkish army behind him, drove out the invaders, and established himself as dictator. He was able to negotiate a more favorable peace treaty with the Allies and to end all foreign privileges in Turkey.

The new dictator modernized his nation with amazing speed. In 1922, the sultan was forced to abdicate and Turkey became a republic. The powers of the Moslem religious leaders were restricted, freedom of worship was proclaimed, and polygamy was ended. Women were granted equal rights. Western ideas were spread by a system of public schools, and the Western alphabet was introduced. Roads and railways were built, mines were opened, and industry was encouraged. The new Turkey, progressing rapidly, had little in common with the old Ottoman Empire, the "Sick Man of Europe."

Nationalism in Syria and Iraq. Most of the former Turkish possessions were turned over to Great Britain and France as mandates or trust territories. (See map, p. 558.) Both powers soon encountered trouble with their new Arab subjects. These peoples had expected to obtain their independence and resented any attempt by foreigners to rule.

In Syria, the French sought to meet nationalism with repression. They drove out the ruler elected by the native chiefs and outlawed the nationalists. They also antagonized the Moslem majority by allowing the Christian Arabs in the south to set up a separate state, Lebanon. Widespread disorders quickly broke out. After years of conflict, the French were forced to modify their policies. They permitted the Syrians to hold free elections for a parliament and to choose their own cabinet. Finally, during World War II, the French granted both Syria and Lebanon their independence.

The British followed a different policy in oil-rich Iraq (formerly Mesopotamia). Soon after the mandate was established, the nationalists staged a great revolt for independence. To win them over, the British placed on the throne the Arab ruler whom the French had expelled from Syria. They also agreed to end the mandate at an early date. A few years later, in 1932, Iraq formally became an independent nation. The British, however, kept the right to station military forces there, and British companies retained control of the oil fields.

Rival Nationalisms in Palestine. The British were faced with more difficult problems in Palestine, where the rival nationalisms of Arabs and Jews came into conflict. The Jews had been driven out of Palestine by the ancient Romans (see p. 42). However, all through the centuries they continued to pray for an opportunity to return to the Holy Land. Late in the nineteenth century,

Modern nationalism has proved a powerful force for change, but old customs die slowly. Many Turkish women, for example, continued to wear the veil for years after they had been emancipated from the harem.





The dedicated life of Gandhi (above), devoted to helping his people, won him the title Mahatma—"Great Soul." The police used tear gas and clubs as well as peaceful persuasion to break up such passive-resistance demonstrations as one by young girl students on a main street in Bombay in 1946, shown here.



Jewish leaders organized a nationalist movement called Zionism. The Zionist goal was to re-establish a Jewish state in Palestine, where the Jewish people could find a haven from discrimination and persecution.

The Zionists won recognition at the Paris Peace Conference. Under the mandate agreement, Great Britain pledged itself to "the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people." Thousands of Jews soon migrated there. However, instead of the "land of milk and honey" described in the Bible, they found a poor, barren, desolate country. Through a tremendous expenditure of labor and money, they reclaimed large areas for agriculture. They also established modern industries, built schools and hospitals, and improved sanitation.

Palestine soon became an oasis of Western civilization in the Middle East.

The Arabs—both in Palestine and in the neighboring states—resented the influx of foreigners. Time and again they attacked the Jews and demonstrated against the British. In an effort to win them over, the British divided the mandate into two parts. They kept the name "Palestine" for the small strip of territory along the Mediterranean coast. The much larger region east of the Jordan River became a new Arab state, Trans-Jordan (later renamed Jordan).

When this move failed to calm the Arabs, the British went further. They restricted Jewish immigration into Palestine and the sale of land to Jews. Widespread protests led to some changes in this policy. Then

new Arab disorders broke out. The British subsequently put forth several other proposals, but none satisfied both sides. Eventually, in 1948, the British surrendered their mandate and withdrew from Palestine. The Jews succeeded in establishing an independent nation after a short but bitter war with the Arabs. (For details, see pp. 681–682.)

Other Examples of Arab Nationalism. Several former Turkish possessions did not become mandates. Egypt was proclaimed an independent nation by Great Britain in 1922, with the British retaining the right to protect foreigners in the country and to station troops there. Egyptian nationalists protested that this arrangement was not real independence. They resorted to demonstrations, boycotts, and even terrorism in an effort to drive out the British. To meet the complaints, the latter agreed in 1936 to withdraw all their forces except for a garrison protecting the Suez Canal. Nevertheless, the nationalists remained dissatisfied until the British in 1954 finally abandoned their base at Suez.

The Arabian peninsula, consisting mainly of desert inhabited by nomadic tribes, received full independence. The ruler of Mecca, who had helped the British against the Turks during the war, was recognized as king. However, a rival chieftain, ibn-Saud, defeated him and eventually won control of the entire country. In 1932, he proclaimed himself king of Saudi Arabia. Following the discovery of large deposits of oil, the Saudi Arabian King became one of the richest rulers in the world.

In those Arab countries where the natives succeeded in gaining full independence, nationalism no longer posed a problem for the former rulers. However, in the Arab countries where the European powers tried to maintain control, nationalism usually gave rise to

serious difficulties. In Morocco, a native chief named Abd-el-Krim led a large-scale revolt. He inflicted severe defeats on both the Spanish and the French before he was finally captured. Nationalist movements also got under way in the other North African colonies—in Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya. As Arab nationalism grew in strength, the Arab world became an ever more important factor in world politics.

Nationalist Gains in India. As a rule, the nationalists resorted to violence when their demands were not promptly met. But events followed a somewhat different course in India. There the nationalist movement came under the influence of one of the great leaders of modern times, Mohandas Gandhi (1869–1948).

Gandhi won a wide following by his saintly life, lofty spiritual ideals, and practical wisdom. Like most Indian nationalists, he supported the British during World War I because they promised India self-rule. The British, at the war's end, did give the Indians a measure of self-government. By the Government of India Act, passed in 1919, they created a parliament to advise the viceroy and allowed the natives a greater role in the provincial governments. However, the British retained for themselves control of all important matters. This proved a great disappointment to the Indian nationalists. Violent disorders broke out all over India. The British then adopted a policy of repression. They imprisoned thousands of Congress Party members, including Gandhi himself for a short time.

Gandhi fasted for weeks to atone for the violence of his people. He insisted that independence must be won without violence—by a policy of passive resistance. He urged his followers not to work for the British or to co-operate with them in other ways. He re-

vived hand spinning and weaving, so that they would not have to buy British cloth. In his famous "march to the sea," he showed the Indian people how they could make their own salt to avoid paying the British salt tax.

Under Gandhi's leadership, the nationalists won a wider following than ever in the past. The British found it necessary to make new concessions. In 1935, by a second Government of India Act, they permitted the Indian parliament to choose most of the members of the viceroy's cabinet and granted the natives a greater voice in the provincial governments. However, in time of emergency the viceroy and the governors could take back the powers that had been surrendered. The leaders of the Congress party were still dissatisfied, but they reluctantly agreed to accept the new law. In the elections which followed, they won a majority in most of the provinces. During the next few years, they gained considerable experience in self-government. This experience proved very valuable when India gained dominion status after World War II. (See pp. 678-679.)

World War I and Its Aftermath

The Significance of the First World War

A Futile Conflict. At the opening of the twentieth century, Western civilization seemed on the threshold of a new era of peace and progress. Instead, the European nations were driven by extreme nationalism, imperialism, and other forces to become

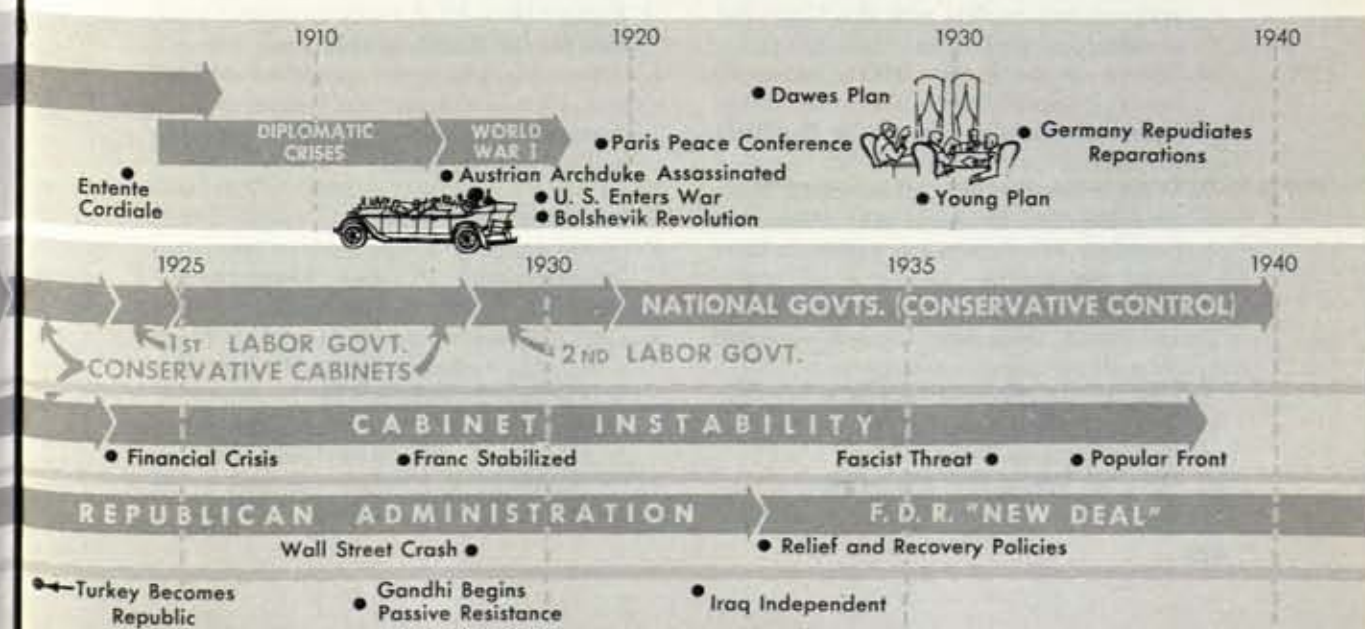
deadly rivals. Their clashes led to crisis after crisis, until they finally plunged into a terrible war. For more than four years, millions of men all over the world used the most powerful weapons they could invent to destroy their enemies. In the end, the exhausted Central Powers had to surrender to the Allies.

While the peoples of Europe toiled to repair the damage, the leaders of the victorious powers undertook the even more difficult task of making a lasting peace. They shifted about various territories, recognized a number of new nations, and in different ways sought to guarantee the peace settlement. Unfortunately, their decisions antagonized all the defeated countries. Then the victors began to quarrel among themselves. Germany was soon able to rise again.

Europe's New Problems. Trouble also developed because the war gave rise to a number of other serious problems. It upset the complex economic structure which had developed as a result of the Industrial Revolution. Most European nations suffered from

unemployment and had a difficult time regaining their former prosperity. People, naturally enough, tended to place the blame on their governments. The latter tried hard to solve these problems but did not always succeed. To complicate matters, the war hastened the rise of nationalism among colonial peoples. Revolts by native nationalists further weakened Europe's economy.

A Turning Point in Europe's History. From a long-range point of view, the First World War seems to have marked a turning point in Europe's history. For centuries, that continent had been the political, economic, and cultural center of the world. However, a period of decline now set in. Europe's world position grew weaker and it was torn by internal problems. Moreover, World War I had planted the seeds of a second, still more deadly, conflict. If only the statesmen of Europe had been able to foresee the future in that fateful summer of 1914! They certainly would have tried much harder to achieve a peaceful settlement of their differences.





64 / Lesson Review

Checking the facts

1. Explain: inflation; Great Depression; Fascism; General Strike of 1926; national government; Popular Front; nationalization; Wall Street crash; New Deal; Zionism.
2. Identify: Ramsay MacDonald; Poincaré; Léon Blum; Mustafa Kemal; Gandhi.
3. List the important democratic gains made during and immediately after World War I.
4. What serious economic problems arose after World War I? Why did they pose a threat to democracy?
5. How did the MacDonald national government seek to deal with the Great Depression?
6. Why were the French leftist parties the ones that formed the Popular Front? What major reforms were adopted by the Blum government?
7. What were the main features of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal program? Why did some people criticize these measures?
8. Why did nationalism grow rapidly in Asia and North Africa after the end of World War I?
9. Describe the effects of nationalism on Turkey; on Palestine; on Egypt and the other Arab nations; on India.
10. Why has World War I been called a turning point in Europe's history?

Applying history

1. Why did Lloyd George and other wartime statesmen promise their peoples a better life once peace was restored? Could they have been expected to foresee the troubles of the postwar years? Explain.
2. Compare the problems which arose after World War I with those which arose after the Napoleonic Wars. Why were both wars followed by periods of unrest?
3. Which country do you consider the most successful in dealing with its postwar problems, Great Britain, France, or the United States? Justify your opinion.
4. How was nationalism a force for progress in Turkey? How did it create unsolvable problems for the British in Palestine?
5. Why did Gandhi prefer nonviolent methods to a policy of violence? Are Indians justified in regarding Gandhi as a great religious, as well as political, leader?

History and geography

1. Locate (map, p. 558): Turkey; Syria; Iraq (Mesopotamia); Palestine; Egypt; Arabia; Morocco; Algeria; Tunisia; Libya.
2. List and locate the holdings of Great Britain and France in the Middle East after World War I (map, p. 558).
3. Explain why the Paris Peace Conference found it very difficult to draw frontiers for the British and French mandates in the Middle East (map, pp. 46-47).

Special activities

1. Write a short biography of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Prime Minister MacDonald, Premier Poincaré, or Premier Blum. Emphasize his role in dealing with his nation's problems.
2. Consult an encyclopedia or other reference work and prepare a class report on Mustafa Kemal of Turkey.
3. Arrange a discussion between Arabs and Zionists in the 1920's on the question, Should a Jewish homeland be established in Palestine?

Summarizing Unit 13

1. In your history notebook, outline the main political and economic developments covered in Unit 13.
2. On an outline map of the world, indicate the major territorial changes which resulted from World War I.
3. Arrange a class exhibit on important leaders and events from 1900 to 1935.
4. Arrange a debate on the topic: World War I marked the beginning of the decline of Europe's world leadership.

Books to Read

Specialized Accounts

ALLEN, FREDERICK L. *The Big Change*. Harper, 1952. An interesting description of the transformation of the United States between 1900 and 1950.

*BAILEY, THOMAS A. *Woodrow Wilson and the Lost Peace*. Macmillan, 1944.

*———. *Woodrow Wilson and the Great Betrayal*. Macmillan, 1945. Two excellent studies of the Paris Peace Conference and America's withdrawal into isolationism.

CRUTTZWELL, CHARLES R. M. *A History of the Great War*. Oxford, 1936. An authoritative military history.

FRY, VARIAN. *The Peace That Failed*. Foreign Policy Association, 1941. A thoughtful, brief account.

GRAVES, R. H. and A. HODGE. *The Long Weekend*. Faber & Faber, 1940. An interesting description of British life during the inter-war period.

KNAPTON, ERNEST. *France since Versailles*. Holt, 1952. A brief, scholarly treatment of France after World War I.

NICOLSON, H. G. *Peacemaking*. 1919. Houghton Mifflin, 1933. A good account by a British participant.

*SCHMITT, BERNADOTTE E. *Triple Alliance and Triple Entente*. Holt, 1934. A useful

introduction to international relations before World War I.

WALLBANK, T. WALTER. *India*. Holt, 1948. A brief survey of Indian nationalism.

WERTH, ALEXANDER. *France in Ferment*. Harper, 1935.

———. *The Twilight of France, 1933-1940*. Harper, 1942. Excellent popular accounts by a journalist.

Biographies and Historical Fiction

BRUN, GEOFFREY. *Clemenceau*. Harvard, 1943. A short, interesting biography.

GARRATY, JOHN A. *Woodrow Wilson*. Knopf, 1956. An excellent brief biography.

NANDA, B. R. *Mahatma Gandhi*. Beacon, 1959. A detailed, readable biography of the Indian nationalist leader.

REMARQUE, ERICH MARIA. *All Quiet on the Western Front*. Little, Brown, 1929. A powerful German novel portraying the horrors of World War I.

SHEEAN, VINCENT. *Mahatma Gandhi*. Knopf, 1955. A sympathetic portrait by an American journalist.

SPRING, HOWARD. *Fame Is the Spur*. Viking, 1940. A dramatic novel about a labor leader who rose to high office only to betray his party.



UNIT 14

THE CHALLENGE OF TOTALITARIANISM

Democracy made sweeping gains in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. After World War I, it seemed further strengthened by the victory of the democratic Allies over the autocratic Central Powers. However, that conflict failed to “make the world safe for democracy,” as President Wilson had hoped. Cruel dictators, profiting from disturbed conditions, rose to power in many countries. Their secret police employed a variety of terror tactics—sudden arrests, beatings, concentration camps, and executions—to destroy the freedom of millions of people.

The new dictators differed in important respects from the dictators of earlier periods of history. First of all, despite their harsh treatment of opponents, they boasted that they had the enthusiastic support of their people. They were the leaders of huge political parties, their portraits were displayed everywhere, and they were glorified almost as gods. Secondly, they all denounced “decaying bourgeois democracy.” In its place, they proposed to substitute a “new order”—communism, Fascism, Nazism, or whatever other “ism” they favored. Finally, these dictators were not satisfied to exercise absolute political power. They also sought to control business and labor, education and culture, recreation, and even religion. Since the new-style dictators wanted *total* control over the lives of their subjects, the system of rule they created is known as totalitarianism.

In this unit, we shall study in detail totalitarian dictatorships in Russia, Italy, Germany, and Japan. We shall examine their domestic policies and the challenge they offered to the free peoples of the world. The most important questions are these:

1. How did the Communists gain power in Russia? What far-reaching changes resulted from their radical policies?
2. What was the nature of the Fascist dictatorship in Italy?
3. How successful was Nazism in meeting the problems which had undermined democracy in Germany?
4. What factors were responsible for the spread of totalitarianism to Japan and to many of the smaller countries?

65 / COMMUNIST RULE IN RUSSIA



Russia has had the unhappy fate to be governed by absolute rulers throughout almost its entire history. While other European countries were advancing toward democracy, the Russian czars sought to strengthen their control over their subjects. However, the more tightly they clamped down the lid, the stronger became the forces working for revolution. The backward and incompetent czarist regime was finally overthrown during World War I. For a few months, a liberal government struggled to maintain itself in power. Then the long-suffering Russian people fell under the yoke of a new tyranny, communism.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE COMMUNIST REGIME

Policies of the New Liberal Government. Russia's brief experiment with liberalism began after the czar's abdication in March, 1917 (see pp. 481-482). The parliament, or Duma, set up a provisional (temporary) government composed of leaders of the moderate anti-czarist parties. The new government, headed first by the liberal Prince Lvov and later by the Social Revolutionary leader Alexander Kerensky, promised to hold elections for a special assembly to draft a constitution. In the meantime, the provisional government introduced a number of important reforms. Class privileges were swept away. Freedom of speech, press, and

religion was proclaimed. Unions and strikes were legalized. All political offenders were pardoned. Russia, it seemed, was making a good start on the road to democracy.

The Growth of Radicalism. However, serious difficulties soon developed. The radical groups, dominated at the outset by the moderate Socialists, charged that the provisional government represented the middle and upper classes, rather than the city workers and peasants. To protect the interests of the lower classes, they created a rival organization in Petrograd, the Soviet (Council) of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies. Similar soviets quickly sprang up in other parts of the country. Later, an All-Russian Congress of Soviets assembled in the capital. This body served as a forum for criticism of the government and its policies.

The influence of the radicals grew rapidly because the provisional government failed to meet certain basic needs of the Russian people. The workers in the cities continued to suffer from severe food shortages. The peasants became increasingly impatient with the government's delays in introducing land reform. Most important, in the army and in the country generally, there was growing opposition to continuing the war.

These problems might have been solved by the negotiation of peace. However, the provisional government made no real effort to put an end to the fighting. Instead, it even launched another large-scale offensive

against the Central Powers in the summer of 1917. When this offensive ended in a disastrous failure, discipline broke down completely in the army and the soldiers deserted in droves. The position of the provisional government was gravely weakened.

Lenin and the Bolsheviks. This troubled situation opened the way for a fanatical revolutionary called Lenin (1870–1924). Lenin was the son of a well-to-do school inspector. He had led a happy life until his older brother, whom he idolized, was executed for plotting to assassinate the czar. In protest, young Lenin also turned to revolutionary agitation. His activities were soon discovered by the police, and he was arrested and sent to Siberia. Later, he became a political exile in Switzerland.

Lenin quarreled constantly with other Russian Socialists. Though all were followers of Karl Marx (see pp. 387–389), he believed that their views were too moderate. At a Socialist conference in 1903, he brought about a split in the party. He became the leader of the more extreme group, the Bolsheviks, later known as the Communists.

Lenin had no faith in democracy or gradual reform. He insisted that the old order had to be overthrown by force and that the propertied classes had to be “liquidated” or destroyed. It was the mission of the Bolshevik party, he believed, to establish a dictatorship and to prepare the workers for Socialism. To achieve their goal, the Bolsheviks should be prepared to use any means at all. “Party members should not be measured by the narrow standards of middle-class morality,” he said. “Sometimes a scoundrel is useful to our party precisely because he is a scoundrel.”

The Bolshevik Revolution of November 7, 1917. After the downfall of the czar, Lenin returned home from exile. He and his fol-

lowers immediately laid plans to overthrow the provisional government. To obtain popular support, they made many promises. Most effective was their pledge of “Peace, Land, Bread.” This naturally had a strong appeal for the war-weary soldiers, the land-hungry peasants, and the starving city workers.

Lenin worked especially hard to win over the soviets and the troops stationed in the capital. After months of careful preparation, he finally felt strong enough for a coup d’état. Armed Bolshevik squads suddenly seized control of the public buildings in Petrograd. They arrested the members of the provisional government. A few hours later, the All-Russian Congress of Soviets met and authorized Lenin to form a new cabinet. This victory of the Bolsheviks marked the downfall of liberalism in modern Russia.

Lenin’s Early Measures. Once in power, Lenin acted vigorously to carry out the Bolshevik program. First of all, he sought to bring the war to an end. When the Allies ignored his appeals, he negotiated a separate peace treaty with the Central Powers. The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, signed in March, 1918, imposed harsh terms on the Russians. They had to pay a large indemnity and had to surrender Poland, the Baltic provinces, and even the Ukraine. Their territory in Europe was reduced to about what it had been before the conquests of Peter the Great.

Meanwhile, the Bolsheviks proceeded to introduce drastic changes in the economic life of the country. “Within six months,” Lenin promised, “we shall establish Socialism in Russia.” The large landowners and capitalists were stripped of their possessions. All land was proclaimed the property of the people and was distributed among the peasants. The factories were turned over to committees elected by the workers. The banks

were nationalized (taken over by the government), and depositors were prevented from withdrawing their money. The government announced that it would not pay the debts of the czarist and provisional governments.

Civil War and Foreign Interference, 1918–1920. These policies immediately aroused bitter opposition both at home and abroad. A number of former czarist officers raised armies to overthrow the “Reds.” The Allies supplied the “Whites” or anti-Bolsheviks with money and arms and themselves sent several expeditions into Russia. Poland and the small Baltic nations also joined in the struggle. The Bolsheviks soon found themselves fighting on a dozen different battle fronts. At the same time, they were threatened by many enemies behind their lines.

To crush the internal opposition, Lenin launched a reign of terror. The former ruling classes were deprived of political rights. Members of the Bolshevik party were placed in all key positions in the government. Other political parties were outlawed, their meetings forbidden, and their newspapers shut down. A special secret police force was organized to hunt down “enemies of the people.” The czar and his family, large numbers of aristocrats and members of the middle class, and even many workers and peasants were killed by the Red terror.

To defeat their other enemies, the Bolsheviks recruited and equipped a large army. Bloody warfare raged for more than two years, with cruel atrocities being committed by both sides. Eventually, the Red Army succeeded in crushing the Whites and in driving back the forces of Poland and the other border nations. The Allies also admitted failure and withdrew their troops. By the end of 1920, peace was finally restored to Russia.

The Economic Crisis of 1921. However, the sufferings of the Russian people were far from over. Much of the country had been laid waste by the civil war. Moreover, the Communists’ early economic policies proved a failure. The government issued large quantities of paper money, which soon became completely worthless. The workers did not know how to run the factories, and industrial production dropped rapidly. The peasants, unable to obtain manufactured goods, hoarded their grain.

To feed the city dwellers, the government seized the crops of the peasants, leaving them barely enough for their own needs. The latter fought back by planting less than usual. Then a terrible drought struck a large area. The result was one of the worst famines in Russia’s history. Millions of people died of hunger and disease. Many riots and uprisings occurred. Discontent became so widespread that it seemed that the Communist regime would be overthrown.

The New Economic Policy, 1921–1928. Lenin was finally forced to order a retreat. He announced the adoption of the “New Economic Policy,” or NEP for short. The government still retained control of foreign trade, banking, and all major industries. But the peasants were again allowed to sell their produce freely on the open market. Private individuals were permitted to reopen stores and small factories. A stable currency was restored. Trade treaties were negotiated with foreign nations, and foreign capitalists were encouraged to build new industrial plants in Russia. In short, NEP was a combination of public and private enterprise, such as the moderate Socialists had always advocated but Lenin had earlier denounced.

Under NEP, Russia slowly recovered from the long years of war, revolution, civil strife,

and famine. The peasants again raised large crops. Factory production increased and trade expanded. By the late 1920's, the Russian people had almost regained the standard of living which had existed before World War I.

STALIN AND THE FIVE-YEAR PLANS

The Rise of Stalin. When Lenin died in 1924, there followed a bitter struggle for power among his lieutenants. The eventual victor was an able but ruthless Bolshevik leader, Joseph Stalin (1879-1953). Stalin was born in the province of Georgia, in the Caucasus. Though the son of a poor shoemaker, he was sent to a seminary to study for the priesthood. There he became inter-

ested in revolutionary doctrines and was expelled as a result. During the next fifteen years, Stalin was arrested by the czarist police six different times! Released from a Siberian prison by the provisional government, he returned to Petrograd. He was a member of the small band which helped Lenin to make the Bolshevik Revolution.

Soon after, Stalin was appointed secretary of the Communist party. He used this position to gain control of the party machinery. Slowly and patiently, he built up his strength by removing his opponents from important posts and replacing them with his own supporters. Three years after Lenin's death, he became the all-powerful dictator of Russia.

The First Five-Year Plan. As soon as Stalin was firmly in control, he set the country back on the road to communism. The

The Bolsheviks led a revolt against the liberal government in Petrograd in July, 1917. Their coup was crushed by troops loyal to the government. Their second attempt, in November, succeeded because they had won the support of the soldiers and sailors in the capital.



New Economic Policy was ended, and the first of the Five-Year Plans was announced in 1928. The main aim of these plans was to strengthen Russia by building up its industries as quickly as possible. As Stalin himself put it, "We are from fifty to a hundred years behind the advanced [capitalist] countries. We must cover the stretch in ten years. Either we do this, or they will crush us."

Another aim of the Five-Year Plans was the modernization of agriculture. The inefficient small plots tilled by the peasants were to be combined into large co-operative farms known as collectives. The government would supply the collectives with experts on scientific methods of agriculture. It would also furnish them with tractors and other modern farm machinery. In this way, the Communists hoped to produce more food for the growing industrial cities. At the same time, more workers would be released for employment in the new factories.

Still a third aim was the elimination of two "bourgeois classes" which had prospered under NEP—the "Nepmen" and the *kulaks*. The Nepmen were the small capitalists who had arisen when Lenin had permitted the restoration of private business. The kulaks were the well-to-do peasants who had acquired large farms and were hiring other peasants to work for them. The liquidation of both these groups seemed a necessary step in advancing toward the "classless society" promised by the Communists (see p. 386).

Early Difficulties. The First Five-Year Plan was launched with a great burst of activity. The government purchased large amounts of foreign machinery and hired thousands of foreign engineers and technicians. With their help, it began to build new factories, power plants, and railroads. It also

bought up the factories owned by the foreign capitalists. It taxed the Nepmen so heavily that they were forced out of business.

However, the plan quickly ran into trouble. To pay for the foreign machinery, the government exported tremendous quantities of food and other raw materials. A new food shortage developed. This soon became much worse as a result of the Communists' farm program. Many of the peasants, particularly the kulaks, were unwilling to turn their land over to the collectives. When forced to join, they slaughtered their livestock and left their crops to rot in the fields. To break the peasants' resistance, the government shipped large numbers off to Siberia. Many others were deprived of their grain and left to die of starvation. The kulaks, as a class, ceased to exist. Stalin won in his collectivization program, but the toll in human lives was a heavy one.

The Russian people also suffered because the First Five-Year Plan paid little attention to their other needs. Most consumers' goods became extremely scarce. The few articles available were very expensive and of poor quality. Shoes, clothing, and soap were almost impossible to obtain. The housing shortage in the cities was so great that several different families were crowded into a single apartment. Life for most Russians became a bitter struggle for survival.

Harsh Treatment of the Workers. Confronted with this desperate situation, Stalin abandoned one of the basic ideals of communism. Earlier, the government had treated the workers more or less equally. It had sought to follow Marx's principle, "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs." Now, however, it introduced a system of rewards and penalties based on the workers' output.

Every factory and farm was assigned a certain amount or "quota" which it had to produce. If it met this quota, the manager and other officials received high salaries, honors, and various special privileges. If it failed to do so, they were severely penalized. The manager, in turn, set a "norm" (normal amount of work) for each job. A few very fast workers were awarded large bonuses, while those who fell behind suffered reductions in pay. Plant and collective farm officials soon came to enjoy a much higher standard of living than that of the average worker or peasant.

The manager's control over the workers was also increased in other ways. He could dismiss them or transfer them from one job to another. He controlled their housing, stores, and medical services. The workers had to accept his decisions as final. They were forbidden to go out on strike or to leave their jobs. Special "labor discipline courts" were created to punish them for such "crimes against the state" as disobedience, drunkenness, tardiness, and absence.

Some workers showed their resentment by sabotaging, or intentionally destroying, machines. Many others damaged machinery simply through ignorance or carelessness. Since machinery was very valuable, the government imposed long prison terms on the "saboteurs" and "wreckers." This harsh policy not only frightened the people but provided a huge supply of slave labor for the mines and lumber camps of Siberia and northern Russia. It also enabled the Communists to place the blame for their own mistakes on the enemies of the regime.

Achievements of the Five-Year Plans. Despite the many problems, the First Five-Year Plan came very close to achieving its goals. Hundreds of large factories and power plants were built. The country's industrial

production was more than doubled. Important advances were also made in the transportation system. As the early difficulties were ironed out, economic conditions slowly began to improve for the Russian people. Even so, their living standards remained far below those of the advanced Western countries.

A second Five-Year Plan was launched in 1933, amid another great fanfare of publicity. This plan provided for the production of more consumers' goods. But it stressed the continued expansion of heavy industry too. To end Russia's dependence on foreign countries, the manufacture of machinery was to be greatly increased. An ambitious program was also launched to train technicians, engineers, and scientists.

The Second Five-Year Plan achieved most of its goals. Farm output rose rapidly, and all food rationing was ended in 1935. As factory production increased, more goods became available at lower prices. Free medical care and a variety of other social services helped to increase the value of the worker's wage. Most significant of all, Russia was transformed from a relatively backward agricultural nation into one of the world's leading industrial powers.

When the Third Five-Year Plan was announced in 1938, war clouds were gathering over Europe. The details of this plan were veiled in secrecy, but its main purpose was to speed preparations for war. New industrial centers were built behind the Ural Mountains in Siberia. Russian scientists redoubled their efforts to make the country as self-sufficient as possible. This Third Five-Year Plan was cut short by the sudden German invasion during World War II (see p. 633).

At the close of that conflict, Stalin announced a series of new Five-Year Plans.



The Kremlin in Moscow (left), a walled fortress built by early czars, was the Communist government's headquarters under Lenin and Stalin. In rural areas, brigades of workers harvest grain on Soviet collective farms (above), as in the Ukrainian field shown here.

One whole generation of Russian citizens had already been sacrificed in the Communists' effort to reshape their huge country. Now a second generation was taking up the task. To help the people endure the great hardships involved, the government constantly reminded them that their sacrifices would assure a much better life for the generations to come.

OTHER FEATURES OF RUSSIAN COMMUNISM

The Soviet System of Government. The Communists' most important experiments were economic in nature. However, Lenin and Stalin also introduced far-reaching political changes. Lenin, who had come to power with the aid of the soviets, gave them a prominent place in his government. The Constitution of 1918 allowed the workers in the towns and the peasants in the villages

to elect soviets to take care of local affairs. The local soviets then elected delegates to the soviets of the districts and provinces. The latter, in turn, chose delegates to the highest legislature, the All-Russian Congress of Soviets. The All-Russian Congress, through its Central Executive Committee, selected the Council of People's Commissars, which was similar to the ministry in other countries.

For the Communists, this complicated pyramid-like system of government had several advantages. The people were given the opportunity to vote. Yet Lenin and his handful of Bolsheviks could easily keep control. Their candidates were certain of election because no opposition parties were allowed. Moreover, voting was by show of hands, and members of the former upper classes were barred from voting. On the surface, the soviets seemed to represent the will of the people. Actually, they served as agencies

through which Lenin's orders could be carried out all over the country.

Creation of the U.S.S.R., in 1923. At the end of the civil war, Lenin regained control of most of the territories formerly held by the czars. To win over the non-Russian nationalities, he issued a new constitution, which in theory granted them a large measure of self-government. The country was divided into a number of separate republics (map, p. 587). Each had its own soviet-type government to manage its internal affairs.

The various republics acted together in matters of common interest, such as foreign affairs, defense, and economic planning. For this purpose, they elected representatives to a new All-Union legislature. This legislature then chose a Central Executive Committee, which selected the All-Union ministry. To show that the government was a federal union, the country was renamed the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, or Soviet Union for short.

Totalitarianism in Action. In actual practice, the Soviet Union remained a dictatorship. The federal government and the governments of the republics were all dominated by the Communist leaders. Local units or "cells" of the Communist party were established in every factory, apartment house, and village throughout the country. The secret police arrested critics of the government and other "enemies of the people" by the thousands and sent them to forced labor camps. All important means of information—newspapers, magazines, books, motion pictures, and radio—were owned and controlled by the government. This huge propaganda machine constantly hammered away at the people's minds with Communist ideas and slogans.

The Communist leaders were also greatly interested in the country's educational sys-

tem. They built many new schools, for adults as well as for children. The rate of illiteracy was greatly reduced. However, one of the government's main purposes was to use the schools as agencies for indoctrination—that is, to mold the minds of the younger generation in favor of communism. Communists were placed in all positions of authority. Textbooks were completely rewritten and the course of study was revised. Children were taught only the Communist viewpoint. They were told to report their teachers, and even their parents, if they dared to speak against the regime.

Another important feature of Communist policy was the attack on religion. Karl Marx had taught that religion was "the opium of the masses," used by the ruling classes to deaden the pain and misery of the workers' existence. Shortly after the revolution, therefore, the Bolshevik government separated Church and state and confiscated all Church property. It closed most of the churches or used them for nonreligious purposes. Religious instruction for children was forbidden in the schools. A "League of the Godless" was organized to ridicule religion and promote atheism (the belief that there is no God). The Communists sought to replace all traditional creeds with a blind faith in their own doctrines, of which Marx, Lenin, and Stalin were the prophets.

The Soviet Constitution of 1936. In the 1930's, the international situation became less and less favorable for peace (see below, pp. 623–628). Stalin, fearing an attack on the Soviet Union, now sought to win the friendship of the democratic Western powers. He therefore issued a new constitution, which he hailed as "the most democratic in the world."

In some respects, the new Soviet constitution did mark an advance over the preceding

one. All male and female citizens over eighteen were now allowed to vote. Members of the legislative bodies were chosen directly by secret ballot. A broad bill of rights was included. This recognized freedom of speech, press, assembly, and worship. It guaranteed a seven-hour day, vacations with pay, and complete social security for the workers. It also pledged equal treatment to all the different nationalities in the Soviet Union.

On the other hand, many other features of the new constitution contradicted Stalin's claim that it was democratic. The framework of government remained essentially the same as earlier. The highest officials were not chosen by the people as in the United States, nor could they be removed by the people's representatives as in Great Britain. The Communist party remained the only legal party. In elections, the voters continued to receive a single list of candidates. As a rule, the government list polled more than 99 percent of the votes.

The Great Purges of 1936–1939. Moreover, Stalin showed no signs of relaxing his dictatorship. Arbitrary arrests and punishments continued as before. From time to time, the Soviet ruler would even start a wholesale purge or “cleansing” of the Communist party, designed to remove untrustworthy or unsatisfactory members. The victims were usually shot or sentenced to Siberia. Frequently, their relatives and friends were also arrested, on the theory that they too might have become infected with dangerous ideas.

The greatest purge of all began in 1936, after a close associate of Stalin was assassinated. The Communists themselves called this “the great cleansing.” A number of dramatic public trials were staged. Scores of top-ranking Communist leaders—including cabinet ministers, ambassadors, generals, and

newspaper editors—were convicted and executed for conspiring against the government. Large numbers of lesser Communists were also killed or sent off to prison camps.

Eventually, Stalin announced that the purge had been carried too far. There then followed a “purge of the purgers.” Many of the former prosecutors were condemned, and some of the disgraced Communists were restored to favor. The Soviet Union thus presented a strange contradiction. The dictator boasted that his government enjoyed the enthusiastic support of the people. Yet he found it necessary to execute or imprison even members of the ruling Communist party.

Soviet Foreign Policy. The French have a saying, “The more things change, the more they remain the same.” This might well be used to describe Soviet foreign policy. To Lenin, Russia was important mainly as a base from which to spread communism to the rest of the world. As soon as he gained power, he began to appeal for revolutions in other countries. He denounced World War I as a “capitalist war,” called on the soldiers to lay down their arms, and urged the workers in war plants to go out on strike. He also appealed to the colonial peoples to rise against their “imperialist oppressors.” He won many converts, especially among the more radical European Socialists. In Hungary, the Communists seized power and held it for a few months. In Germany and elsewhere, they attempted to seize control but failed.

As Europe recovered from its early postwar ailments, the Communist threat faded. Meanwhile, Lenin was confronted with severe economic difficulties at home. To obtain needed foreign assistance, he cut down on his propaganda against capitalism. He also negotiated treaties of trade and friend-



ship with some of the capitalist countries. Nevertheless, he secretly assisted foreign Communist leaders and kept alive the Communist dream of world revolution.

When Stalin came to power, he announced that his policy was to build up communism in a single country, the Soviet Union. "One Soviet tractor," he said, "is worth more than ten good foreign Communists." A few years later, Russia was threatened by the rise of Fascist dictatorships in Germany and Japan. Stalin then joined the League of Nations and signed a military alliance with France. Communist parties all over the world adopted a new line calling for a "united front against Fas-

cism." That is, the Communists promised to co-operate with democratic parties and governments against the Fascists.

Later, we shall see how Stalin reversed this policy and signed an alliance with the Fascist dictator of Germany; how the two quarreled and became enemies during World War II; and how Stalin took advantage of the troubled conditions at the end of that conflict to extend his control over eastern and central Europe. Lenin succeeded in imposing his Communist theories on the 160,000,000 people of Russia. Under Stalin, communism spread far beyond the boundaries of Russia and became a threat to free peoples everywhere.

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS • 1939

-  To Russia in 1939-40
 Acquired after World War II





65 / Lesson Review

Checking the facts

1. Explain: totalitarianism; provisional government; soviet; All-Russian Congress of Soviets; Bolsheviks (Communists); Bolshevik Revolution; Treaty of Brest-Litovsk; Red terror; New Economic Policy; Five-Year Plans; collective farms; Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (Soviet Union); indoctrination; atheism; Soviet Constitution of 1936; purges; world revolution.
2. Identify: Kerensky; Lenin; Stalin.
3. What important reforms were introduced by the Russian provisional government? Why were the Bolsheviks able to overthrow this government?
4. How did Lenin seek to transform Russia into a socialist country? What difficulties resulted from his policies?
5. What were the main features of Lenin's New Economic Policy? the results?
6. How did Stalin establish himself as dictator of Russia?
7. What hardships did Russian peasants and workers suffer as a result of Stalin's Five-Year Plans? What did the plans accomplish?
8. How did the Communist leaders try to control the ideas and beliefs of the Russian people?
9. Describe the major changes in Soviet foreign policy between 1917 and 1939. What evidence is there that the Communists' basic goals remained the same?

Applying history

1. Compare the Russian revolutions of 1917 with events in France during the years 1789-1793. Why were the Communists called "the spiritual heirs of the Jacobins"?
2. How did the Russian Revolution disprove Karl Marx's prediction that the workers would seize power first in the highly industrialized nations? Why did the revolution occur in Russia rather than in one of the more advanced Western nations?

3. Why did the powers engage in intervention against the Bolsheviks? What were the results of their intervention?
4. In what respects did Lenin's New Economic Policy conflict with his original theories? How did the Five-Year Plans likewise violate Communist theories? Why has the Soviet economic system been called "state capitalism" rather than communism?
5. Discuss:
 - a. The dictatorship of the proletariat is a temporary stage; the government will wither away as soon as communism is firmly established.
 - b. The Russian Communist party is the government behind the government.
 - c. The old Russia peeps out from behind the Soviet mask.

History and geography

1. Trace (map, p. 587) the 1939 boundaries of the U.S.S.R. in Europe, the Middle East, central and eastern Asia.
2. List and locate the eleven different soviet socialist republics in 1939 (map, p. 587). Which of these was the largest?
3. Locate and identify the important mountain ranges in the U.S.S.R. (map, pp. 46-47). What is the character of most of the terrain? Why is the U.S.S.R. concerned with exploration of the Arctic Ocean?

Special activities

1. On the basis of your outside reading, write a short biography of Lenin or Stalin. Show how his personality was formed by his early life and struggles.
2. Read a newspaper or magazine account of a recent Soviet election. Discuss the ways it differed from our elections and the reasons for these differences.
3. Arrange a class exhibit on "Working and Living Conditions in the Soviet Union."



History shows that even the victors lose in modern war. Developments in Italy after World War I provide a striking example. At the outbreak of that conflict, the Italian government adopted a policy of neutrality. However, it decided to join the Allies when it was promised certain Austrian provinces inhabited mainly by Italians. During the next three years, the Italian armies fought bravely but suffered frequent defeats and heavy casualties. It was only in the closing days of the war that they finally launched a successful major offensive. Italy's unhappy wartime experiences, along with the many serious problems resulting directly from the war, made it possible for a new-style dictator to seize power.

THE FASCISTS' RISE TO POWER

Dissatisfaction with the Peace Settlement. At the Paris Peace Conference, the Italian delegates insisted on large territorial gains as payment for their nation's sacrifices. They claimed the Austrian provinces promised earlier by the Allies. They also made many new demands—including the port of Fiume, on the eastern shore of the Adriatic Sea, and a share of the German colonies in Africa. President Wilson flatly rejected most of these demands. In protest, the Italian delegates withdrew from the peace conference. However, their dramatic gesture was

unsuccessful. After several weeks, the Italians returned to Paris and accepted the territories which had been offered them earlier.

As their dreams of expansion faded, many Italians angrily charged that their nation had been betrayed by the Allies. They also blamed their own leaders and greeted them with jeers on their return home from the peace conference. On the other hand, when the fiery nationalist poet D'Annunzio organized a band of war veterans and seized Fiume from Yugoslavia, they hailed him as a hero. They howled when the government, yielding to the protests of the Allies, forced him to withdraw. The bitter attacks of the extreme nationalists became a serious threat to democratic government in Italy.

Postwar Economic Problems. Even worse were the economic aftereffects of the war. The national debt had grown enormously. Despite heavy taxes, the government was unable to meet its expenses and balance the budget. Inflation set in and the *lira*, the Italian unit of money, fell sharply in value—from about twenty cents in 1914 to about two and a half cents in 1922. Returning veterans found it difficult to obtain jobs. Housing was scarce and very expensive. Italy, as we have seen (pp. 457–458), was basically a poor country. The war aggravated its difficulties and left it with a staggering burden of unsolved economic problems.

Weakness of the Government. As prices rose and wages lagged behind, the average Italian family found it harder and harder to get along. The working classes, especially in the cities, turned for help to the Socialist party. The Socialists doubled their vote in the first election held after the war, in 1919. They won about one-third of the seats in the Chamber of Deputies and became the largest single party. Though unable to form a government by themselves, they refused to co-operate with any of the "bourgeois" or middle-class groups.

Italy's parliamentary government, plagued by too many political parties, had never been very strong. Now it found itself under attack from two extremes—the nationalists on the right and the Socialists on the left. Normal political life was almost paralyzed. In four years, Italy had five different cabinets, each

weaker than the preceding one. More and more, the disgusted people looked elsewhere for leadership.

The "Red Threat" of 1919–1920. The weakness of the government encouraged the Socialists to follow a revolutionary policy, similar to that of the Bolsheviks in Russia. For months, they led the workers in one great strike after another. The climax came when workers' committees seized control of hundreds of factories in northern Italy. Meantime, Socialist agitators also stirred up trouble in the country districts. Tenant farmers refused to pay rent and farm laborers began to take over their employers' estates. The government was powerless to restore order. For a period of several weeks, revolution seemed likely in Italy.

However, the "Red threat" faded very quickly. The workers, finding that they

This picture shows Mussolini supposedly leading the "March on Rome." In fact, he remained safely in Milan until the king summoned him to become premier. Then he came to Rome and led the Fascist victory parade.



could neither obtain raw materials nor manage the factories, returned them to the employers. Peace was also gradually restored in the rural areas. The Socialist party was discredited and lost much of its popular support. It grew still weaker when quarrels over the policy of violence split it into two hostile groups, the moderate Socialists and the Communists. Nevertheless, the propertied classes remained fearful of revolution. They turned for protection to a new movement which was ready to use violence against the radicals. The new movement was called Fascism.

Mussolini and the Early Fascist Movement. The founder of the Fascist movement was an ambitious newspaper editor named Benito Mussolini (1883-1945). As a young man, Mussolini had been a Socialist agitator and journalist. Because of his violent attacks against the government during the Libyan War (see p. 459), he was arrested and served a short term in prison. Soon after his release, he was appointed editor of the leading Socialist newspaper.

At the outbreak of World War I, the Italian Socialists favored a policy of neutrality. However, Mussolini suddenly broke with the party and started his own newspaper. His editorials clamored for Italy's entry into the war on the side of the Allies. "Neutrals," he said, "have never dominated events. . . . It is blood that moves the wheels of history." During the war, he served for a time in the army and was wounded.

After the return of peace, Mussolini formed his own veterans' organization, the Fascists. (Its full name was *Fascio di Combattimento*, meaning "Union for Combat.") The Fascist leader had no clear-cut program, other than an ambition to rule Italy. During the period of radical disorders, he favored the workers' seizure of the factories. When

the extreme nationalists seized Fiume, he led large demonstrations to prevent government interference. At one and the same time, Mussolini was attempting to win the support of both the nationalists and the Socialists. However, Fascism grew very slowly as long as it appealed only to the extremist groups.

Then Mussolini tried a new course. When the Red threat was already disappearing, he began to attack Bolshevism in his editorials. Immediately, the Fascists grew in numbers and influence. Branches sprang up throughout the country. Factory owners and landlords gave them generous financial aid. Thousands of unemployed veterans and youths became members. They were equipped with blackshirt uniforms and clubs and were sent out to fight the radicals. They broke up the latter's meetings, wrecked their newspaper offices, and shattered their unions. The police rarely intervened because many government officials secretly sided with the Fascists.

The "March on Rome," October, 1922. Mussolini, claiming that he had saved Italy from communism, now sought to gain power by legal methods. He formed the Fascist party, with a program designed to appeal to all classes. The Fascist program promised to provide jobs for the unemployed, land for the farm laborers, better conditions for the city workers, and protection for private property and private enterprise. Above all, it stressed the importance of nationalism. Mussolini promised to end political disunity in Italy and to give the country a strong and efficient government. Then it would be able to take its "rightful place" as one of the leading powers of the world.

In the next election, held in 1921, a small number of Fascists were elected to the Chamber of Deputies. Mussolini, disap-

pointed with this result, decided to take power by force. The Fascists began by attacking the Socialist officials in many towns and cities and by seizing control themselves. While the cabinet in Rome debated what to do, Mussolini grew bolder and bolder. Finally, he called a huge nation-wide Fascist rally. He announced, "Either the government will be given to us or we shall seize it by marching on Rome."

The government took no action to meet this threat. Then, at Mussolini's command, thousands of armed Blackshirts from all over Italy marched on the capital. The cabinet at last awoke to the danger. It decided to call out the army to deal with the Fascists. But King Victor Emmanuel III (1900–1946), fearing the outbreak of civil war, refused to sign the decree. Instead, he called Mussolini to Rome and asked him to form a ministry. A new chapter in Italy's history now began.

FASCISM IN ACTION, 1922–1943

Establishment of the Fascist Dictatorship. Premier Mussolini did not destroy Italian democracy all at once. First he persuaded the parliament to grant him emergency powers for one year "for the purpose of restoring order." He used this time to "Fascistize" the government—that is, to fill many important posts with his followers. He also redoubled his campaign of violence and terror against the opponents of Fascism. When the moderates in parliament protested, Mussolini dissolved that body. In the elections which followed, the Blackshirts attacked the opposition parties, broke up their meetings, and frightened hostile voters from the polls. The Fascists won a majority of the seats.

Once in control of the parliament, Mussolini introduced many far-reaching political

changes. He now became "Head of the Government," responsible only to the king. He served as commander-in-chief of the armed forces, appointed all important officials throughout Italy, and issued decrees having the force of law. He was also *Il Duce* or "The Leader" of the Fascist party, which became the only legal party in the country. His secret police sought to eliminate all traces of opposition. Rival political leaders were killed, imprisoned, or driven into exile. Only Fascist or pro-Fascist newspapers were allowed to appear. In short, Mussolini made himself the all-powerful dictator of Italy.

In the next election, which took place in 1929, the Fascist party drew up a single list of candidates. The voters could cast either a "Yes" ballot, bearing the national colors of red, white, and green, or a "No" ballot, which was all white. With the Blackshirts watching them, the great majority of the voters cast their ballots for the government list. Mussolini hailed the result as proof that the Italian people enthusiastically supported the Fascist regime. At the same time, he took steps to punish those voters who had dared to oppose him. The opposition disappeared almost completely in later elections.

The Settlement with the Pope. As dictator of Italy, Mussolini had some important achievements to his credit. One of these was his settlement of the old dispute between Church and state (see p. 457). The agreement—known as the Lateran Treaty of 1929—recognized the pope as ruler of a tiny new country, the Vatican City in Rome. The government also paid the pope a large sum to compensate him for his lost territories, recognized Catholicism as Italy's official religion, and made religious instruction compulsory in the schools. In return, the pope gave official recognition to the Italian government. He also agreed not to ap-



Mussolini's Fascist Youth trained boys for war from the age of six and indoctrinated them with such slogans as *Believe! Obey! Fight!* Pictured here are a group of children parading before the Italian dictator in 1935 on the twentieth anniversary of Italy's entry into World War I.

point bishops in Italy whose political views were "objectionable" to the Fascists.

Mussolini's Economic Policies. In dealing with Italy's economic problems, the Italian dictator proved the old saying that a new broom sweeps clean. He dismissed thousands of unnecessary public officials and slashed government spending. To help check inflation, he also increased taxes. Italian businessmen regained confidence and the country gradually became more prosperous. In 1926, Mussolini was able to balance the

budget and stabilize the value of the lira.

Mussolini took steps to solve another basic economic problem, Italy's lack of natural resources. By developing hydroelectric power, he made the nation less dependent on imports of coal. He also sought to make it self-sufficient in food by launching the "Battle of the Wheat." The government reclaimed wastelands, spread information about scientific farming, and gave prizes to farmers who introduced progressive methods. Very high tariffs and other restrictions

on trade helped to reduce purchases from abroad.

To pay for those imports which the country still needed, the government sought to strengthen the export industries. It also made special efforts to obtain foreign currencies by attracting tourists to Italy. New luxury liners were built, hotels were modernized, and the old Roman ruins were restored. The railroads ran on time. Beggars, a common sight earlier, disappeared from the streets. Many visitors, impressed by such achievements, returned home full of praise for Mussolini and Fascism.

Government Control of Business and Labor. Mussolini had originally posed as a staunch defender of capitalism. Nevertheless, once in power, he gradually brought both labor and business under government control. Strikes and lockouts were strictly forbidden. All existing trade unions and employers' associations were made part of a new system, "the corporate state." The nation's economy was divided into more than a score of different fields, such as building construction, mining industries, textile products, and so on. Each was placed under a "corporation" or council, composed of representatives of the employers, the workers, and the Fascist party.

The main duties of these corporations were to fix wages and hours, settle other industrial disputes, and regulate the price and quality of goods. Mussolini was the president of each corporation, and all its decisions had to be approved by him. Through the corporate system, the Italian dictator carried out his motto, "Everything in the State, nothing against the State, nothing outside the State."

Effects of Government Control. For a time, government control brought some benefits to the workers. Mussolini introduced

health insurance, annual vacations with pay, and low-cost facilities for recreation. However, the lower classes soon began to suffer from his economic policies. Food prices rose because Italian wheat was much more expensive than imported wheat. Taxes were increased, but the government refused to raise wages. The workers were helpless because they were forbidden to strike. Under Fascism, their living standard was one of the lowest in Europe.

Businessmen, for the most part, fared better than the workers. They no longer had to fear unions, strikes, or "Reds." They were often able to gain special favors by bribing Fascist officials. However, they too began to grumble as taxes and government restrictions on private enterprise increased.

A "Strong" Foreign Policy. The Fascist regime also created other difficulties for the Italian people. An extreme nationalist, Mussolini was determined to make Italy a great power. Even while he was cutting other government expenses, he steadily built up the army, navy, and air force. He spoke constantly about the glories of war. "Fascism," he said, "rejects the pacifism which masks surrender and cowardice. War alone brings all human energies to their highest tension and sets a seal of nobility on the people who have the virtue to face it. . . ."

Military training became an important activity in the schools and especially in the Fascist youth organizations. To increase Italy's manpower, Mussolini forbade emigration, taxed bachelors, and gave prizes to large families. "The Mediterranean is destined to return to us," he promised. "Rome is destined to become once more the city which directs the civilization of the whole western world."

In keeping with his bold words, Mussolini acted with vigor when four Italian offi-

cials were killed by terrorists on Greek soil in 1923. The Italian navy bombarded the Greek island of Corfu, killing and wounding a number of the inhabitants. Then Italian forces occupied the island and held it until the Greek government agreed to pay damages for the murders. Mussolini's actions aroused a storm of protest throughout the world. For the next few years, he sought to build up Italy's prestige in more cautious ways.

Effects of the Great Depression. In 1929, the Great Depression hit Italy. Exports and the tourist trade dropped sharply. Factories were forced to shut down and unemployment again became a problem. The government—burdened with the costs of the military forces, the public works program, and the ever growing army of Fascist officials—was unable to balance the budget. The rapidly rising population added to its difficulties. Mussolini tried to promote recovery by increasing government control of business and by reducing wages. When these efforts failed, he turned to the usual outlet of dictators in trouble—war.

Mussolini's Wars. The Italian dictator's first victim was a backward African country, Ethiopia (map, p. 502). On the pretext that the Ethiopians had invaded the neighboring Italian colony of Somaliland, he sent a large army to take over the country. In 1936, after a few months' fighting, he gained possession of a territory about three times as large as Italy.

However, the Ethiopian War gave rise to many new problems. The League of Nations condemned the Fascist invasion (see p. 626). For a time, its members cut off trade with Italy. Moreover, the cost of conquering the colony added to Italy's economic difficulties. In order to avert bankruptcy, the government had to impose heavy new taxes

and lower the value of the lira. It even launched a campaign to collect gold wedding rings from Italian women!

The Italian dictator next intervened in a civil war in Spain (see pp. 626–627). Again he miscalculated the costs involved. Despite generous Italian help, it took the Fascist rebels three years to win control. By the war's end, Italy's financial difficulties were worse than ever. Nevertheless, Mussolini continued his reckless foreign policy. In April, 1939, he seized the small country of Albania, as a base for other conquests in the Balkans. Finally, in June, 1940, he entered World War II on the side of Germany when he believed that country's victory was certain.

The Downfall of Mussolini. Once again, the Italian dictator's judgment proved poor. Though the Germans gained important successes, the war continued for years. The Italian forces were weakened by low morale, poor equipment, and incompetent Fascist commanders. They suffered a series of disastrous defeats in Greece and in Africa. The entire Italian colonial empire was lost. When the Allies bombarded the Italian peninsula and invaded Sicily in July, 1943, the Fascists themselves voted to depose their leader. The King then dismissed him from office and placed him under arrest. Soon after, the new Italian government signed an armistice with the Allies.

Mussolini's career was still not finished. The Germans rescued him and set him up as head of a puppet government in northern Italy. Later, when German power collapsed, the former Italian dictator tried to escape into Switzerland. However, he was caught and executed by a band of Italian guerrillas. Fascism in Italy finally came to an end. But it left the unhappy nation burdened with a bitter legacy of unsolved problems.



66 / Lesson Review

Checking the facts

1. Explain: Fiume crisis; "Red threat"; Fascist party; March on Rome; Lateran Treaty of 1929; Vatican City; stabilization of the lira; "Battle of the Wheat"; corporate state; Ethiopian War; Spanish Civil War.
2. Identify: Blackshirts; *Il Duce*.
3. Explain how Italian democracy was weakened by: the peace settlement after World War I; the postwar economic problems; the unstable government; the policies adopted by the Socialists.
4. What methods did Mussolini use to win popular support? How did he finally become premier?
5. How did Mussolini establish his Fascist dictatorship in Italy?
6. How did Mussolini settle the old conflict between church and state in Italy?
7. How did Mussolini seek to solve Italy's economic problems?
8. Why did Mussolini adopt an aggressive foreign policy?

Applying history

1. Mussolini insisted that he came into power legally because the king appointed him premier and because he had the support of most Italians. Explain why you agree or

disagree with his claims.

2. Compare Mussolini's corporate state with Russian communism and American capitalism. Which did it more nearly resemble? Prove your answer.
3. Why did Mussolini popularize the slogan "Believe! Obey! Fight!"? Why would this slogan be unsuitable for a democratic country?
4. Fascist Italy has been called "a society at war in a time of peace." Explain why.
5. List in parallel columns the achievements and the failures of Mussolini's regime.

Special activities

1. Read an account of the Blackshirts' violent attacks on the Socialists and other radicals before the March on Rome. Discuss why the Italian government tolerated this violence and whether it should have done so.
2. Consult a biography of Mussolini and report to the class on the Fascist leader's early life, his rise to power, and his behavior as ruler of Italy.
3. Stage a radio play of the "You Are There" type on Mussolini's rise to power.
4. Tell in headlines the story of Mussolini's rise to power, the changes he brought about in Italy, and his downfall.

67 / THE NAZI DICTATORSHIP IN GERMANY



Biologists and other scientists have long argued, "Which is more important, heredity or environment?" This question has also been raised regarding the "German problem." Germany, as we have already seen in Unit 13, bore a heavy share of responsibility for World War I. It was even more clearly the aggressor in World War II and committed many terrible atrocities. Some people have therefore said that the Germans are by nature a cruel, warlike, even criminal nation. They argue that the Germans can never be trusted to keep their promises.

On the other hand, historians generally think that the Germans are much the same as other peoples. They point to important German contributions to Western civilization in past centuries. They show that other countries were also responsible for World War I. For the Germans' turn to dictatorship and aggression, these historians blame the harsh Treaty of Versailles and the bad economic conditions of the postwar period.

GERMANY'S BRIEF EXPERIMENT WITH DEMOCRACY, 1918-1933

The Downfall of the German Empire. World War I proved an important turning point in modern German history. For almost four years, the Kaiser's armies gained many victories. They felt confident that they would

eventually win the war. However, in the autumn of 1918, the Allies launched a series of smashing offensives (see p. 552). The German government, recognizing that defeat was inevitable, sued for peace. But the Allied leaders refused to negotiate with any regime headed by the Kaiser. The war-weary German people then rose in revolt. The sailors of the fleet mutinied, and strikes and riots broke out all over the country. The Kaiser and the rulers of the various German states were forced to abdicate, and the Kaiser fled for safety into Holland. Germany became a republic in November, 1918.

The Social Democrats, who had led the opposition against the Kaiser, now took control of the government. They quickly negotiated an armistice with the Allies. Then they held elections for a national assembly to draft a constitution for the new republic. In the voting which followed, the Socialists won a much larger number of seats than any of the other parties. However, they failed to gain a majority. They therefore formed a new government by organizing a coalition with two middle-class parties, the Catholic Center party and the Democratic party. Despite frequent cabinet crises, this coalition was able to hold office and direct the government for many years.

The Constitution of the German Republic. Under the leadership of the Social

Democrats and their allies, the national assembly drew up a very liberal constitution. The new republic was a federation of states. It was headed by a president, who was elected directly by the voters. There was also a parliament of two chambers. The upper house represented the states; the lower house represented the people.

Although in some ways the new German system of government resembled that of the United States, it worked more like that of Great Britain or France. The German president had little power except in an emergency. Real authority was exercised by the chancellor and cabinet, who were responsible to the lower house, the Reichstag. The constitution also included many other democratic features, such as universal male and female suffrage and proportional representation.

Difficulties of the New Republic. From the start, the inexperienced democratic leaders were faced with overwhelming problems. The Allies, seeking to make certain that Germany would not resume the war, continued their blockade for several months after the armistice. Trade and industry were at a standstill. Bands of unemployed veterans roamed the country. Street fighting broke out between rival political groups. For a short time, Germany seemed on the verge of chaos.

Moreover, the new republic suffered a severe setback when it had to sign the Treaty of Versailles. The German people were shocked by the harsh peace settlement. They found themselves deprived of valuable territories, accused of starting the war, and burdened with heavy reparations debts. Many held the democratic leaders to blame for not insisting on better terms. They asserted that it was the duty of all patriotic Germans to oppose any government which tried to co-operate with the Allies.

Enemies of the Republic. Extremists were quick to take advantage of all these troubled conditions. A Communist party was organized at the close of the war by the left-wing Socialists. In an effort to establish "a workers' state" like that of the Russian Bolsheviks, they organized several revolts in 1918 and 1919. The government succeeded in defeating the "Red menace." However, in order to do so, it found it necessary to call on various extremely conservative or rightist veterans' organizations for help in enlisting troops.

This proved a very dangerous policy. The rightists, led by members of the old ruling classes, had little more love for the republic than the Communists. They openly called for a restoration of the monarchy. They reminded the people of Germany's former greatness and spread the legend that the army had not really been defeated in the war. According to them, the brave German fighting men had been "stabbed in the back" by the Socialists and pacifists, who had stirred up rebellion on the home front.

The rightists, like the Communists, made several unsuccessful attempts to overthrow the republic. However, the government treated the rebels very leniently. This only encouraged the rightists to continue with their plots. The military leaders kept in close touch with the exiled Kaiser and refused to take orders from the government. Terrorist groups assassinated several prominent officials who sought to co-operate with the Allies.

The Runaway Inflation of 1923. The new republic was soon confronted with other serious problems. Too weak to impose heavy taxes, it was unable to make its reparations payments in full. A crisis developed when France declared that Germany had not met its obligations and sent in

troops to occupy the Ruhr (see pp. 560–561). The German government replied with the “passive resistance” policy. However, in order to support the striking Ruhr workers, it had to print vast quantities of paper money. The paper currency, already inflated, lost so much of its value that it became practically worthless.

The runaway inflation had disastrous effects. The savings of the once-prosperous middle class were wiped out. Teachers, civil service employees, and other persons with fixed incomes were threatened with starvation. The industrial workers suffered because their wages did not keep pace with prices. In general, the very classes whose support was most important to the republic lost most heavily as a result of the inflation. Both the Communists and the rightists won many new followers.

A Brief Period of Prosperity, 1924–1929. The republic survived this unhappy period because German businessmen finally awoke to the dangers of the situation. A new cabinet was formed, headed by a wealthy industrialist, Gustav Stresemann. Under Stresemann’s leadership, Germany abandoned passive resistance and adopted a policy of treaty fulfillment. That is, it now sought to cooperate with the Allies in carrying out the terms of the peace treaty.

The new policy proved very successful. The Dawes plan (see p. 561) eased the reparations burden and started a flow of foreign loans to Germany. The French withdrew their troops from the Ruhr. Germany, after promising to live at peace with its neighbors, was admitted to the League of Nations.

A remarkable economic recovery also took place. The Stresemann government balanced the budget and issued a new sound paper money. The industrialists, with the aid of foreign loans, modernized and expanded

their factories. Germany’s export trade flourished. Its merchant marine was rebuilt. As the country prospered, the people’s standard of living rose. The extremist parties then lost much of their support. The German Republic rested on more secure foundations than ever in the past.

Effects of the Great Depression. Unfortunately, this period of prosperity lasted for only a few years. It came to a sudden halt after the Great Depression began in 1929. Foreign investors refused to make new loans to Germany. German businessmen were unable to sell their goods abroad. Factories and banks closed down. The number of unemployed soared until one out of every three workers was idle. There was much suffering and unrest throughout the country.

Since the government seemed helpless to cope with these problems, people again turned to the extremist parties for help. A large number of Communist deputies won election to the Reichstag. However, far greater gains were made by an extremist party of the right, the National Socialists or “Nazis.” It was the National Socialists, not the Communists, who succeeded in destroying the democratic German Republic.

ADOLF HITLER’S RISE TO POWER

The Origin of the Nazi Party. The leader or Fuehrer of the National Socialist party was Adolf Hitler (1889–1945). Hitler was born in Austria, the son of a humble customs inspector. He had an unhappy childhood because of frequent quarrels with his father. After his father died, he went to Vienna to study art. However, he was not talented enough to win admission to the imperial art academy. For years, he struggled along, doing odd jobs and living in extreme poverty. Often he went hungry and slept in “flophouses.”

Hitler was living in Germany when World War I broke out. He immediately enlisted in the German army. His war record was a good one. He was twice wounded, won a decoration for bravery, and was promoted to corporal. At the time of the armistice, he was in the hospital. When he learned that Germany had lost the war, he was so upset that he burst into tears.

After his discharge from the army, Hitler settled in the city of Munich, in southern Germany. At that time, the city was a hotbed of Communist and rightist agitators. The ex-corporal soon gathered around him a small band of followers. Most of these were war veterans who, like Hitler himself, were unable to adjust to dull peacetime existence. Despising the new democratic republic, they began to work for its overthrow. This was the origin of the National Socialist party.

The Nazi Program. The National Socialists, as their name indicated, sought to combine nationalism and socialism in their program. In internal affairs, they promised vigorous government action to control "big business" and to help the people. In foreign policy, their goal was to scrap the hated Treaty of Versailles, to secure the return of Germany's former colonies, and to unite all Germans in a "Great German State."

Nationalism took an extreme form in Hitler's peculiar race theories. According to the Nazi leader, mankind's progress was the work of a "master race" of tall, blue-eyed warriors, the Aryans or Nordics. In ancient times, the Aryans had built mighty empires and had created rich civilizations. Hitler believed that the Germans were also of "pure Aryan blood" and had a similar great future before them. However, they had first to destroy the Jews, whom he blamed for communism, socialism, pacifism, and all of Germany's other troubles. Once rid of these

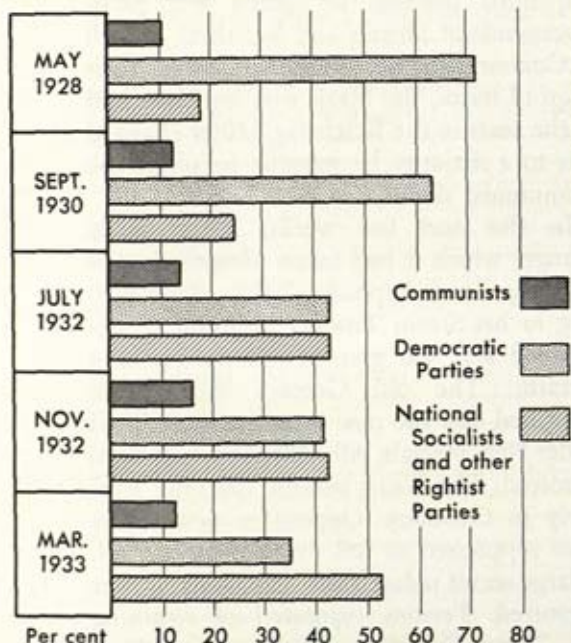
"parasites," the Germans would be able to deal with the rest of their enemies. Hitler would crush the French. He would defeat the Russian Bolsheviks and seize the rich Ukraine. He would build a mighty empire which would dominate Europe "for a thousand years."

The Nazis' Early Failures. Inspired by Mussolini's success in Italy, the Nazis organized armed squads of Storm Troopers or Brownshirts. They imitated the Fascists by attacking the radicals, smashing unions, and breaking strikes. During the critical period of the runaway inflation, Hitler even tried to overthrow the German government. However, the attempt was a miserable failure. The Nazi leader was arrested, was found guilty of treason, and had to serve a short term in prison. There he wrote his famous work, *Mein Kampf* ("My Struggle"), in which he explained his ideas at great length.

When Hitler was released, he found his party was all but dead. The German people, now enjoying prosperity, had lost interest in the extremists. Most of them laughed at the Nazis' far-fetched theories. Hitler himself seemed only a comical character, who deserved little notice.

Remarkable Growth of the Nazis. In 1929 the Great Depression struck. The attitude of the German people changed almost overnight. Large numbers of workers voted for the Communists. But most of the middle and upper classes, who stood to lose everything under Communist rule, turned to the Nazis. In an amazingly short time, the Nazi party became a nation-wide movement. With funds contributed by wealthy supporters, Hitler was able to enlist thousands of the unemployed as Storm Troopers. Nazi speakers and propaganda leaflets appeared everywhere. Street fights between the Nazis and their opponents became commonplace.

GERMAN POLITICAL PARTIES (1928-1933)



Background picture shows the fire-gutted interior of the Reichstag building in Berlin.

The Nazis staged tremendous rallies, at which thousands of spectators thrilled to the martial music and marching columns of uniformed Storm Troopers. At the climax, Hitler himself would suddenly appear. He would stride to the platform amid thunderous roars of "Heil Hitler! Heil Hitler! Heil Hitler!" To each audience, he promised what it most wanted—to the unemployed, jobs; to the farmers, more land and higher prices for their produce; to the businessmen, prosperity and protection from the unions. To all Germans, he pledged harsh measures against the Jews and Reds, freedom from "the shackles of Versailles," and the creation of a new, greater Germany. Hitler's fiery oratory deeply stirred the emotions of his listeners and won many converts to the Nazi cause.

In the first election after the depression, which took place in 1930, the Nazis greatly increased their strength in the Reichstag. They won 107 seats, as compared with only 12 in 1928. In the next election, held in the summer of 1932, their number more than doubled and they became the largest single party. Together, the Nazis and Communists controlled a majority of the votes in the Reichstag. Both refused to co-operate with the democratic parties or with each other. The German government was almost paralyzed.

In this emergency, the President of the Republic—the aged military hero, Field Marshal Paul von Hindenburg—exercised the special powers conferred on him by the constitution. For a time, he tried to govern



Adolf Hitler was a powerful orator. Pouring forth a torrent of words to praise Germany and condemn its foes, he aroused the nationalism of his audiences to a frenzied pitch.

through chancellors supported by only a minority of the Reichstag. However, the economic situation continued to grow worse and political disorders increased. Finally, in January, 1933, the President was persuaded to appoint Hitler as chancellor. The democratic republic now fell into the hands of a man who had sworn to destroy it.

THE NAZI DICTATORSHIP, 1933-1945

Establishment of the Nazi Dictatorship. Hitler used his position as chancellor to make himself master of Germany. He persuaded the President to dissolve the Reichstag and to order new elections. Only a few days before the voting, the Nazis staged a great "Red scare." They secretly set fire to the Reichstag building, then blamed the Communists for the crime. Hitler immediately proclaimed a national emergency. He

suspended freedom of speech and press. Thousands of liberals and Socialists, as well as Communists, were arrested. Despite their reign of terror, the Nazis won less than half of the seats in the Reichstag. Hitler changed this to a majority by refusing to admit the Communist deputies.

In the next few weeks, Hitler made changes which it had taken Mussolini years to bring about. Appearing before the Reichstag in his Storm Trooper uniform, he demanded and was granted the powers of a dictator. The old German states were abolished and the new districts were placed under Nazi officials. All political groups were dissolved. The Nazis became the only legal party in Germany. Opposition newspapers were suppressed or fell under Nazi control. A large secret police force, the Gestapo, was organized. Persons suspected of opposing the "New Order" were arrested, beaten, killed, or sent off to concentration camps.

Control of Public Opinion. Like the other totalitarian dictators, the Fuehrer was very anxious to control public opinion. A Ministry of Propaganda and Enlightenment was created to indoctrinate the German people with Nazi ideas. It controlled all publishing firms, told the newspapers what to print, and ran the radio stations. Art, music, and the theater were also used to spread Nazi propaganda. Books which displeased the Nazis were burned. Anti-Nazi intellectuals were imprisoned or driven into exile. To keep out "alien ideas," foreign newspapers and books were barred from Germany and foreign radio programs were "jammed" by special transmitters.

Above all, Hitler stressed the importance of "Nazifying" the younger generation. The schools were rigidly controlled by the Nazi Ministry of Education. Military discipline, unquestioning obedience, and painful cor-

poral punishment were reintroduced. The course of study and the textbooks were carefully revised. History, for example, was twisted to accord with Hitler's race theories, and a special study of "race science" was inaugurated. After school and on week ends, the youngsters' training was continued by special Nazi youth organizations.

Hitler's War on Religion. In his desire for the undivided allegiance of his subjects, the German dictator attacked religion. He ordered all Protestant groups to be merged into a single body, under the control of Nazi clergymen. The latter proposed to change Christian doctrine in order to eliminate the "Jewish influences." For example, they proclaimed Christ an Aryan and sought to discard the Old Testament! Many Protestant ministers refused to accept these changes. As a result, they were barred from their pulpits and their leaders were imprisoned in concentration camps.

Hitler proceeded somewhat more cautiously in dealing with the Roman Catholic Church. Soon after he gained power, he concluded a treaty with the pope. The Church agreed to refrain from any political activity in Germany. In return, the Nazi dictator promised not to interfere with the Catholic schools and youth organizations. However, the Nazis soon violated their part of the agreement. When the pope protested, the government replied by seizing Church property and arresting members of the Catholic clergy. New protests by the pope went unheeded.

Persecution of the Jews. As he had threatened earlier, Hitler also introduced a cruel anti-Semitic program. Step by step, he deprived the Jews of their rights. First he dismissed them from the government service and the professions. Next he took away their citizenship, forbade them to marry Aryans,

and declared mixed marriages illegal. Later he ordered employers to discharge their Jewish workers and forced Jewish businessmen to sell out their holdings.

When a young Polish Jew killed a minor Nazi official in 1938, Hitler ordered even harsher measures. Throughout Germany, Jewish shops were smashed and looted. Synagogues were blown up and holy articles were defiled. A heavy fine was imposed on the entire Jewish community. Thousands of Jewish leaders were imprisoned in concentration camps.

The protests of other governments against such barbarous behavior forced Hitler to call a temporary halt. During World War II, however, he no longer felt restrained by the opinion of other nations. Most of the Jews in German-occupied Europe were sent off to the Nazi concentration camps. Those who were not worked to death were either shot or murdered in gas chambers. An estimated 6,000,000 Jewish people lost their lives.

Nazi Economic Policies. Many Germans closed their eyes to Hitler's inhuman measures because he acted vigorously to solve the country's economic problems. To deal with unemployment, he ordered employers to hire additional workers. He also organized the unemployed into labor battalions and set them to work building roads, airfields, fortifications, and other public works. Most important of all, he launched a huge program to rearm Germany. The economy boomed as hundreds of thousands of young men were drafted for the armed forces and large orders were placed for military supplies. Instead of unemployment, a labor shortage soon developed.

The workers gained economic security at the expense of their liberty. Trade unions were abolished and strikes were outlawed. A Nazi-controlled organization—the National

Labor Front—fixed wages and hours and settled disputes with employers. Workers were forbidden to leave their jobs without permission and could be shifted from one job to another by the government.

Business also fell under Nazi control. Banking and foreign trade were closely regulated by the government. Employers were told what products to make and where to sell them. To increase efficiency, the government encouraged the growth of giant trusts and monopolies at the expense of small business. Hitler was even more anxious than Mussolini to preserve the capitalistic system. But German businessmen, like all other Germans, became servants of the state.

The main purpose of Nazi economic controls was to strengthen the nation's economy and to make it self-sufficient in time of war. The government built huge plants to produce steel from low-grade iron ore. It built other plants to produce synthetic petroleum and rubber from coal and synthetic cloth from wood. Stock piles were created of essential raw materials which could not be produced in Germany. To pay for this costly program, as well as for armaments, Hitler had to increase taxes and to lower the living standards of the German people. "Butter makes us fat," the Nazi leaders said, "but iron makes us strong."

Hitler's Foreign Policy. Hitler was most successful in winning popular support for his foreign policy. From the start, the Nazi dictator made it clear that he meant to tear up the Treaty of Versailles. When the powers refused to allow Germany equal armaments, he withdrew from the League of Nations. He created a large citizen army, built powerful air and naval forces, and erected strong fortifications along the French frontier. He negotiated alliances with two other dissatisfied nations, Italy and Japan.

Then he began to demand additional territory for Germany.

Germans in other lands must "come home" to the Fatherland, Hitler frequently stated. He meant that Germany should be allowed to annex Austria and those parts of Czechoslovakia and Poland inhabited mainly by persons of German descent. Later, he insisted that Germany must acquire other territories as "living space" for its growing population.

As Hitler's military strength and demands increased, the other European nations became alarmed. However, by taking advantage of their desire to preserve peace, he was able to take over both Austria and Czechoslovakia. (For details, see pp. 627-628.) He next made territorial demands on Poland. Great Britain and France finally warned him to stop, saying that they intended to defend that country. Hitler, in a surprise move, then signed an alliance with Communist Russia! Believing that the Western powers would not dare fight, he sent his armies into Poland on September 1, 1939. This new aggression by the Nazis started World War II.

Downfall of the Nazi Regime, 1945. During the next three years, the German armies won one great victory after another. (For details, see Unit 15, pp. 630-636.) Most of Europe fell for a time under Hitler's rule. However, his aggressive policies and his cruel treatment of the conquered peoples turned mankind against him. Eventually, Germany was crushed by the combined forces of many nations. The Fuehrer committed suicide in an underground shelter as enemy troops entered burning Berlin. Other Nazi leaders also committed suicide or were tried and punished as war criminals. For Germany itself, the end results of Nazi rule were defeat, wholesale devastation, partition, and occupation by the victor powers.

67 / Lesson Review



Checking the facts

1. Explain: "stab in the back" legend; runaway inflation; "Aryan race"; *Mein Kampf*; Reichstag fire; concentration camps; National Labor Front.
2. Identify: Stresemann; Hindenburg; Hitler; the Fuehrer; National Socialists (Nazis); Storm Troopers (Brownshirts); Gestapo.
3. Why was the Kaiser overthrown in November, 1918?
4. What were the democratic features of the new German constitution?
5. Explain how each of these weakened German democracy: the Treaty of Versailles; attacks by the Communists and rightists; runaway inflation; the Great Depression.
6. What were the origins of the National Socialist movement? its main features?
7. How did Hitler gain control of the German government? How did he destroy German democracy?
8. How did Hitler's government control public opinion?
9. How did the Nazis attack the Protestant and Catholic churches?
10. What harsh measures did the Nazis take against the Jews?
11. How did the Nazis reorganize Germany's economic system?
12. What measures did Hitler take to make Germany "great"? Why did he fail?

Applying history

1. Many Germans blamed the Allies for their nation's postwar difficulties. Were they justified in doing so? What might the Allies

have done to strengthen the new German democracy?

2. Why did the democratic system of government find it difficult to function properly in postwar Germany? Why was democracy better able to survive the depression in both the United States and Great Britain?
3. Compare Hitler's program and methods with those of Mussolini. Why was the German dictator able to follow more extreme policies than the Italian?
4. Why did the Protestant and Catholic churches protest against Hitler's policies? Why have the Nazi policies toward the Jews been called "a negation of the ideals of Western civilization"?

Special activities

1. Draft a petition by a group of German civil service workers to the Reichstag during the runaway inflation. After it has been read to the class, discuss the reasons why many middle-class Germans turned against the democratic government.
2. Write an editorial on Hitler's appointment as chancellor for either a Nazi German newspaper, an anti-Nazi German newspaper, or an American newspaper.
3. Draw a chart or cartoon to show how Hitler controlled the German government and virtually every other aspect of German life.
4. Arrange a class exhibit of life in Germany under the Nazi dictatorship.
5. Read the *Diary of Anne Frank* or articles on her life. Report to the class on the problems of being a Jew in Nazi Germany.

/ THE SPREAD
OF TOTALITARIANISM

The list of totalitarian dictatorships during the period between the two world wars extended far beyond the three great powers already studied. More than a dozen small European nations fell under the control of petty imitators of Mussolini or Hitler—or suffered from the totalitarian rule imposed by strong and aggressive neighbors. The list also included one great Asian power, Japan. No single dictator appeared in that country, probably because of the deep veneration felt by the people for their god-emperor. Nevertheless, in most other respects, the system of government which existed in Japan during the 1930's differed only slightly from that of Fascist Italy or Germany.

THE FASCIST MILITARY DICTATORSHIP IN JAPAN

Rival Forces in Japan. For many years, Japan had witnessed a seesaw struggle for power between two rival political groups. One of these groups, led by reactionary aristocrats and military men, stood for the old feudal traditions of war and conquest. Boastful of their country's new military and industrial strength, they schemed to conquer China and all of eastern Asia. The main support of the second group was found among liberal professional people and businessmen, who favored constitutional govern-

ment like that of the Western powers, and peaceful expansion through trade.

Japan's Gains During World War I. At the outbreak of World War I, it was the reactionaries who dominated the Japanese government. They soon brought their nation into the war on the side of the Allies. Japanese forces easily conquered Germany's sphere of influence in China, the Shantung peninsula. They also took over hundreds of German islands in the Pacific, notably the Marianas, Carolines, and Marshalls (map, p. 610). Manufacturers, merchants, and ship-owners reaped rich profits by supplying the needs of the Allied war machine. Exporters found new markets for their wares in Asia and Latin America.

Intervention in China. Japan benefited not only by the conflict among the Western powers but also by developments in China. Only a few years earlier, that country had witnessed a successful revolution against the emperor (see p. 511). The revolutionaries, elated by their victory, expected that China would make rapid progress after ridding itself of the inefficient and unpopular Manchu Dynasty. But they soon discovered that modernizing the huge country was an almost superhuman task.

The leader of the revolutionaries was a noted patriot, Sun Yat-sen. Sun was elected provisional president of the new Chinese

Republic. However, he encountered many difficulties because his influence was limited mainly to southern China. A former high imperial official, Yüan Shih-kai, controlled the northern and central portions of the country. In the interest of unity, Sun resigned in favor of his rival. But the new president promptly took dictatorial powers and later tried to make himself emperor in Peking. Sun, outraged by this betrayal, set up an independent republic in the south at Canton. Fighting soon broke out between the two governments. As the central authority at Peking grew weaker, ambitious, greedy generals known as "war lords" were able to seize control in many of the provinces. The constant civil wars brought China to a condition of near-anarchy.

Japan sought to profit from the weakness of its strife-torn neighbor. In 1915, it presented China's government with a harsh ultimatum known as the Twenty-One Demands. This ultimatum was designed to make China a Japanese protectorate. Despite widespread popular protests, China was forced to accept most of the demands. Japan, as a result, obtained many valuable new concessions, especially in the rich northern province of Manchuria.

Japan's Postwar Problems. Nevertheless, World War I was not an unmixed blessing for Japan. At home, it created a number of serious problems. The huge purchases of war materials and other goods by the Allies created shortages in Japan and caused prices to rise rapidly. The industrial workers engaged in a series of bitter strikes in order to win higher wages. They also demanded that the government grant them the suffrage and make other democratic reforms. Popular discontent grew even greater when the war boom collapsed and was followed by a brief period of economic depression.

The island empire's attempt to dominate China also soon suffered a setback. The Paris Peace Conference recognized Japanese control of the Shantung peninsula. However, this decision gave rise to an outburst of nationalistic feeling in China. Angry students staged violent demonstrations and started a boycott of Japanese goods. Japanese businessmen, hurt by the boycott, strongly urged their government to adopt a more moderate policy.

A New Liberal Policy. At the Washington Conference of 1921-1922 (see below, pp. 622-623), Japan agreed to the Open Door Policy, which had long been favored by the United States. It accepted the Nine-Power Treaty, which bound the signers to respect the territorial integrity and political independence of China. It also promised to return the Shantung peninsula to that country.

Japan's new policy toward China had beneficial results. The Chinese called off their boycott, and trade between the two countries increased. Japanese businessmen were also able to step up their exports to other nations, particularly to the United States. Thanks to favorable economic conditions, the position of the liberals was strengthened. They gained control of the government and were able to put through several important reforms. The practice of having ministries responsible to parliament (as in Great Britain) was established, and the suffrage was granted to all men over twenty-five. Japan seemed well on the road toward becoming a real democracy.

The Reunification of China. During these years conditions in China also improved greatly. Sun Yat-sen, at his capital in the south, organized a strong Nationalist party known as the *Kuomintang*. Many businessmen, journalists, and students, disgusted

with the weakness of the central government, gave him their support. Moreover, the head of the Soviet government, Lenin, offered Sun Yat-sen help to free his country from foreign imperialism. Sun decided to accept Lenin's offer. He welcomed the aid of Russian political and military advisers. He also admitted members of the recently organized Chinese Communist party into the ranks of the Nationalists. In return, the Communists pledged their support to Sun's "Three People's Principles." These called for complete national independence, political democracy, and economic reforms to help the long-suffering common people.

Sun died only about a year later, in 1925. His successor was an able and ambitious young general, Chiang Kai-shek. Chiang soon led the Nationalist forces in a victorious march northward. The common people, weary of civil war and disorder, welcomed their approach. The war lords' armies fought them only half-heartedly or even deserted to their side. In less than three years, Chiang succeeded in capturing the capital city of Peking and in establishing his rule over most of China.

Chiang then undertook the tremendous task of modernizing the country. He restored order, started important public works, and encouraged a program of mass education. His government won the recognition of the foreign powers and persuaded them to give up some of their special privileges. For a short time, it seemed that China would be free to solve its many problems.

However, a bitter quarrel broke out between the Nationalists and the Communists. Chiang strongly disapproved of the latter's radical economic proposals and their attacks on foreigners. When the Communists refused to obey his commands, open warfare followed. Chiang succeeded in routing the

Reds and forced them to retreat into the interior. For years, he waged "Communist extermination campaigns" against them but was unable to wipe them out. The Nationalist-Communist feud long remained a major obstacle to China's unity and progress.

Revival of Militarism in Japan. For a time, as we have seen, Japan had adopted a friendly attitude toward China. But the coming of the Great Depression led to a complete about-face in its policy. The island empire suffered a sharp drop in its exports. Many businessmen went bankrupt and several million workers lost their jobs. The peasants were paid ruinously low prices for their produce. In Japan, as in Germany and other countries, large numbers of people lost confidence in democracy and capitalism.

The Japanese reactionaries gained rapidly in influence as a result. Their nationalistic secret societies became increasingly active in politics. The military leaders assumed a new role as champions of the peasants and workers. They announced that they could solve the country's economic problems through a policy of imperialism in China. They opposed any delay for fear that Chiang's Nationalist government might become too strong.

Japan's Conquest of Manchuria, 1931. The first target of the military leaders was Manchuria (map, p. 610). Japan had long kept an army there to protect its large investments. In 1931, the leaders of this army suddenly began military operations without consulting the government in Tokyo. Charging that Chinese "bandits" were attacking Japanese property and citizens, they launched a large-scale "police action" against them. Despite the protests of the League of Nations, they quickly overran the entire province. They gave it a new name, Manchukuo, and set up a puppet government to rule it. Man-

churia, which was about as big as France and Germany combined, now became a Japanese protectorate.

The "Manchurian Incident" stirred up a new wave of nationalism in China. Patriotic students again called for a boycott of Japanese goods. To stop them, the Japanese navy made a powerful attack on the great port city of Shanghai in 1932. Fierce fighting raged there for several weeks. Casualties were heavy, especially among the city's civilian population. Despite strong pressure from the Western powers, the Japanese ended their attack only after the Chinese government agreed to call off the boycott.

Military Dictatorship in Japan. The aggressive policies of the military leaders aroused considerable criticism from the liberal elements in Japan. To silence them, fanatics murdered the premier and a few other liberal leaders in 1932. This policy of violence proved effective in weakening the opposition. For the next few years, the militarists dominated the government and were free to proceed with their ambitious plans of conquest. Using Manchuria as their base, they soon began to penetrate northern China.

However, the costs of conquest proved a heavy burden for the Japanese people. Many again turned to the liberals, who won a majority in the election of 1936. Angered by this defeat, the military leaders resorted to terror for the second time. A group of young officers assassinated several liberal cabinet ministers and seized control of important public buildings. The emperor himself had to intervene in order to end their revolt.

Once again, the military leaders achieved their purpose. The liberal cabinet fell from power and was replaced by a cabinet dominated by the army. Thereafter, the military leaders were completely in control. The arms budget was increased and heavy industry

was expanded. As time passed, the government imposed greater and greater restrictions on the nation's economy. A secret "Thought Police" was organized to suppress all political opposition. Though no single dictator emerged, Japan now became a Fascist totalitarian state.

The Second Chinese-Japanese War, 1937-1945. Meanwhile, Japan's advance into northern China had led to the outbreak of full-scale fighting. A Japanese force approaching the old capital of Peking clashed with Chinese troops stationed there. This incident touched off an undeclared war which was to rage for eight long years. The danger of conquest finally led the Nationalists and Communists to put aside their enmity and join forces against the invaders.

The Chinese troops fought bravely but they were no match for their much better-equipped foes. Within a few months, one Japanese army won control of a large part of northern China. A second force seized Shanghai and advanced inland up the Yangtze River. Later, the Japanese occupied the entire coastal region to keep foreign supplies from reaching China by sea.

Despite frequent defeats, Chiang Kai-shek refused to surrender. He moved his capital to the city of Chungking, deep in the interior, and stubbornly continued the war. Chinese guerrilla bands constantly harassed the enemy's long supply lines. They were able to drive the invaders from the isolated country districts. Since Japan was unable to win a decisive victory, the war became a stalemate.

Japan's Role in World War II. Following the outbreak of World War II in Europe, the Japanese military leaders saw an opportunity to escape from their difficulties. They decided to seize the neighboring French, Dutch, and British colonial possessions,



JAPANESE EMPIRE • 1921

Japan and Japanese possessions

Islands mandated to Japan
by the League of Nations

which had been left almost unprotected. When the United States terminated its trade treaty with Japan and imposed other economic pressures to block these aggressive designs, a Japanese fleet launched a surprise attack on the great American naval base at Pearl Harbor. Japan, enjoying temporary control of the Pacific, was able to conquer a vast rich area in southeast Asia. However, the United States soon recovered and launched a mighty counterattack. (For details, see Unit 15, pp. 639-643.) World War II ended with Japan's crushing defeat and the complete shattering of its military leaders' dreams of empire.

DICTATORSHIP IN THE SMALLER NATIONS

Reasons for the Spread of Dictatorship. Russia, Italy, Germany, and Japan all became totalitarian dictatorships during or after World War I. In none of these countries had democracy ever really taken root. A similar trend toward dictatorship also appeared among the smaller nations, especially in Europe. Here, too, democracy was of very recent origin.

Impressed by the triumph of the western Allies, many of the smaller nations of Europe had adopted democratic constitutions

at the end of the war. However, these inexperienced democracies soon found themselves beset by difficulties. They had to deal with severe economic problems. They were weakened by internal struggles between rival political groups or hostile nationalities. Finally, many of them were threatened by powerful and aggressive neighbors. By the outbreak of World War II, almost all of the new democracies had fallen under the rule of dictators.

The Successors of the Habsburg Empire. The new nations created from the wreckage of the Austro-Hungarian Empire faced especially difficult problems. Austria itself was now a small, landlocked country. Its former subjects, who were most anxious to build up their own industries, enacted high tariffs to keep out Austrian goods. Austrian businessmen faced bankruptcy and many thousands of the country's workers were unemployed. Instead of collecting reparations, the Allies were obliged to send in economic aid to prevent widespread starvation. Austria only very slowly got back on its feet.

Despite its economic troubles, the Austrian Republic remained democratic until Hitler rose to power in 1933. The Fuehrer, determined to unite his homeland with Germany, sent in secret agents and started a Nazi movement there. The Austrian chancellor, Dollfuss, turned to Mussolini for help. He was required as payment to set up a Fascist-type dictatorship in Austria. Shortly afterwards, the Nazis assassinated the chancellor and attempted to seize control. But the Austrian government, with Italian support, crushed the plot and executed its leaders. For the next few years, a new chancellor named Schuschnigg exercised dictatorial powers in an attempt to maintain his nation's independence. However, as soon as Hitler was strong enough, he annexed Austria by force.

In neighboring Hungary, the new democratic government lasted only a few months. It resigned in protest against the harsh peace terms imposed by the Allies. The Communists then seized power. However, they were soon overthrown and a "White" officer, Admiral Horthy, gained control. For more than twenty years, Horthy and a small group of wealthy landowners ruled the country. In order to regain Hungary's lost territories, they collaborated closely with Mussolini and later with Hitler. Hungary was an ally of the Fascist powers in World War II.

Czechoslovakia was an entirely new nation, created from the territories of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire. The Czechs and Slovaks constituted a majority of the population. But there were also sizable minority groups—Magyars, Ruthenians, Poles, and, most dangerous of all, several million Germans. Under the guidance of two great statesmen, Thomas G. Masaryk and Eduard Beneš, a democratic government was established. It made extensive land reforms and granted equal rights to the minorities. Thanks also to its rich resources and modern industries, the new republic prospered. Czechoslovakia, for a time, was the outstanding example of democracy in central Europe. Nevertheless, Hitler's agents managed to form a strong Nazi movement among the Germans. They also stirred up the other nationalities. Eventually, Czechoslovakia fell under German domination.

The Nations Liberated from Russian Rule. In the eighteenth century, Poland was partitioned by its neighbors and ceased to exist as an independent nation. Yet the Poles never gave up hope that some day they would regain their independence. They finally achieved their goal as a result of World War I. Next to Germany, the new Republic of Poland was the largest and most populous country in central Europe.

For a few years, Poland was a democracy. However, there were so many political parties that the government was very weak and unstable. Finally, in 1926, the former leader of the Polish army, Marshal Józef Piłsudski, marched on Warsaw and seized control. His aides, the "Colonels' Group," continued to exercise power after the dictator's death in 1935.

The Polish military leaders did little for the common people, most of whom remained poverty-stricken peasants. They tried to suppress all opposition groups in the country and adopted brutal measures to "Polonize" the minorities. Their foreign policy was equally short-sighted. Despite Poland's alliance with France, they signed a friendship pact with Hitler in 1934. However, they did not succeed in winning the friendship of the Nazi dictator. A few years later, he demanded territorial concessions from Poland. When his demands were rejected, German armies invaded and conquered the country.

Three small nations—Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia—were created from Russia's provinces along the Baltic Sea. All of them faced similar problems. At various times, they were threatened by their powerful neighbors, Germany and Russia. They also had trouble with the local Communists and the former German ruling class, whose estates had been divided among the peasants. Lithuania, torn by disagreements, became a dictatorship in 1926. Latvia and Estonia remained democracies until after the Great Depression. Then they too fell under the rule of dictators. Soon after the outbreak of World War II, all three Baltic states were occupied by the Red Army and were incorporated into the Soviet Union.

The Nations of the Balkan Peninsula. As a result of World War I, Serbia fulfilled

its ambition to unify the South Slavic peoples. It joined with Montenegro and various former Austrian provinces to become the new Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Serb efforts to dominate the other nationalities soon led to serious trouble, especially with the Croats. After many years of strife, the Croats were granted important concessions, including the right to elect their own legislature. But new problems arose soon after the outbreak of World War II. The Germans invaded Yugoslavia, quickly conquered the entire country, and set up a Fascist government.

Similar disunity and confusion characterized developments in the other Balkan countries. Rumania was also doubled in size as a result of World War I. However, it faced many serious political and economic problems, especially after the coming of the Great Depression. A strongly anti-Semitic fascist organization, supplied with money and arms by Hitler, carried on a reign of terror against the government. With German help, the Rumanian Fascists succeeded in taking over the country after the outbreak of World War II.

Greece, also rewarded by the Paris Peace Conference for joining the side of the Allies, suffered from chronic feuds waged by royalist and republican factions during the 1920's and early 1930's. Power was eventually seized by a pro-Fascist military dictator. Nevertheless, after the outbreak of World War II, Greece was attacked by Italy and then conquered by Germany.

Bulgaria recovered only slowly from its defeat in World War I. The government was threatened by frequent Communist revolts and later, in the 1930's, by a strong Nazi movement. Ambitious to recover its lost provinces, Bulgaria joined the Fascist powers in World War II. The smallest of the Balkan countries was the tiny kingdom



This remarkable picture was taken during the Spanish Civil War. The government troops' fire had compelled the advancing Rebel forces to take shelter behind the rocks. But two Rebel soldiers, a man and a woman, suddenly jumped up to attack the government machine gun in the foreground. A moment later they were shot dead.

of Albania. Though for years a sphere of Italian influence, Albania was invaded and overrun by Mussolini's legions early in 1939.

Dictatorship in the Iberian Peninsula. Spain remained neutral during World War I and prospered greatly by selling goods to the warring powers. Nevertheless, the country was confronted with serious economic problems in the period which followed. To make matters worse, the natives of Spanish Morocco revolted and inflicted a disastrous defeat on the Spanish army. The King of Spain, Alfonso XIII (1902–1931), fearing a revolution, encouraged one of his military leaders to become dictator.

The new regime was very unpopular. Discontent grew so great that the King finally had to abdicate his throne. For a few years,

Spain was a democratic republic. Then a military leader, General Francisco Franco, led a revolt against the government. (For details, see pp. 626–627.) A long and bloody civil war raged from 1936 to 1939. Thanks to generous support from both Mussolini and Hitler, General Franco finally emerged the victor. He set up a strong Fascist dictatorship.

In Portugal, the monarchy was overthrown and a republic was established before World War I. The new government proved unstable because rival upper-class groups repeatedly seized power by force. There were twenty-four such “revolutions” in twenty-two years! Finally, in 1932, a devout Catholic professor, Dr. Oliveira Salazar, succeeded in restoring order. He established a dictatorship on the Fascist model.

The Challenge of Totalitarianism

The Results of Totalitarianism

Effects of the First World War. World War I marked a turning point for modern civilization. It increased the rivalries among nations, stirred up the spirit of revolt in Europe's colonies, and gave rise to a wide variety of economic problems. Many nations witnessed the emergence of "strong men," who promised the people to overcome these difficulties and to lead the way to prosperity and greatness. The swing to democracy, which had set in after the war, was reversed

as nation after nation became a dictatorship.

The Trend Toward Dictatorship. Russia led the way. Its war-weary people threw off the corrupt czarist rule only to fall under the domination of a radical group, the Bolsheviks or Communists. The Communist leaders, Lenin and then Stalin, promised to create a "workers' paradise." Instead, their economic theories led to the creation of a totalitarian dictatorship far more ruthless than the autocracy of the czars.

Troubled conditions in Italy immediately after the war led to the downfall of democracy in that country. Aroused by the threat of Communist revolution, businessmen and landowners turned to a power-hungry, ex-Socialist newspaper editor, Benito Mussolini. Mussolini promised that he would save the nation from the Red menace and would make it a great power. Once he was firmly in control, however, he created a new form of totalitarian dictatorship, Fascism. His ambitions led Italy into a series of disastrous wars.

In Germany, the democratic republic struggled for years to deal with its many

problems. As a result of the Great Depression, it was finally overthrown by the fanatical Adolf Hitler. Hitler established a terroristic dictatorship under the banner of National Socialism. He mobilized the entire nation for war. Then he began a campaign of conquest which plunged the world into the worst conflict in history. His attempt to create a Nazi "New Order" in Europe led to the murder of millions of innocent people.

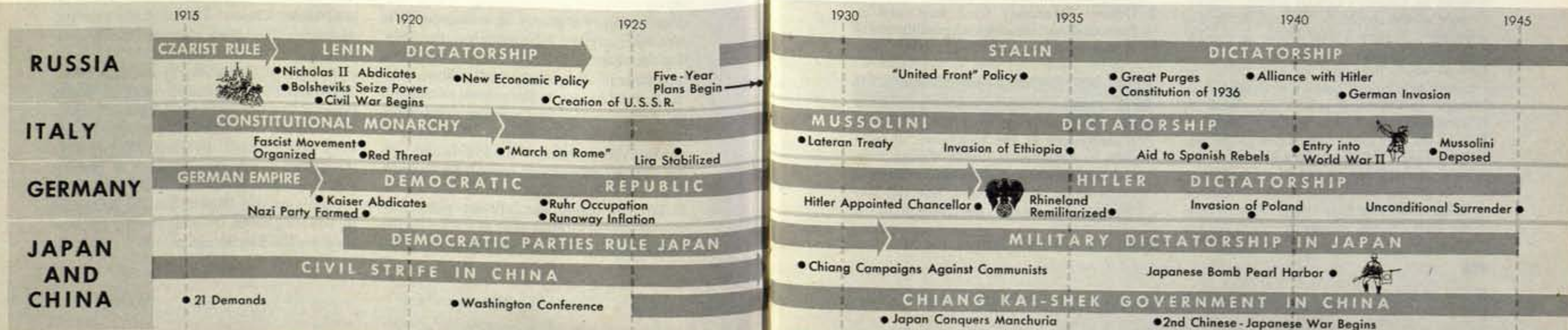
Japan pursued a similar bloody course under the leadership of a Fascist-minded military group. Unable to win majority support, they resorted to terror against their opponents. Their policy of assassination enabled them to seize control of the government and to embark on a program of imperialistic conquest.

A number of smaller nations, in Europe and elsewhere, chose to follow the lead of the Fascist powers. They abandoned democracy in favor of dictatorship. Others might have made a success of their democratic experiments, but they were not given the opportunity to do so. Conquest, or the threat of conquest, brought them also

under the rigid control of the dictators.

The Defeat of Fascism. As Fascism spread, its supporters began to boast that democracy was doomed and that their way was "the wave of the future." However, they had not reckoned with mankind's deep-seated love of liberty. Rather than submit to slavery, many nations of the world took up arms to defend themselves. In the end, the three great Fascist dictatorships—Germany, Italy, and Japan—were crushed by a mighty coalition of their enemies.

New Gains for Communism. World War II did not see the final defeat of totalitarianism. Soviet Russia, attacked by Germany, wound up the war on the side of the democratic powers. Russia's victory enabled it to expand its holdings greatly. It even established a bloc of satellite Communist countries. In our own day, the world is witnessing a gigantic struggle between the Communist nations, led by Russia, and the free peoples of the world, led by the United States. On the outcome of this struggle may depend the fate of mankind for many generations to come.





68 / Lesson Review

Checking the facts

1. Explain: "war lords"; Twenty-One Demands; Chinese Nationalist party; "Three People's Principles"; "Manchurian Incident."
2. Identify: Sun Yat-sen; Chiang Kai-shek; Admiral Horthy; T. G. Masaryk; Marshal Pilsudski; General Franco.
3. How did Japan benefit from its participation in World War I? What serious problems resulted?
4. How did the liberals try to solve Japan's problems after the war?
5. Describe the achievements of China's Nationalist leaders during the 1920's. Why did civil war break out between Chiang Kai-shek and the Communists?
6. How did Japan enlarge its empire during the 1930's? How did the militarists gain control of the Japanese government during this period?
7. Discuss three important reasons why many of the smaller European nations became dictatorships during the post-World War I period. Describe events in different nations to illustrate each of these reasons.

Applying history

1. What were Sun Yat-sen's "Three People's Principles"? How can you tell that they were based on Lincoln's famous phrase "government of the people, by the people, for the people"? Why was Sun unable to put his democratic theories into practice?
2. Why was it dangerous for Sun Yat-sen to accept help from Communist Russia? How might the Western powers have made it unnecessary for him to do so?
3. How did the Great Depression strengthen the Japanese militarists? What solution did they offer for Japan's economic problems?
4. Why did the new smaller nations of Europe adopt democracy after World War I? How did their political inexperience help explain their later reaction against democracy?

History and geography

1. Locate (map, p. 610): Shantung; Marianas Islands; Caroline Islands; Marshall Islands; Peking; Manchuria; Shanghai; Chungking.
2. List and locate the territories owned by Japan before World War I (map, p. 610). What new territories came under Japanese control after the war?
3. How did the holdings of the Japanese Empire enable it to dominate much of the Chinese coast (map, p. 610)? What American possession was hemmed in by the Japanese Empire?
4. Locate (map, p. 558): Czechoslovakia; Poland; Warsaw; Lithuania; Estonia; Yugoslavia; Rumania; Greece; Bulgaria; Albania.
5. List and locate the new nations which appeared in central and eastern Europe after World War I (map, p. 558). Which of these nations had a common frontier with Russia?

Special activities

1. Write a short biography of either Sun Yat-sen or Chiang Kai-shek after consulting an encyclopedia or other reference work.
2. Stage a debate between liberals and militarists in the Japanese Diet over the policy of expansion through conquest in China.
3. Debate: Democracy fared least well in those small nations which adopted the multi-party system.

Summarizing Unit 14

1. List in parallel columns the important characteristics of the totalitarian dictatorships in Communist Russia, Fascist Italy, and Nazi Germany. Is communism, as practiced in the Soviet Union, basically very different from Fascism and Nazism? Justify your opinion.
2. In your notebook, outline the important

political developments in the major countries discussed in this unit.

3. Arrange a class exhibit on the totalitarian governments of the interwar period.

4. On an outline map of Europe, locate the countries which fell victim to totalitarian rule during the period between the two world wars.

Books to Read

Specialized Accounts

- BORGESE, G. A. *Goliath: The March of Fascism*. Viking, 1938. A critical study of the Mussolini regime by an Italian anti-Fascist.
- BYAS, HUGH. *Government by Assassination*. Knopf, 1942. How the militarists seized power in Japan.
- DOUGLAS, WILLIAM O. *Russian Journey*. Doubleday, 1956. An American Supreme Court justice reports on his trip through the Soviet Union.
- DURANTY, WALTER. *The Kremlin and the People*. Reynal, 1941.
- . *U.S.S.R.: The Story of Soviet Russia*. Lippincott, 1944. Excellent popular accounts of developments in Russia by an American journalist.
- PACKARD, R. and E. *Balcony Empire*. Oxford, 1942. A popular account of Italian fascism and Mussolini's aggression against Ethiopia.
- REISCHAUER, EDWIN O. *Japan, Past and Present*. Knopf, 1953. A scholarly, well-written study of the evolution of modern Japan.
- SALVADORI, MASSIMO. *The Rise of Modern Communism*. Holt, 1952. A brief, thoughtful treatment.
- STEVENS, LESLIE C. *Russian Assignment*. Little, Brown, 1953. An intimate picture of Russian life as seen by a Russian-speaking American official.
- WHITE, T. H. and A. JACOBY. *Thunder Out of China*. Sloane, 1946. Two American reporters describe the decade of conflict between Japan and China.

Biographies and Historical Fiction

- *BULLOCK, ALAN. *Hitler: A Study in Tyranny*. Oxham, 1952. An outstanding biography by a British scholar.

CHEN, S. and P. S. R. PAYNE. *Sun Yat-sen*. John Day, 1946. A popular biography of the first Chinese nationalist leader.

*DEUTSCHER, ISAAC. *Stalin: A Political Biography*. Oxford, 1949.

*———. *The Prophet Armed*. Oxford, 1954. Excellent biographies of Stalin and his rival for power, Leon Trotsky.

*GOUZENKO, IGOR. *The Fall of a Titan*. Norton, 1954. A novel dealing with the rise and fall of a leading Communist writer.

HAHN, EMILY. *The Soong Sisters*. Doubleday, 1941. Biographies of three western-educated sisters who married Chinese leaders.

KRAVCHENKO, VICTOR A. *I Chose Freedom*. Scribner's, 1946. A former high Soviet official tells why he defected to the West.

MONELLI, PAOLO. *Mussolini: The Intimate Life of a Demagogue*. Vanguard, 1954. A critical portrait of the former Italian dictator.

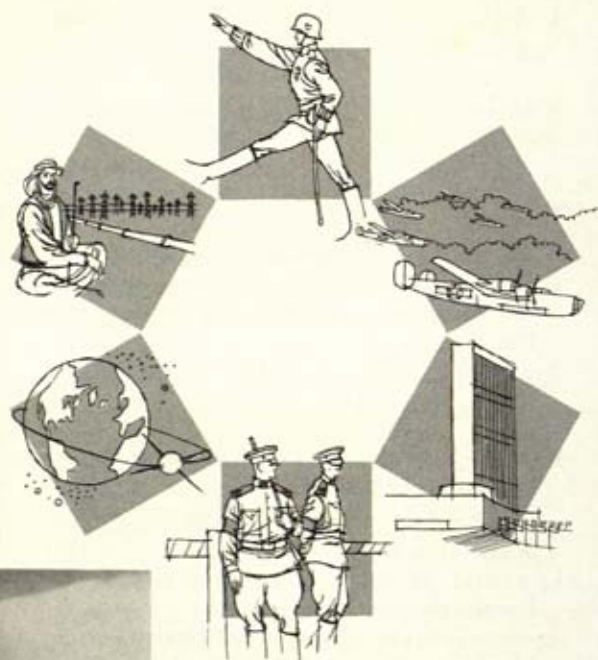
*ORWELL, GEORGE. *Animal Farm*. Harcourt, Brace, 1946.

———. *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. Harcourt, Brace, 1949. The first of these novels is a clever satire on Communism, the second a horrifying portrayal of existence in a totalitarian state of the future.

PASTERNAK, BORIS. *Doctor Zhivago*. Pantheon, 1958. In this semi-autobiographical novel, a distinguished Russian literary figure portrays life in the Soviet Union.

SOLOVIEV, MIKHAIL. *When the Gods Are Silent*. McKay, 1952. A fascinating novel concerning the experiences of a Russian peasant family which favored the Communist revolution but was disillusioned by Stalin's dictatorship.

*WOLFE, BERTRAM D. *Three Who Made a Revolution*. Dial, 1948. An excellent study of Lenin, Trotsky, and Stalin.



UNIT 15

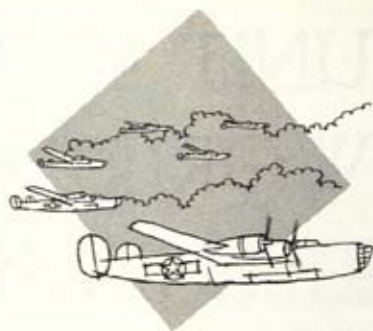
WORLD WAR II AND THE POSTWAR WORLD

Whenever a person looks at a newspaper today, he is likely to be shocked by headlines telling of some new international crisis, revolt, or other serious trouble. It is obvious that the world is passing through a period of great turmoil and disorder. This does not mean that people should become pessimistic about the future. As our study of history has shown, times of rapid social change are generally marked by violent disturbances but are then followed by periods of stability. We may recall, for example, that the tumultuous Era of Revolutions, which began with the American and French revolutions and continued until the Revolutions of 1848, was followed by an age of relatively peaceful progress.

In the twentieth century, the world has suffered two deadly wars, each of which left in its wake widespread destruction and a host of difficult problems. More recently, it has been torn by a desperate conflict between democracy and an aggressive, ever-expanding communism. As still a further complication, in the last few decades there have been violent nationalist revolts and disorders in the colonial world. This generation has certainly experienced a large variety of crises. On the other hand, as we have already seen in Unit 9, it has also enjoyed extraordinary economic, social, and scientific progress. In the long retrospect of history, our troubled era may yet prove only the dark period preceding the dawn of a brighter and happier age.

In this concluding unit, we shall deal primarily with these questions:

1. What were the causes of World War II?
2. How were the Axis aggressors finally defeated?
3. What effect did disunity among the victors have on the new peace settlement?
4. How has world peace been endangered by the conflict between the democratic Western powers and the Soviet Union?
5. How have the methods used by the democratic Western nations in solving their postwar problems differed from those of the Communist countries?
6. What revolutionary effects is nationalism having on the peoples of Asia and Africa?



During World War I, President Wilson and other idealists frequently spoke of that conflict as "the war to end war." They hoped that governments had learned the lesson that war does not pay and that they would never again seek to settle their disputes by force. For a decade or so after the Paris Peace Conference, the cause of international co-operation did indeed make great progress. The League of Nations was established and worked to promote the cause of peace. Diplomats held a number of successful international conferences which limited armaments and reduced international tensions.

However, conditions changed drastically as a result of the Great Depression. The Fascist dictators fanned the spirit of aggressive nationalism and launched ambitious programs of territorial expansion. When the Western democracies finally tried to stop this march of conquest, the world was plunged into a second terrible conflict. Thus the peace which followed the First World War proved to be only a "twenty years' truce."

THE SEARCH FOR PEACE

The Principle of Collective Security. Since the rise of modern nations, there have been many proposals to preserve peace through collective security. The basic idea was for all

peace-loving nations to band together in self-defense. Then, if any lawless nation attacked a neighbor, the aggressor could be crushed easily. Other would-be aggressors, warned by this example, would probably give up their own plans for conquest. Collective security, according to its supporters, would assure long periods of peace and might even lead to the complete elimination of war.

This theory was tested after the Napoleonic Wars, when the Concert of Europe first came into existence (see p. 540). Despite occasional disagreements and even hostilities, the European powers kept the principle of collective action alive until the outbreak of World War I. After that devastating conflict, the Allied leaders created the first world-wide peace organization, the League of Nations.

The Role of the League of Nations. At the insistence of President Wilson, the Covenant, or constitution, of the League of Nations was made part of the Paris peace settlement. The new organization was entrusted with carrying out various provisions of the peace treaties and could even recommend changes in the treaties themselves. It was also supposed to lead the way in reducing armaments and in ending secret diplomacy. However, the most important task assigned to the League was the peaceful settlement of international disputes.

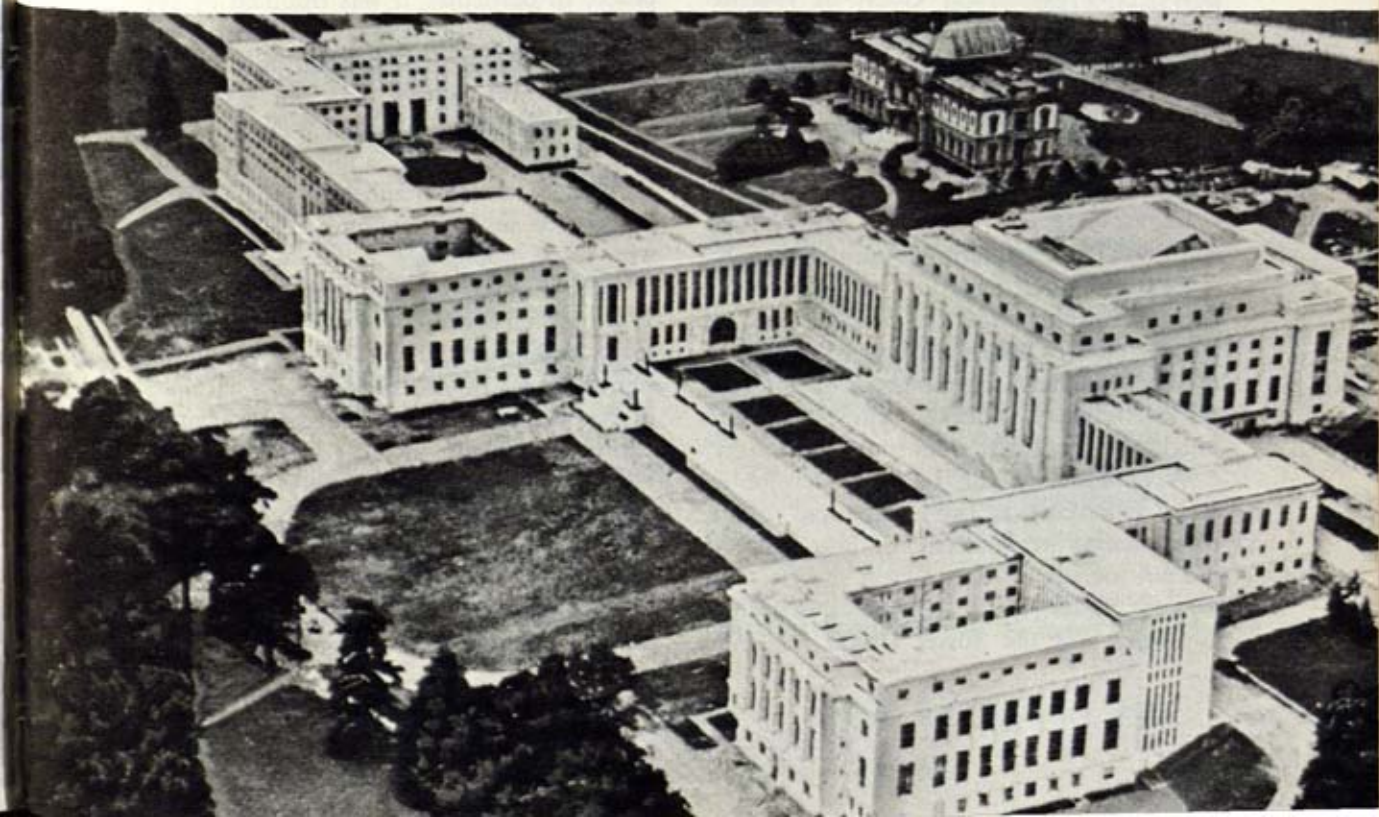
Any war, threat of war, or other situation disturbing to international peace might be brought before the League of Nations. The League could then hold hearings and suggest some peaceful method for settling the dispute. If one of the parties to the dispute resorted to war in violation of the League's decision, penalties might be voted. The violator could be formally condemned as an aggressor, in the hope that unfavorable world opinion would compel it to behave properly. If necessary, the League could ask its members to cut off all trade with the offending country. As a last resort, it could request its members to use armed force to stop the illegal action.

Machinery of the League. To carry out its functions, the League of Nations had three main organs—the Assembly, the Council,

and the Secretariat. The Assembly was composed of delegates from all of the member nations. (At the League's height, these totaled fifty-eight.) Each member, large or small, was regarded as equal and cast a single vote. The Assembly met once a year. It drew up the League's budget, elected members of the other organs, and could deal with any matter affecting the peace of the world.

The Council was a much smaller and more active body than the Assembly. It consisted of the great powers, who were permanent members, and a few other nations elected for short terms. The Council held three or four regular meetings a year and called emergency meetings whenever a threat to peace arose. In practice, it proved more important than the Assembly because it reflected the views of the great powers.

The imposing Palace of Nations at Geneva, originally built for the League of Nations, is now used as a European headquarters for the United Nations and for international conferences.



The Secretariat was composed of the secretary-general and a staff of several hundred lesser officials from many different nations. Its functions were to keep records, take care of correspondence, and assist the other League organs in their work. It was, in effect, an international civil service.

Achievements of the League. The League lasted for a little more than twenty years, passing out of existence soon after the outbreak of World War II. Its period of greatest achievement was in the 1920's, when it settled more than a dozen international disputes, including three border wars. In general, the League proved effective in dealing with controversies between the small nations. It was less successful, as we shall soon see, in cases which involved the interests of the great powers.

Several international agencies, which were part of the League or closely associated with it, helped to create conditions favorable to peace. The Permanent Court of International Justice—or the World Court, as it was popularly known—heard disputes between nations when these involved the interpretation of treaties or other questions of international law. The International Labor Organization sought to secure better conditions for workers, especially women and children. The Mandates Commission supervised the colonial territories taken from the defeated nations under the peace terms (see pp. 588–589). Other agencies of the League obtained financial aid for needy nations, resettled refugees, checked epidemics, and fought the illegal narcotics trade and slavery.

Weaknesses of the League. Despite its many achievements, the League had certain fundamental weaknesses. For one thing, it did not include all of the great powers. The United States never became a member. Germany and the Soviet Union remained

members for only a few years. Japan and Italy withdrew from the peace organization after committing acts of aggression.

Even more important, the League was based on the principle of national sovereignty. This meant that each member state remained the complete master of its own actions. A decision on any important matter required the unanimous approval of all members voting, other than the parties to the dispute. Even if penalties were agreed upon, the League had no international army or other force of its own. It had to rely on the member nations, particularly the great powers, to carry out its decision.

Limitation of Naval Armaments. Although the League was much concerned with the problem of disarmament, the first important step in this direction was taken on the initiative of the United States. Though not a member of the League, this country was sincerely anxious to further the cause of peace. In particular, it was troubled by the growing naval rivalry among the great powers and by Japan's expansion into China during World War I (see pp. 606–607). President Harding, who had followed President Wilson into the White House, therefore summoned a number of nations to a conference in Washington, D.C., to deal with these problems.

The Washington Conference of 1921–1922 was successful in working out several major agreements. The Nine-Power Treaty, signed by all of the nations with interests in the Far East, was intended to safeguard China's territorial integrity (see pp. 509–510). By the Four-Power Treaty, the United States, Great Britain, Japan, and France agreed to consult one another in case of disputes about their Pacific possessions. The most important achievement of the Washington Conference was the Naval Ratio

Treaty. The five great naval powers—the United States, Great Britain, Japan, France, and Italy—promised to limit the total tonnage of their large battleships in accordance with a mathematical formula based on their strategic needs (the 5:5:3:1.7:1.7 ratio). They also agreed to a ten-year “naval holiday” during which they were not to build any new large battleships. In 1930, the United States, Great Britain, and Japan extended the naval holiday for another five years and agreed also to limit the construction of smaller warships.

The Locarno Treaties of 1925. Meantime, tension within Europe was also reduced when the new German Republic offered to settle certain differences with its neighbors. A conference held at Locarno in Switzerland resulted in a number of treaties. Most important was the five-power Treaty of Mutual Guarantee, usually referred to as the Locarno Pact. Germany renounced all claims to Alsace-Lorraine, recognized the other existing frontiers with France and Belgium, and promised not to send troops into the Rhineland (see pp. 556–557). France and Belgium, in turn, agreed not to violate Germany's boundaries. Great Britain and Italy, the other two signer-nations, guaranteed these agreements by promising to aid the victim of any future aggression.

Germany also signed arbitration treaties with France, Belgium, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. The various nations agreed to settle by peaceful means all future disputes. On the whole, the Locarno treaties helped to bring about a change of attitude among the former foes. As a sign of this new “Locarno spirit,” Germany was admitted to the League of Nations a few months later.

The Peace Pact of Paris, 1928. The most ambitious of these diplomatic efforts to guarantee peace was the Peace Pact of Paris. At

the invitation of French Foreign Minister Briand and American Secretary of State Kellogg, the representatives of fifteen nations met at Paris. They drafted a treaty solemnly condemning “recourse to war for the solution of international controversies.” The treaty also provided for the peaceful settlement of all international disputes or conflicts. Within a short time, it was signed by most of the nations of the world.

Optimists hailed the Paris Peace Pact. They rejoiced that the nations had finally agreed to “outlaw” war. More realistic observers, on the other hand, warned that the treaty had certain basic shortcomings. They pointed out that the signers had carefully reserved the right to wage wars in self-defense. They also noted that no provision had been made for enforcing the treaty against any country which violated it.

THE BREAKDOWN OF INTERNATIONALISM

The Revival of Nationalism. Despite many unsolved problems, the forces of peace seemed to be making considerable headway during the first decade after World War I. However, a sharp reversal of this trend set in after the coming of the Great Depression. As a result of declining trade, mass unemployment, and other grave economic problems, nationalism began to renew its strength. Each nation sought solutions for its own crises, regardless of the effects on others. Internationalism soon fell victim to the old belief, “Every nation for itself.”

Japan, Germany, and Italy blamed their economic troubles on their lack of raw materials and colonies. Proclaiming themselves “have-not” nations, they sought to solve their difficulties by conquering foreign territories. It soon became apparent that the

League of Nations and the other newly created peace machinery would have to display great strength indeed to restrain the three great powers bent on aggression.

The Weakening of Collective Security. The peace-loving nations, however, proved unwilling to make costly sacrifices in order to maintain the principle of collective security. Many members of the League of Nations hesitated to take economic measures against an aggressor because these might hurt business and increase unemployment. There was even greater reluctance to adopt military measures. Since the United States had not joined the League, the burden would fall mainly on Great Britain and France. But both powers had cut down their arms expenditures during the depression and were especially short of modern warplanes. They feared that military action against a strong aggressor might lead to a general war and that their cities might be destroyed by aerial bombardment.

The British government, in particular, favored a policy of appeasement. That is, it sought to win over the aggressor nations by granting their demands. Once these nations had acquired some additional territory, so the British hoped, they would be able to solve their economic problems and would stop their aggressions. France, weakened by grave internal conflicts, felt compelled to follow the British lead. But the policy of appeasement only encouraged the aggressor powers. They advanced confidently from conquest to conquest, down the road which led to the Second World War.

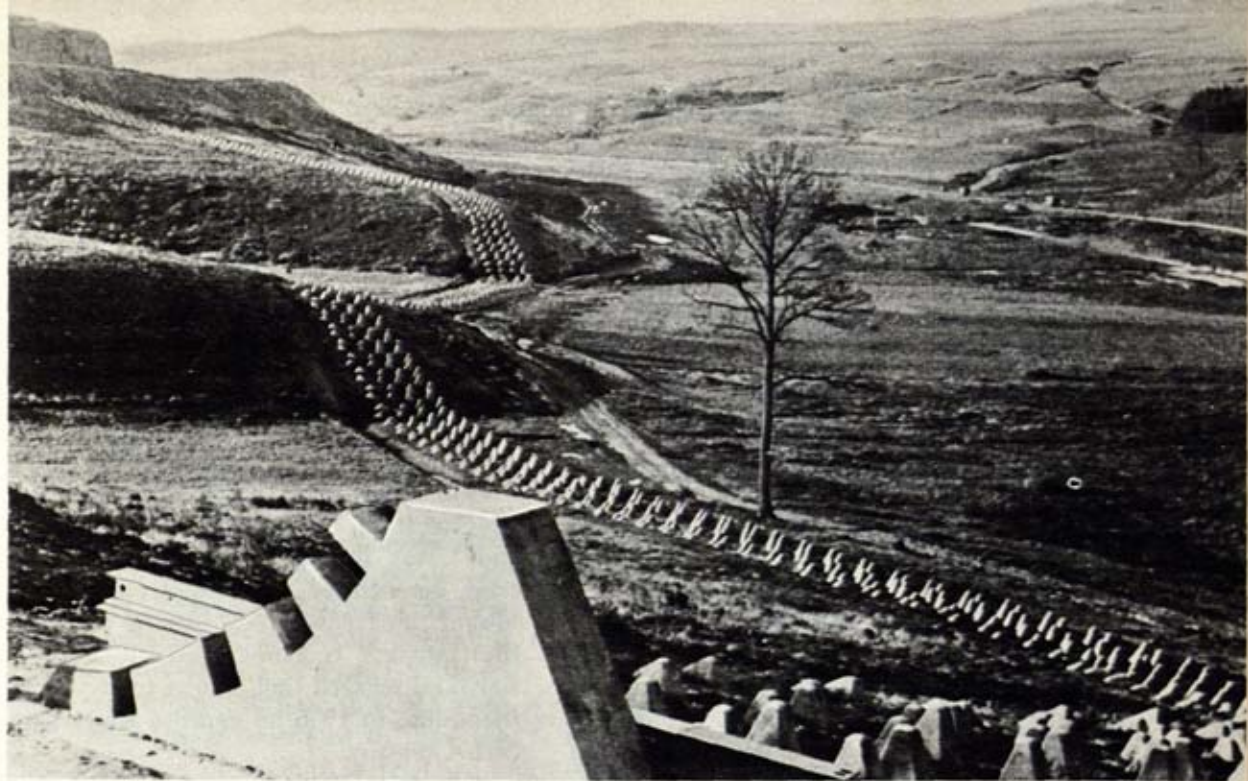
Japanese Aggression in Manchuria, 1931–1933. The first nation openly to defy the League of Nations was Japan. When the Japanese army launched its conquest of Manchuria in 1931 (see pp. 608–609), China appealed to the League for help. The Coun-

cil quickly called on both sides to stop fighting. The Japanese refused, on the ground that they were acting in self-defense. The Council then appointed a special commission to investigate the situation. By the time the commission completed its report, Japan had firmly established its control over all of Manchuria.

The dispute was then turned over to the Assembly. That body unanimously condemned Japan for violating its treaty obligations. It recommended that member nations refuse to recognize the new puppet government of Manchuria. Angered by this criticism, Japan withdrew from the League of Nations. However, it stayed in Manchuria and later advanced southward into China (see p. 609).

The Collapse of Disarmament Attempts. The League of Nations also failed in its efforts to limit armaments. Years earlier, the League had appointed a special commission to make preparations for a world disarmament conference. The conference finally met in the Swiss city of Geneva in 1932 but was unable to reach a single agreement. Most of the nations were eager to limit, or even to outlaw completely, their rivals' armaments, which they branded "offensive weapons." But they insisted that their own armaments were necessary because they were "defensive weapons." Germany created additional difficulties by asserting that it had the right to rebuild its own armed forces if the other nations failed to disarm. After several lengthy sessions, the Geneva Disarmament Conference broke up in complete failure.

Naval limitation soon suffered a similar fate. Japan, dissatisfied with the agreements it had signed earlier, now demanded as large a navy as the United States and Great Britain. A new naval conference met in London



Rows of concrete "dragon's teeth" to stop enemy tanks were part of the Siegfried Line, which Hitler built along the French frontier. The fortifications protected his rear when he attacked Poland. A few months later, they served as a springboard for his invasion of France.

in 1935 to consider this problem. When the Americans and British refused to go along with their demands, the Japanese walked out of the conference. The naval limitation treaties expired a few months later and a new naval race began.

The Rearmament of Germany. In 1933, when Hitler became chancellor in Germany, the League disarmament conference was still meeting in Geneva. The German delegates now insisted, even more strongly than earlier, on complete equality of armaments with the other great powers. When this demand was refused, the Nazi dictator withdrew Germany from the conference and also from the League of Nations. He then began to rebuild the German army in clear violation of the Treaty of Versailles. The League protested, but it did nothing to stop him.

Germany's rearmament greatly alarmed France. That country, which had earlier created widespread resentment by its attempts to dominate Europe, now frantically sought to regain the friendship of its World War I allies. It secured from the British a new promise of help in case of future German attack on its territory. It also secured a promise of help from Mussolini—by secretly agreeing to support his territorial ambitions in Africa. It even signed a mutual defense pact with the Soviet Union, which felt equally menaced by Nazi Germany (see p. 587).

The new Franco-Russian alliance had unfavorable results. Conservative Frenchmen objected to co-operation with the Communist country. The British and Polish governments also distrusted Soviet Russia and

opposed the alliance. Most important, Hitler charged that the alliance was a hostile act against Germany. Early in 1936, he denounced the Versailles and Locarno treaties and sent his new army to occupy the demilitarized zone in the Rhineland. He immediately began to build a strong line of fortifications along the French frontier. In case of war, these fortifications would make it much harder for France to assist the nations in central and eastern Europe—Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Yugoslavia—with which it had signed military alliances after World War I.

The Ethiopian War of 1935–1936. The French agreement with Italy also gave rise to trouble. Mussolini now felt safe in attacking Ethiopia, which he had earlier marked out for conquest. However, when the Italian army invaded his country, the Ethiopian emperor called on the League for help. Many nations, aroused by the Italian dictator's violation of the League Covenant and by the brutality of the invasion, supported his appeal. The League then proceeded, for the first and only time in its existence, to impose economic penalties against an aggressor. It called on its members to refuse Italy arms, to stop buying its goods, and to deny it financial aid. As a result, that country's foreign trade dropped sharply. Nevertheless, the Italian army continued its advance in Ethiopia.

Proposals were now made that the League should adopt stronger measures. Most important was a motion that member nations stop shipping oil to Italy, which that country needed to carry on the invasion. However, Mussolini warned that an oil embargo would bring on a general European war. The embargo was also opposed by France, which still hoped for Italian support against Germany. The British government joined in

the plea for caution. Its delegate stated that Great Britain was afraid—not of Italy, but of “the horrors of war.” The proposed motion for an oil embargo was not adopted. Soon afterward, Italy completed the conquest of Ethiopia, and the League then withdrew its economic penalties. This second great failure to check aggression dealt a deathblow to the international peace organization.

Formation of the Axis. Mussolini had benefited from the position taken by France and Great Britain during the Ethiopian crisis. Nevertheless, he did not feel grateful toward those powers. He blamed them for the League's economic penalties against Italy and rejected their efforts to regain his friendship. In 1936 he signed a treaty with Nazi Germany.

Italy and Germany were joined a few weeks later by the third aggressor nation, Japan. The alliance of the three Fascist dictatorships became known as the “Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis.” Publicly, the Axis powers announced that the purpose of their agreement was to lead the fight against communism. In reality, they had joined forces for the purpose of engaging in fresh acts of aggression.

The Spanish Civil War, 1936–1939. The next example of aggression and appeasement occurred in Spain. That country had become a republic only a few years earlier (see p. 613). The new leftist government enacted many radical reforms. It also passed laws to weaken the Catholic Church, ordering the separation of Church and state and the abolition of monastic orders. Bitterly resenting these policies, a group of generals led a revolt. However, their attempt to overthrow the republic was only partly successful. The government hastily organized a new army and a civil war began.

The Spanish Civil War soon became an international problem. The Rebels received strong support from Mussolini and Hitler. The government forces, or Loyalists, were aided by the Soviet Union. Stirred by the battle between left and right, large numbers of volunteers came from many other nations. The conflict was soon being called the "Little World War."

The British and French governments, fearing that a real world war might result, summoned an international conference. The delegates quickly adopted a nonintervention pact. They pledged themselves not to send any further aid to either side and created an international patrol to enforce the agreement. Great Britain and France promptly cut off all help to the Spanish government. The Soviet Union continued to send supplies, but many of its ships were seized or sunk. Italy and Germany, on the other hand, managed to send large numbers of men and considerable quantities of munitions into Spain. Their help enabled the Rebels to win the war. Following this victory, the Rebel leader—General Francisco Franco—established a Fascist dictatorship in Spain.

Hitler's Advance into Central Europe, 1938. Hitler meanwhile took advantage of the troubled international situation. The Nazi dictator had long been anxious to bring about the union of his native Austria with Germany. To give his action the appearance of legality, he first forced the Austrian chancellor to appoint a Nazi to his cabinet. The latter promptly asked German help "to suppress disturbances." In 1938, the Germany army rolled swiftly into Austria and incorporated it into Hitler's new empire.

The Nazi dictator next sought to acquire the western portion of Czechoslovakia, the Sudetenland, whose inhabitants were mainly

of German descent. His propaganda machine violently charged that the Czechoslovakian government was committing atrocities against "the oppressed German minority." The Czechs replied by granting their German subjects a large variety of special privileges. But the Nazi propaganda campaign only grew worse. When Hitler publicly announced that he was going to the aid of "his people," war seemed inevitable.

To avert the threatened conflict, the British prime minister, Neville Chamberlain, flew to Germany to confer with Hitler. Later, the British and German leaders met with Mussolini and the French premier and concluded a memorable agreement known as the Munich Pact. Hitler was permitted to annex the German-inhabited districts of Czechoslovakia. In return, the four powers guaranteed the country's new frontiers.

Results of the Munich Pact. The Munich Pact was a tremendous victory for Hitler. A sizable region, containing three million Germans, rich natural resources, and large modern industries, fell under Nazi rule. The Fuehrer also took over the strong Czech fortifications which might have blocked his advance into eastern Europe. His prestige and influence reached a new high. France, on the other hand, lost heavily. Its failure to help Czechoslovakia cost it the support of its other allies in central and eastern Europe. These now sought to come to terms with Europe's new dominant power, Germany. Even more important, France's alliance with Russia was shaken. Stalin was angry because he had been barred from the discussions on Czechoslovakia. He charged that the Western powers were deliberately encouraging Hitler to advance eastward to attack the Soviet Union. The Russian dictator began to reconsider his co-operation with the democracies against Fascism.

Six months later, in March, 1939, Hitler violated the Munich Pact. He sent an army into Czechoslovakia and made it a German protectorate. The Fuehrer's action was a long step toward fulfilling the old German dream of an empire in "Middle Europe." However, it aroused the indignant protests of the British and French governments. Thereafter, they abandoned their policy of appeasement.

The German Invasion of Poland, 1939. Only a few days later, Hitler provoked a new crisis. He demanded the return to Germany of the city of Danzig and a strip of territory across the Polish Corridor (see p. 556). Poland, strongly supported by both Great Britain and France, refused to yield. The Western democracies rushed ahead with their armament programs and prepared for the possibility of war.

Since the democratic powers did not border on Poland, they had to turn to the Soviet Union for help. The British government sent a mission to Moscow to arrange for a military alliance. The negotiations dragged on for several months. Suddenly, a startled world learned that Stalin had finally signed an agreement—with Nazi Germany! A few days later, on September 1, 1939, Hitler sent his armies into Poland. Great Britain and France, fulfilling their pledges to their ally, declared war on Germany. World War II had begun.

The Basic Causes of World War II. The policy of ruthless conquest followed by Japan and Italy and, above all, by Germany, made war almost inevitable. To the historian, however, the fundamental question is, "What made each of these nations act as it did?" On analysis, it becomes clear that the basic causes of World War II were much the same as those which had led to the outbreak of World War I.

1. *Nationalism.* Nationalism reached new extremes in the years before World War II. Hitler prepared the Germans for a war of revenge. He taught them that they were a "master race" destined to dominate the world. The Japanese were told by their militarist leaders that it was their "divine mission" to rule the other peoples of east Asia. Mussolini promised the Italians that he would restore the glories of the ancient Roman Empire. By fanning the spirit of aggressive nationalism, the Axis leaders mobilized their peoples for wars of conquest.

2. *Imperialism.* The desire to gain new territories was a second basic cause of the war. The three Axis Powers asserted that they lacked sufficient raw materials, markets, and land for their fast-growing populations. They felt it only fair that they possess great empires, like those of Great Britain and France.

3. *Militarism.* As usual, militarism went hand in hand with nationalism and imperialism. The dictators built up their armed forces and boasted of their might. But the high cost of armaments increased their financial difficulties. To solve their economic problems and make good their boasts, they had to give their people the promised conquests—even at the risk of war.

4. *Lack of international order.* Why did the other powers fail to stop the aggressors before they became so strong? The main reason was that they placed their own narrow interests above the common cause of international co-operation. As a result, the League of Nations failed and the world once again suffered from the lack of international order. Democratic nations, especially Great Britain and France, had been unwilling to make the sacrifices necessary to preserve peace. In the end, they were compelled to make far greater ones in a second world war.



Checking the facts

1. Explain: "twenty years' truce"; collective security; League of Nations; World Court; International Labor Organization; Mandates Commission; national sovereignty; Washington Conference; Locarno Pact; Paris Peace Pact; "have-not" countries; appeasement policy; Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis; nonintervention pact; Munich Pact; Hitler-Stalin agreement.
2. List the important functions of the League of Nations. What powers did it have to carry out its decisions?
3. Name and describe briefly the three main organs of the League.
4. What were the League's most important achievements? What were its major weaknesses?
5. How was international co-operation strengthened by each of these: the Washington Conference; the Locarno Pact; the Paris Peace Pact?
6. Why did collective security suffer severe setbacks during the 1930's?
7. Why was the League of Nations unable to stop Japan's conquest of Manchuria? Why was it unable to check Italian aggression against Ethiopia?
8. What were the causes of the Spanish Civil War? Why did the war end in a victory for the Axis Powers?
9. How did Hitler gain control of Austria? of Czechoslovakia?
10. What was the immediate cause of World War II? its basic causes?

Applying history

1. Why was it incorrect to call the League of Nations a "super-government"? Do you think the League had adequate powers to carry out its functions? Explain.
2. Why did the disarmament movement col-

lapse in the 1930's? Are conditions more favorable for world disarmament today? Justify your answer.

3. Why were the small nations in the League usually more favorably inclined toward strong measures against aggressors than the great powers? Why did the great powers make the final decisions?
4. "The two world wars of the twentieth century were the result of the same basic unsolved international problems." Do you agree or disagree with this statement? Do these same problems still threaten world peace today? Justify your answers.

History and geography

1. Trace the territorial expansion of Nazi Germany during 1938-1939 (map, p. 558). Why did Stalin charge that the Western powers were encouraging Hitler to attack Russia?
2. What strategic reasons did the Western democracies have for supporting Poland against Hitler in 1939 (map, p. 558)? Why was a military alliance with Russia advantageous to Germany in case Hitler attacked Poland?

Special activities

1. Stage a session of the League Council to consider one of the acts of aggression of the 1930's. The speakers should include representatives of the nations directly concerned, supporters of collective security, and opponents of strong action.
2. Debate: War is an unsolvable problem of modern society.
3. After members of the class have done outside reading, stage a debate in the House of Commons between Prime Minister Chamberlain, who favored appeasement, and Winston Churchill, who strongly opposed it.



During the early years of World War II, the Axis Powers clearly held the upper hand over the Allies. They possessed far greater quantities of planes, tanks, and other modern weapons. Since they were the aggressors, they could choose the place for an offensive and strike it with concentrated force. The defenders had to spread themselves thin to protect every possible point of attack. Finally, the Axis Powers enjoyed the advantages of a central location, whereas the Allies were handicapped by long supply lines.

The situation gradually changed as a result of the great Axis victories early in the war. Germany and Japan now also had long supply lines and needed large forces to protect them. The conquered peoples, unhappy with foreign rule, formed underground movements which organized sabotage and even open resistance. Above all, more and more nations became fearful of Axis conquest or Axis domination of the world. When the Soviet Union and, even more important, the United States entered the war, their great strength turned the tide of battle in favor of the Allies. In the end, the Axis Powers were overwhelmed by a mighty world-wide coalition.

THE PERIOD OF AXIS VICTORIES

The Conquest of Poland, September, 1939. When the German armies invaded Poland in September, 1939, they gave the world a fearful demonstration of the powerful new offensive weapons developed after World War I. Nazi heavy bombers smashed the small Polish air force on the ground. Nazi dive bombers and tanks shattered the almost helpless Polish cavalry and infantry. The Poles retreated eastward in confusion. Suddenly Soviet forces, co-operating with the Germans, struck them from the rear. In less than three weeks, the Polish army virtually ceased to exist. The capital city of Warsaw, battered by German planes and artillery, held out a few days longer. Then all organized resistance collapsed and most of Poland fell under German rule.

Russian Aggression in Eastern Europe, November, 1939–March, 1940. The Russians reaped a rich reward from their new alliance with Hitler. They annexed eastern Poland and took control of the three small Baltic republics (see p. 612). A short time later, they demanded that their little neighbor Finland grant them some strategic territory

near the city of Leningrad. When Finland refused, the Russians invaded that country.

The Finnish-Russian War was fought in deep snow and bitter cold. Although the Finns succeeded for a time in defeating their foe, they were eventually overwhelmed by Russia's tremendous superiority in man power, artillery, and planes. The Soviet Union obtained the territory it wanted. But it lost heavily in prestige and was expelled from the League of Nations.

Hitler's Offensives in the West, April-June, 1940. All through the autumn and winter of 1939-1940, the French and German armies in the west sat quietly in their fortified lines. Neither side showed any desire to open a costly full-scale offensive. Then, when spring came, Hitler struck with startling suddenness. Without any warning, he invaded two small neutral nations, Norway and Denmark. Denmark was forced to surrender in a few hours. Southern Norway also quickly fell to the Nazis. In an attempt to stiffen Norwegian resistance, the British and French rushed small forces to central and northern Norway. But German planes and tanks inflicted such heavy losses that the Allies were soon compelled to withdraw. By taking Norway and Denmark, Hitler acquired very valuable submarine and air bases along the Atlantic.

Even before the Battle of Norway was over, Hitler launched heavy attacks against France and its two neutral neighbors, Belgium and Holland. Thousands of German troops poured suddenly across the Dutch frontier. German "tourists," sent in earlier, seized the water gates to prevent the defenders from flooding their country. German bombers carried out paralyzing raids on Rotterdam and other important cities. Holland, assaulted from within and without, surrendered in less than a week.

A second German force quickly broke through the Belgian frontier defenses and advanced into that country. The Belgians, reinforced by sizable British and French units, managed to fight on for two weeks. Then, recognizing that resistance was hopeless, the Belgian king surrendered to the Germans.

Meanwhile, the main German attack was directed against France. With dive bombers and tanks blasting the way, the Germans quickly broke through a weak point in the French defenses. Motorized infantry, on motorcycles and in trucks, poured through the opening. They cut the French supply lines and communications. Then, looping northward to the English Channel, they cut off the Allied forces in Belgium and northern France. Hundreds of thousands of Allied troops were trapped with their backs to the sea near the French city of Dunkirk. The British government hastily mobilized all available craft and managed to evacuate almost the entire army to England. Though all of the heavy equipment had to be left behind, the "miracle of Dunkirk" offered the Allies some consolation in the midst of their disasters.

The Fall of France, June, 1940. The Germans then resumed their advance southward into France. They broke through a new defense line and moved rapidly on Paris. Mussolini, confident that the war was almost over, now joined his Axis partner and attacked in the south. French resistance collapsed completely. Ignoring British pleas to carry on the war from North Africa, the French government sued for an armistice. A mere six weeks after the start of his offensive, Hitler became master of France.

The conquest of France was Hitler's greatest triumph. At relatively little cost, he took two million prisoners and gained control of

the richest country in western Europe. His troops proceeded to occupy the entire Atlantic coast and the important industrial areas, including Paris. The region not taken over by the German troops was known as Unoccupied France. From its capital at Vichy, Unoccupied France was ruled by a Fascist government which collaborated closely with the conquerors.

However, a number of French patriots managed to escape to England. Under a determined and able leader, General Charles de Gaulle, they formed the "Free French" movement. With British help, the Free French organized units to carry on the war against the Axis. They also organized an underground resistance movement within France. The "Resistance" secretly fought the Nazis and kept alive the French people's hopes of liberation.

The Battle for Britain, August, 1940–April, 1941. In the summer of 1940, only Great Britain stood between Hitler and victory. (See map, p. 634.) Like Napoleon before him, Hitler had to gain command of the Channel in order to invade England. His first problem was to destroy the Royal Air Force (R.A.F.). Without an "air umbrella" to protect it, the British fleet would be at the mercy of Nazi dive bombers. For weeks, swarms of German planes flew daily over England to engage the R.A.F. in battle. But the British, though heavily outnumbered, inflicted such heavy losses on the enemy that Hitler had to abandon his invasion plans. Britain's great wartime prime minister, Winston Churchill, paid grateful tribute to the young R.A.F. pilots who had saved their nation. "Never in the field of human conflict," he declared, "was so much owed by so many to so few."

Nevertheless, the trials of the British people had only begun. The German air force

now launched a devastating bombing offensive to break their spirit and compel the government to surrender. Night after night, throughout the fall and winter months, the mass raids continued. Thousands of British civilians were killed. Entire cities were ruined. Normal life was almost completely disrupted. Yet the British doggedly worked on, producing a flood of war materials for both defense and counterattack. By the spring of 1941, the R.A.F. was able to conduct large-scale bombing attacks upon Germany which brought the war home to the German people.

Italian Disasters in Greece and Africa. Meanwhile, Mussolini, envious of Hitler's triumphs, had set out to gain some successes on his own. In the autumn of 1940, he suddenly attacked the little country of Greece. The results proved disastrous for the Italian dictator. In little more than a month, the valiant Greeks drove the invaders out and pursued them into Albania.

Mussolini also suffered serious setbacks on other fronts. In North Africa, a large Italian army advanced from Libya into western Egypt. However, the much smaller British forces launched a surprise counteroffensive. They easily routed the Italians, chasing them back across Libya and taking many thousands of prisoners. British imperial forces also began the liberation of Ethiopia and the conquest of the neighboring Italian colonies.

The Axis Threat to the Middle East, April–June, 1941. When spring came, Hitler moved to rescue his partner and to extend Axis control over the Balkans. The German dictator had earlier occupied Rumania and Bulgaria without a struggle. Using these countries as his bases, he now advanced against both Yugoslavia and Greece. Nazi armored columns, aided by squadrons of powerful bombers, smashed through the de-

fenders' positions. Yugoslavia was conquered in twelve days. The Greeks, though reinforced by a British army hastily drawn from North Africa, were crushed only a few days later. The British managed to evacuate most of their troops to the nearby island of Crete. However, German troops, flown to Crete by airplanes, conquered the island a few weeks later. Only about half of the original British expeditionary army succeeded in escaping back to Egypt.

Hitler also sent a specially trained desert force to stiffen the Italians in North Africa. The combined Axis armies quickly defeated the weakened British and launched a new invasion of Egypt. The Suez Canal and the entire oil-rich Middle East now lay open to conquest. Instead of pressing his advantage, however, Hitler began his ill-fated invasion of Russia.

Hitler's Attack on Russia, June–December, 1941. At the outbreak of the war, Germany and Russia had co-operated in the invasion and partition of Poland. However, neither Stalin nor Hitler really trusted the other. The Communist dictator became alarmed as Hitler gained one spectacular success after another. The Fuehrer, in turn, resented the easy gains of the Reds as a result of Germany's victories. Relations grew worse when the two dictators disagreed over the division of the Balkans and other spoils. Finally, Hitler ordered his generals to prepare for an attack in the east.

In June, 1941, the Nazi mechanized legions invaded Russia without any warning. They were supported by Finnish, Hungarian, Italian, Rumanian, and Spanish troops. The Axis forces inflicted very heavy losses on the Soviet armies. By November, they had conquered eastern Poland, the Baltic republics, and the western Ukraine (map, p. 634). They laid siege to the great city of Leningrad

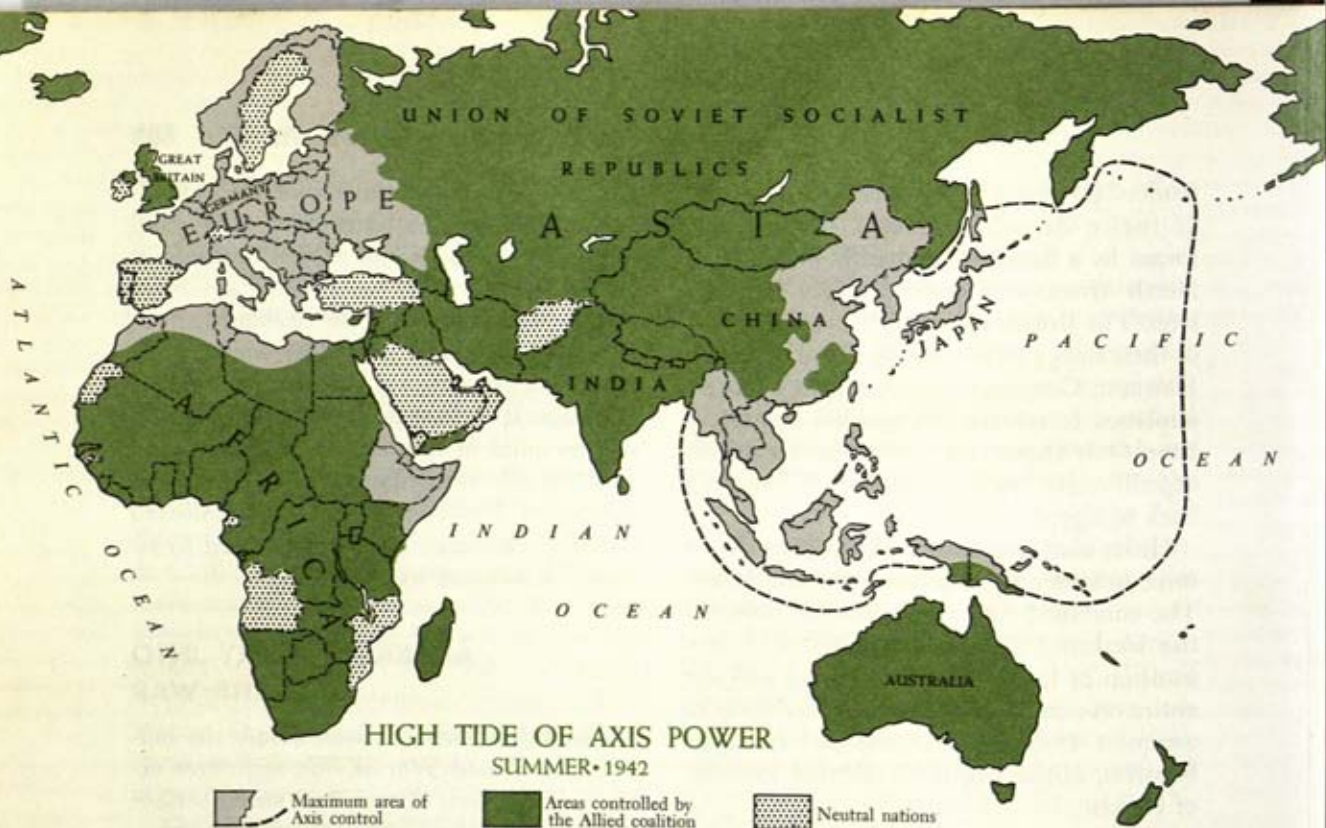
and approached the suburbs of the capital, Moscow. Hitler's victories were even more impressive than those a year earlier in France.

The Nazi leader had not reckoned, however, with Russia's great ally, winter. The advancing Axis armies were frozen in their positions. It became evident that they would win no quick or easy victory. Once again, as in the Battle for Britain, Hitler's plans had miscarried. However, he already dominated much of European Russia and hoped to resume his advance in the spring.

AMERICA'S ENTRY INTO THE WAR

The Great Debate. Even before the outbreak of World War II, the aggressive actions of the Axis Powers had raised serious problems for the United States. For years, the American people engaged in a great debate over the proper course to follow. One group, led by President Franklin D. Roosevelt (see pp. 567–568), believed that the United States could not stand by idly while Hitler and his partners tried to dominate the world. They felt that this country could be safe only if it supported the Western democracies against the aggressors. Another large and influential group, with many champions in Congress, urged the government to follow a strict policy of neutrality. They sought to avoid the actions which, in their opinion, had led the United States into World War I.

The group favoring an isolationist policy won an important victory when Congress passed the Neutrality Act of 1937. The sale of war materials and the grant of loans to belligerent (warring) nations were prohibited and American citizens were forbidden to travel on their ships. The Neutrality Act made no distinction whatever between



an aggressor nation and the nation which was the victim of aggression. When World War II began, the Neutrality Act proved helpful to Hitler. Germany, which had not expected to import goods through the British blockade, hardly suffered at all. Great Britain and France, on the other hand, were deprived of much-needed American supplies.

America's Departure from Neutrality. The United States gradually changed its position as the war continued. In November, 1939, Congress passed the "Cash and Carry" amendment to the Neutrality Act. Belligerents were now permitted to purchase war materials in the United States—provided that they paid cash and carried them into the war zones in their own ships.

When France surrendered, in 1940, many Americans feared that Hitler would crush Great Britain and that he might then invade

the Western Hemisphere. The American government took prompt measures to forestall this threat. Congress passed the first peacetime draft in American history and voted for a large-scale armaments program. Despite the isolationists' opposition, President Roosevelt supplied Great Britain with large quantities of military equipment. He also transferred fifty overage destroyers to the British navy in exchange for leases on valuable air and naval bases in the Western Hemisphere.

In March, 1941, Congress took still another long step away from isolationism. It passed the Lend-Lease Act, which authorized the President to lend or lease war supplies to the nations fighting the Axis. Payment for these supplies might be made in any manner he deemed satisfactory. This meant that Great Britain and other nations at war

with the Axis would be able to obtain large amounts of military aid which they otherwise could not have afforded.

The delivery of American supplies to Great Britain posed a very difficult problem. German submarines and planes were taking a heavy toll of British shipping. The United States therefore established a "neutrality patrol system" in the western Atlantic to warn of the presence of German raiders. Hitler replied by ordering his U-boats to attack American vessels. President Roosevelt then directed the American navy to "shoot on sight" any Axis submarine found anywhere in the Atlantic. By the fall of 1941, an undeclared naval war between Germany and the United States was already under way. But it was trouble in the Pacific, rather than in the Atlantic, which finally brought the United States into the war.

Japan's Growing Threat in the Pacific. Japan's militaristic rulers, though still unable to conquer China (see pp. 609-610), sought to profit from the difficulties of the Western powers. They sent strong forces into French Indo-China and sought to gain control of the rich Netherlands East Indies. As a warning to the United States not to interfere, Japan signed a full-fledged military alliance with Germany and Italy.

The American government, though seeking to avoid open conflict, took one step after another to restrain Japan. First it terminated the trade treaty between the two countries. Next it forbade the export of scrap iron and aviation gasoline. Finally, it "froze" Japan's assets in the United States, thereby making it almost impossible for that country to obtain goods here on credit. Meanwhile, the United States encouraged the Chinese by granting them several large loans and by sending them military supplies.

However, the Japanese military leaders had no intention of abandoning their pro-

gram of conquest. In preparation for a showdown, one of the foremost extremists, General Tojo, became premier. Tojo called a special session of the parliament to vote a larger military budget. Secretly, he also ordered a powerful fleet, including several aircraft carriers, to sail eastward across the Pacific. At the same time, he sent a last peace mission to Washington.

Pearl Harbor, December 7, 1941. The Japanese envoys presented a number of demands which were not acceptable to the United States. The counterproposals of the American government were equally unacceptable to Japan. While the negotiations were still going on, the secret Japanese fleet was ordered to carry out a prearranged plan of action.

The calm of a Sunday morning in Hawaii was suddenly shattered by the roar of invading Japanese planes. Row after row came



swooping down to bomb the American Pacific fleet, lying peacefully at its base in Pearl Harbor. They sank or damaged eight heavy battleships, as well as many other vessels. The Japanese attack ended the long debate between the isolationists in this country and those who favored helping Great Britain and its allies. On the next day, Congress voted that a state of war existed between the United States and Japan.

Great Britain and the dominions quickly joined the United States in the war against Japan. Germany and Italy declared war on the United States, which in turn declared war on them. Brazil and a number of other Latin-American nations entered the conflict on the side of the United States. In all, forty-nine nations eventually joined in the war against the Axis Powers.

The High Tide of Axis Conquest. The Japanese, having gained control of the seas at Pearl Harbor, swept southward like a tidal wave. They quickly overran many important territories in southeast Asia, including Thailand (Siam), British Malaya, Singapore, Burma, and the Netherlands East Indies. They also succeeded in conquering the Philippine Islands, despite heroic resistance by the American and Filipino defenders. Within a few months, the Japanese held an empire of almost three million square miles, containing petroleum, rubber, tin, and other rich natural resources. (See map, p. 634.)

During the spring and summer of 1942, the Axis Powers won a succession of victories in other important theaters of the war. The Germans and Italians, driven back during the previous winter, won a new round in the seesaw battle for North Africa. They advanced swiftly into Egypt, stopping only when they ran out of supplies. In Russia, the Germans launched a second mighty summer offensive. They invaded the Caucasus and threatened to seize control of Rus-

sia's main oil fields. At sea, German U-boats endangered the Allies' communications by sinking hundreds of their merchant ships. For a few crucial months in 1942, the Allies teetered dangerously on the brink of disaster.

THE ALLIED TRIUMPH

The Turn of the Tide. Despite the great Axis successes, the tide of battle began to turn before the end of 1942. While Great Britain and Russia held the enemy, the United States hastened to build up its military strength. In a remarkably short time, the resources of the entire nation were mobilized for war. The armed forces enlisted or drafted millions of men. Industry quickly converted from peacetime production to the manufacture of weapons. Hundreds of giant new war plants were rushed to completion.

The American people brought about a miracle of production unequalled in history. The United States was soon turning out more war goods than all of the Axis nations combined! It was able to equip its own huge armed forces and at the same time supply tremendous amounts of Lend-Lease aid to its allies. Less than a year after Pearl Harbor, American troops and equipment began to play a major role in fighting the Axis on many far-flung battle fronts.

Early Allied Successes in Africa and Europe. In the western theater of war, the first great Allied victory was won in North Africa. In the autumn of 1942, a strongly reinforced British army routed the Axis forces in Egypt. The British once again began the long pursuit of the enemy across the desert sands of Libya. A few days later, a powerful American and British expedition landed in French North Africa. After overcoming light resistance from the Vichy French (see p. 632), it advanced eastward. The Germans and Italians, caught between

the two Allied armies, retreated northward into Tunisia. There they were trapped with their backs to the sea and were compelled to surrender. Africa was now completely cleared of Axis forces. (See map, p. 638.)

Late in 1942, Russia also succeeded in going over to the offensive. Months earlier, the Germans had advanced confidently toward the city of Stalingrad. Their purpose was to cut Russia's important Volga River supply route. However, while the defenders of Stalingrad fought stubbornly to stop the Nazi advance, reinforcements from Siberia suddenly poured across the river, encircled the entire German army, and forced it to surrender. Heartened by their great victory at Stalingrad, the Red armies pressed forward along the entire two-thousand-mile battlefield. Before the spring mud stopped military operations, they drove the enemy from the Caucasus, the eastern Ukraine, and the outskirts of Moscow and Leningrad.

The fighting in the air and at sea also reflected growing Allied strength. From bases in Great Britain, the United States Air Force joined the R.A.F. in heavily destructive bombing raids on Germany. The bombings cut Germany's arms production, tied down a large part of its air force for defense, and weakened public morale. Meanwhile, the U-boat menace was also being overcome. American ships and planes, equipped with new underwater detection devices and powerful depth bombs, took an increasingly heavy toll of enemy submarines. At the same time, American shipyards were busy building a "bridge of ships" across the oceans. Before the close of the war, they turned out large freighters at the extraordinary rate of two a day! The victory of the western Allies in the Battle of the Atlantic enabled them to furnish much-needed supplies to the Soviet Union and to carry forward their own ever-growing offensives.

This picture, taken during the German advance on Paris in July, 1940, suggests one reason for their success. A seemingly endless line of tanks advances to attack the Allied lines while weary infantrymen return to a rest camp at the rear.



The Surrender of Italy, September, 1943. Following their great victory in North Africa, the Americans and British made ready to attack Italy. In July, 1943, they invaded the island of Sicily and conquered it after five weeks of stiff fighting. This successful invasion, together with frequent bombings of the mainland, demoralized the Italian people. The king dismissed Musso-

lini and appointed an anti-Fascist general as premier. The new government secretly opened negotiations which led to Italy's surrender.

However, the Allies still had to contend with strong German forces in Italy. After securing a beachhead in the south, the Allies began a slow and costly advance up the mountainous Italian peninsula. Rome fell



after nine months of heavy fighting. Allied troops resumed their march northward only to encounter new stubborn resistance from the Germans. In the end, victory came in northern Italy only when Germany itself was on the verge of surrender.

Closing in on Germany. In the summer of 1943 a series of massive Russian offensives also began. After a year of heavy fighting, the Red armies completed the liberation of their soil and broke into Poland and the Baltic republics. Then they began a rapid drive into the Balkans. By the end of 1944, all of Hitler's small allies—Rumania, Finland, Bulgaria, and Hungary—had been forced to surrender. The Russians now made ready for the final drive on Germany.

Meantime, the forces of the western Allies, directed by an American commander, General Dwight Eisenhower, prepared to open a new front in France. In June, 1944, the Allies began the greatest sea and air-borne invasion in all history. In the face of fierce opposition, they won a foothold on the beaches of Normandy. After building up their strength, the Allies unleashed a powerful offensive and broke through the German lines. Within five weeks they liberated almost all of France from Nazi rule. From France, the Allies advanced swiftly into Belgium and the Netherlands. Then they opened a series of attacks on Germany's formidable western defenses. (See map, p. 638.)

The Conquest of Germany. In a last desperate effort to avert defeat, Hitler gathered his remaining reserves and began an offensive in the west. The "Battle of the Bulge," fought along the Franco-Belgian frontier, began with some startling successes for the Germans. But the Allies rushed in reinforcements and broke through the weakened German lines. The Americans poured across the Rhine River into the heart of Germany.

The British forces based in Belgium and Holland advanced into Germany from the northwest. In the east, the Russians unleashed a new attack and reached the outskirts of Berlin.

The German capital, heavily assaulted by the Russians, was transformed into an inferno of flame and destruction. Hitler committed suicide in his underground shelter. A few days later, the German military leaders agreed to unconditional surrender. On May 8, 1945, the conflict in Europe finally came to a close.

End of the Japanese Advance, May-June, 1942. In the Pacific theater of the war, as in the west, the tide of battle also turned in 1942. The Allied forces in Australia had been placed under the command of General Douglas MacArthur, hero of the stubborn defense of the Philippines. General MacArthur's first task was to stop a dangerous two-pronged enemy offensive. In May, 1942, Japanese troops landed on northern New Guinea and headed overland toward Australia. At the same time, a powerful Japanese troop convoy sailed across the Coral Sea toward the northern coast of that continent. The Japanese fleet was heavily attacked by American planes and was compelled to withdraw. The overland thrust was stopped by Allied troops, rushed to New Guinea by plane.

A few weeks later, the Japanese launched still another offensive. The largest force they had yet assembled sailed out into the central Pacific, in the direction of Midway Island. The American fleet, though still heavily outnumbered, advanced to meet the foe. Catching the Japanese by surprise, American naval planes sank several aircraft carriers and a number of other warships. The Battle of Midway brought to an end Japan's westward advance in the Pacific.

American Offensives in the Southwest Pacific. In August, 1942, the United States went over to the offensive. The Japanese had earlier occupied the Solomon Islands, from which they could menace the American supply line to Australia. A strong force of marines was sent to capture the little island of Guadalcanal, at the southern tip of the Solomons (map, p. 642). The battle was long and bitterly fought. Four months passed before the Japanese defenders, protected by the thick jungle, were finally crushed.

For the next two years, the Allied forces in the southwest Pacific followed the strategy of "island-hopping." They would conquer an island, quickly build airfields, and fly in planes. With strong aerial protection, they would then attack another important island a few hundred miles nearer to Japan. All the while, American planes and submarines were busy sinking enemy shipping. The Japanese forces in the southwest Pacific were gradually cut off from supplies and began to "wither on the vine." Even so, their fierce resistance made the Allied advances very slow and costly.

Successes in Other Theaters. Meantime, the Allies had also gained successes against the Japanese on other fronts. In August, 1943, an American force retook the Aleutian Islands off the coast of Alaska, which had been captured by the Japanese early in 1942. A Japanese invasion of India was beaten back by the British. The latter then began a slow reconquest of mountainous, jungle-clad Burma. To keep hard-pressed China in the war, American planes flew in vital supplies from India over the towering Himalaya Mountains. Later, a Chinese-American force succeeded in hacking a road through the Burma jungle and reopened the overland supply route to China. However, Allied progress in southeast Asia was never of decisive importance.

The Drive Across the Pacific, November, 1943–June, 1945. By the fall of 1943, the United States had built up sufficient strength for a direct assault on Japan's heavily fortified island bases in the central Pacific. The new offensive began with an attack on the small island of Tarawa, in the Gilberts. Despite weeks of heavy bombardment by American ships and planes, it cost the Americans several thousand casualties to capture this little outpost.

In February, 1944, a strong American naval force followed up by attacking several key islands in the Marshalls and by capturing them after bloody struggles. The next target was the Marianas Islands, about fifteen hundred miles from Japan. A strong Japanese fleet sailed out to stop the invasion but was severely battered by American naval planes and forced to retreat. From the Marianas, long-range American bombers opened the attack on Japan itself.

The climax of the war in the Pacific was fast approaching. Two and a half years after his flight from the Philippines, General MacArthur kept his pledge to return with a liberating army. The Japanese sent out their remaining fleets in a desperate effort to stop the invasion. The Battle of Leyte Gulf which followed was the greatest air-naval battle in history. Although the Americans suffered heavy losses, they succeeded in destroying most of the Japanese navy. The American army, with the help of strong Filipino guerrilla forces, freed the Philippines after several months of hard fighting.

Closing in on Japan, February–June, 1945. Meanwhile, continuing the direct advance toward Japan, marines seized the small volcanic island of Iwo Jima. Then the war was carried to Japan's very doorstep. A large American force captured the key island of Okinawa after months of bitter fighting. The Americans were now poised to invade



World War II was the most costly conflict in history. The spectacular photograph at the left shows the shell of a London building, burned out by Nazi fire bombs, as it starts to collapse. After Pearl Harbor fire-fighters try desperately to save the U. S. S. *Virginia* (below.) On D-Day—June 6, 1944—Allied troops invading Normandy had to break through strong enemy fortifications.

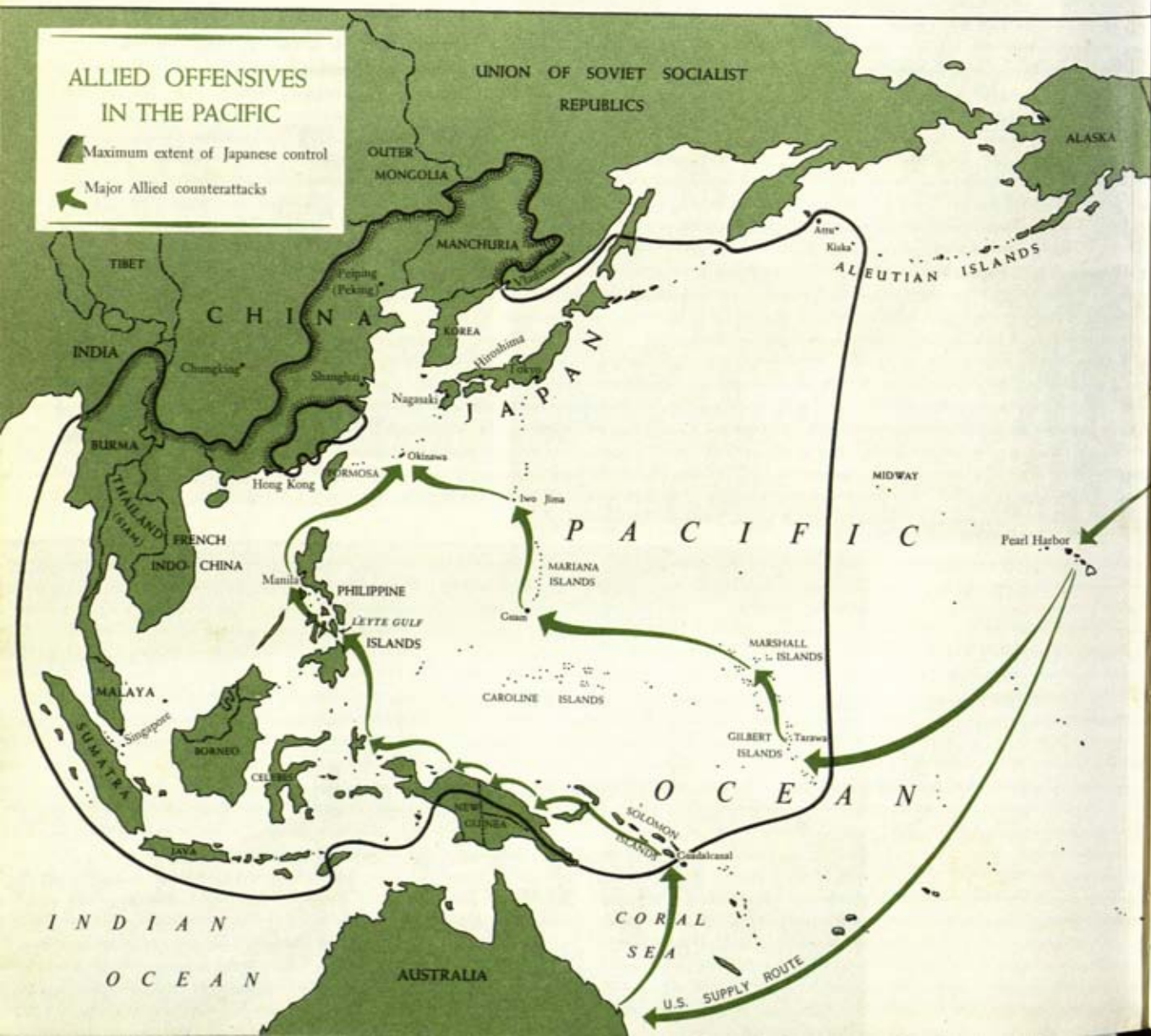


the main Japanese islands, only a few hundred miles away.

By this time, the war in Europe had come to a close. The United States immediately began the tremendous task of moving vast armies halfway around the world for the final assault on Japan. Waiting for them were several million undefeated enemy

troops, resolved to die in defense of their homeland. The invasion of Japan would probably have required very heavy sacrifices. Fortunately, an invasion was not necessary.

Japan's Defeat and Surrender. In the spring and summer of 1945, American heavy bombers dropped many thousands of tons of bombs on Japan. American and British



Millions

CASUALTIES OF WORLD WAR II



warships sailed up and down the coasts, shelling their targets almost at will. Carrier-based planes roamed inland to further the work of destruction. Japan's navy and air force were now virtually annihilated and its military outlook was hopeless.

Nevertheless, the Japanese military leaders were resolved to fight on to the end. They rejected an Allied warning that continued resistance would bring destruction to their nation. On August 6, 1945, an American plane flew over the city of Hiroshima and dropped a single bomb. It exploded with a blinding flash which could be seen for two hundred miles. Eighty thousand people, more than one-fourth of the city's total population, were killed. An area two and a half miles in diameter was left a mass of twisted wreckage and damage was spread over an additional ten square miles. This was mankind's introduction to its newest weapon, the atomic bomb.

Two days later, the Soviet Union declared war on Japan and its troops advanced rapidly into Manchuria. The next day, a second American atomic bomb virtually destroyed the city of Nagasaki. The Japanese government finally sued for peace. On September 2, 1945, the formal surrender documents were signed in a dramatic ceremony aboard an American battleship in Tokyo Bay. Six

years, almost to the day, after Hitler's invasion of Poland, World War II came to an end.

The Terrible Cost of the War. World War II was fought with more deadly weapons, on a far larger scale, and for a longer time than the first. Fifty-six nations took part in the war and 85,000,000 persons bore arms. Almost 12,000,000 soldiers were killed in action and about the same number were seriously wounded. In addition, millions of civilians perished as a result of aerial bombardment, Nazi extermination camps, famine, or disease.

The economic costs of the war were also staggering. The expense of maintaining and supplying the armed forces of the belligerent nations has been estimated at well over one trillion dollars (\$1,000,000,000,000)! The United States alone spent an average of more than \$8,500,000 *per hour* for almost four years. Moreover, vast amounts of property were ruined and millions of people were left destitute and homeless. In the war-torn countries, trade and industry were almost at a standstill. The immense task of reconstruction was to drain the resources of nations for years to come. However, this was only one of many complex problems which confronted Allied leaders as they sought to rebuild a peaceful world.



70 / Lesson Review

Checking the facts

1. Explain: underground (resistance) movements; Finnish-Russian War; Vichy government; "Free French"; Battle for Britain; Royal Air Force (RAF); Neutrality Act of 1937; Lend-Lease Act; Pearl Harbor; island-hopping; atomic bomb (A-bomb).
2. Identify: Churchill; General Tojo; General Eisenhower; General MacArthur; Franklin D. Roosevelt.
3. Trace the important military campaigns during the years 1939–1941. Why were the Germans so successful during this period?
4. Why were the Germans unable to launch a successful invasion of Great Britain?
5. Why did Hitler attack Russia? Why did he fail to conquer that country?
6. Why did the United States Congress pass the Neutrality Act of 1937? Trace the shift in United States policy after the outbreak of World War II.
7. How did the United States try to restrain Japanese aggression in the Far East? What were the results of its actions?
8. Why did the tide of battle turn against the Axis Powers in 1942?
9. Why did Italy surrender to the Allied Powers? How did the Allies finally defeat Germany?
10. What were the major campaigns of the war in the Pacific? Why did Japan finally surrender?

Applying history

1. Why were the Axis Powers much stronger than the Allies in the early years of the war? Why were they unable to retain this advantage?
2. Compare President Roosevelt's neutrality policies during 1939–1941 with those of President Wilson before America's entry into World War I. Why was the United States unable to stay out of either war?
3. How did the airplane revolutionize warfare

during World War II? How do new weapons promise to revolutionize war in the future?

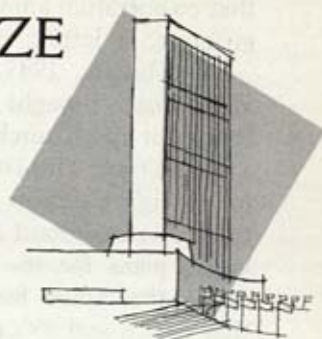
History and geography

1. Locate (maps, pp. 634, 638, and 642): Warsaw; Finland; Leningrad; Vichy; Libya; Suez Canal; Moscow; Tunisia; Stalingrad; Caucasus; Pearl Harbor; New Guinea; Coral Sea; Midway; Guadalcanal; Aleutian Islands; Tarawa; Leyte; Iwo Jima; Okinawa; Hiroshima; Nagasaki.
2. Why would the Axis nations' chances of victory in World War II have been greatly improved if they had succeeded in winning control of western Asia and India (map, p. 634)? If the Nazis had succeeded in conquering the U.S.S.R.?
3. What countries served as bases for the Allied counterattacks against the Axis forces in North Africa (map, p. 638)? For the Allied attacks against Italy and France? Why was sea power of major importance to the western Allies and not to the U.S.S.R.?
4. Trace the line showing the maximum extent of the Japanese Empire during World War II (map, p. 642). Why was the American strategy in the western Pacific called "island-hopping"?

Special activities

1. Arrange a class exhibit on World War II. Include such items as pictures of battle scenes, war maps, and weapon models. Compare similar items from World War I.
2. Read to the class some of the speeches which President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill made to their countrymen during World War II. (Some of these speeches were recorded; the records may be available in your community library and can be played in the classroom.)
3. Debate: The discovery of the atomic bomb was a great misfortune for mankind.

71 / ATTEMPTS TO ORGANIZE A NEW PEACE



One reason why people study history is to learn and profit from mistakes of the past. President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill were long-time students of history. Both knew the conflicts in personality and viewpoint which had disturbed the peace-making after World War I (see pp. 555-556). To avoid repetition of such difficulties, the two statesmen decided to plan the peace while the Allied nations were still united in their wartime struggle. They therefore arranged a series of meetings, established friendly personal relations, and reached an understanding on basic principles. Later, they succeeded in bringing Premier Stalin into their partnership. Before the end of the war, the new "Big Three" had negotiated a number of important agreements. Unfortunately it soon became evident that these agreements provided very shaky foundations for the future peace.

WARTIME PLANNING FOR PEACE

The Atlantic Charter. President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill met for the first time off the coast of Newfoundland in the summer of 1941. Though the United States was still technically at peace with the Axis Powers, the two statesmen drafted and made public a statement of war aims known

as the Atlantic Charter. The lofty ideals of this declaration served as an inspiration to all of the nations opposed to the Axis Powers.

In the Atlantic Charter, the American and British leaders pledged their governments to seek no territorial gains and to make no territorial changes against the wishes of the peoples concerned. They promised to restore self-government to those peoples who had been forcibly deprived of it. They also announced their intention to improve economic conditions and to create a world in which all men might "live out their lives in freedom from fear and want." Finally, to preserve peace in the future, they agreed to bring about disarmament and to establish a new international organization.

The Teheran and Yalta Conferences. After the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill held several other conferences, devoted mainly to military planning. Then they took steps to establish closer ties with Stalin. The first meeting of the Big Three took place at Teheran, the capital of Iran, in November, 1943. At the Teheran Conference the leaders of the Allied coalition mapped out plans for a co-ordinated attack on Germany "from the east, west, and south." They also expressed the conviction

that co-operation among their nations would guarantee a lasting peace.

In February, 1945, when Germany had already been brought to the verge of defeat, Roosevelt and Churchill met with Stalin for a second time. This conference, held at Yalta in Russia's Crimean peninsula, resulted in three very important agreements. First, after laying plans for the final assault on Germany, the Allied leaders agreed to divide that nation and its capital, Berlin, into four occupation zones (map, p. 647). To prevent disunity, the Allied military commanders would meet together regularly and issue joint directives for all four zones.

The second agreement concerned the liberated nations and the former Axis satellites. The Big Three decided that the new governments should be democratic, chosen on the basis of free elections, and "responsive to the will of the people." In this connection, the Western statesmen immediately raised questions about the situation in newly liberated Poland. Stalin, ignoring the legal Polish government which had fled to London early in the war, had set up a new government controlled by Communists. The Soviet dictator defended his actions by asserting that the U.S.S.R. needed "friendly nations" along its frontiers. However, he finally agreed to broaden the new Communist government by including some of the London Poles and a few democratic leaders who had survived in Poland.

The third of the Yalta agreements, which was kept secret until after the war, dealt with the Far East. Stalin promised to enter the war against Japan within three months after Germany's surrender. As payment, Russia was to get certain islands from Japan and the special rights in Manchuria which it had lost as a result of the Russo-Japanese War (see p. 511). When this secret provision of

the Yalta agreements was published, it aroused widespread protests. Many people considered it a violation of the Atlantic Charter and objected to rewarding Russia at the expense of another ally, China.

The Potsdam Conference. The final wartime conference of the three great powers took place at Potsdam, a suburb of Berlin, soon after Germany's surrender. However, there were two important changes in membership. The sudden death of President Roosevelt in April, 1945, had brought Vice-President Harry S. Truman into the White House. Three months later, a general election was held in Great Britain. Winston Churchill's Conservative party was defeated and the Labor party, led by Clement Attlee, came to power. Thus it was three strangers who conferred at Potsdam. Nevertheless, they quickly succeeded in drafting detailed plans for dealing with defeated Germany.

The purpose of the Allied occupation, according to the statesmen at Potsdam, was to transform Germany into a peaceful and democratic nation. Germany's armed forces were to be completely abolished. Its war industries were to be dismantled and the machinery was to be distributed as part of the reparations payments. The Nazi party and all other Nazi organizations were to be destroyed, and the Nazi leaders were to be tried as war criminals. Democratic institutions were to be introduced gradually, beginning on a local basis. Later, when democracy took root among the German people, a national government would be established. Then a formal peace treaty would be drafted and Germany would be readmitted into the family of nations.

The Potsdam Conference also made plans for the future treatment of Japan. That country was to be stripped of all its colonial conquests, most of which were to be

PARTITION OF GERMANY 1945

German boundaries in 1938

Present national boundaries

American zone

British zone

French zone

Soviet zone

Occupied by Poland



returned to China and Russia. Like Germany, Japan was to be placed under Allied military occupation and was to be transformed into a democratic, peaceful nation. Then it too would be given a formal peace treaty.

Other Wartime Agreements. During the war, the Allied leaders also sought to provide economic assistance to the peoples being liberated from Axis rule. They created the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, called UNRRA for short. With funds contributed mainly by the United States, UNRRA fought a victorious battle against famine and disease. During its brief existence, from 1943 to 1948, it distributed millions of tons of essential supplies—including food, clothing, seeds,

farm equipment, and industrial machinery. UNRRA's speedy help saved millions of lives and hastened the world's economic recovery.

The most important foundation stone for the future peace was laid when the new United Nations organization was created. Agreement on the basic framework was first reached at a small conference of the great powers late in 1944. A few months later, in the spring of 1945, representatives of all the nations at war with the Axis met in San Francisco and completed the final draft of the United Nations Charter. The Charter was quickly ratified by the signer nations, including the United States. Before the end of the year, the U.N. formally came into existence.



The Yalta Conference in February, 1945, was the second meeting of the "Big Three"—Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin (above). President Roosevelt died soon after his return to the U.S. Out of wartime Allied co-operation and the Atlantic Charter grew the United Nations (left).



THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION

Comparison of the U.N. with the League of Nations. The United Nations is the most ambitious organization of its type ever created. Like the old League of Nations, its main purpose is "to maintain international peace and security." But the Charter lists several additional aims for the U.N. The new organization seeks to achieve broader co-operation in solving international problems of many kinds. It also is pledged "to encourage respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion."

The U.N.'s main organs bear a close resemblance to those of the League. However, their functions have been more exactly defined and their activities have been increased. The greatest expansion of all has occurred in the economic and social field, which was the most successful phase of the League's work.

Still another important advance lies in the U.N.'s membership. The United States, which never joined the League, and the Soviet Union, which belonged for only a few years, are both charter members. Moreover, the total number of member nations is much larger than that of the League. Today, more than eighty countries—almost all of the countries in the world—belong to the U.N.

The General Assembly and Its Functions. The central organ of the U.N. is the General Assembly. The General Assembly draws up the U.N.'s budget, elects the members of the other organs, and receives reports from them. It may also consider any problem which it "deems likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations" among nations.

In the General Assembly, as in the League of Nations Assembly before it, every member nation, regardless of size, has a single vote. However, important decisions require only a two-thirds vote instead of unanimous agreement. This means that no one nation or small bloc of nations can prevent the General Assembly from performing its functions. On the other hand, the Assembly has power only to *discuss* a problem and *recommend* a solution. It is not authorized to take action. Its main importance is as an international forum, where even the smallest nation may express its views before a worldwide audience.

Role of the Security Council. The primary responsibility for taking action to pre-

serve peace rests with the Security Council. The Security Council is a small body. It consists of five permanent members—the United States, Soviet Russia, Great Britain, France, and China—and six other nations elected by the General Assembly for a term of two years. The Security Council has the power to deal with "any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression." If a dispute arises, it may urge the nations involved to settle their quarrel through some peaceful means. It may also itself investigate the situation and try to impose a settlement. To enforce its decisions, the Security Council may call on the members of the U.N. to cut off diplomatic or economic relations with an aggressor nation. If these measures prove inadequate, it may take "such action by air, sea, and land forces" as may be necessary to maintain or restore peace. U.N. members are required to make available the military forces for such an international police action.

The most controversial feature of the Security Council is the great-power veto. Under the Charter, decisions on important matters must be made by a vote of seven members, *including all five of the permanent members*. This means that any one of the great powers can prevent action by the Security Council, even in a dispute to which it is itself a party. The veto also applies to the admission of new members and to amendments or revision of the Charter. The great-power veto has been defended on the ground that peace can be preserved only if the great powers act together in harmony. However, the Soviet Union has frequently used its veto to paralyze the Security Council.

The Economic and Social Council and the Specialized Agencies. A completely new U.N. organ, with no counterpart in the old League, is the Economic and Social Council.

This body is concerned with many different types of economic and social problems, including the vital field of human rights. It makes studies of specific problems, holds conferences, and recommends action to the General Assembly and the member nations.

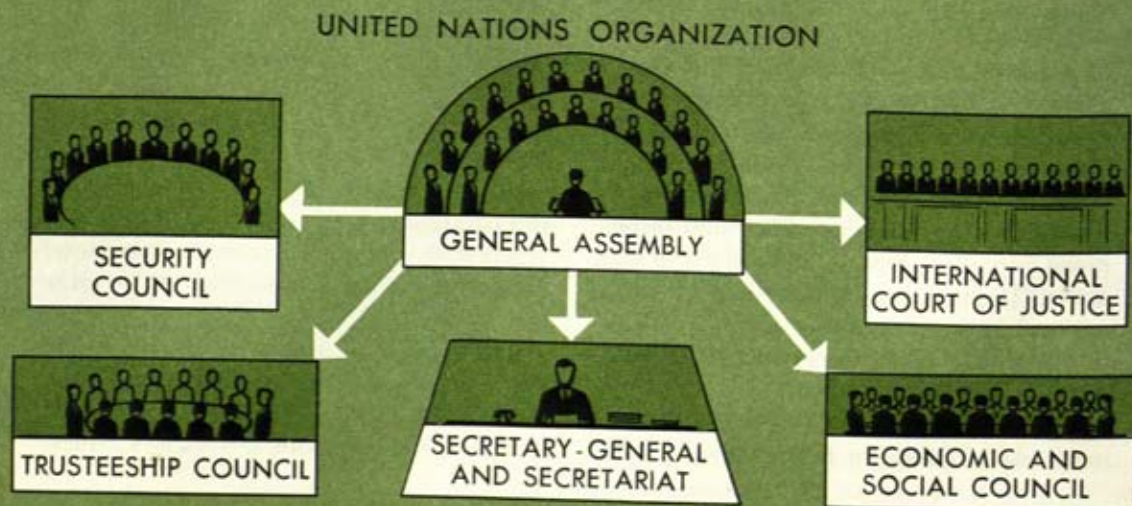
In addition to its other duties, the Economic and Social Council co-ordinates the work of the various specialized agencies which are affiliated with the U.N. There are more than a dozen such agencies and they carry on a broad variety of activities. The most important of these agencies are the World Health Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Labor Organization, and the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization. Together, the Economic and Social Council and the specialized agencies wage a never ending war against poverty, hunger, ignorance, prejudice, and disease—the common enemies of people in all nations.

The Other Organs of the U.N. The U.N. has three other major organs. The Trustee-

ship Council has replaced the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations. It has taken over supervision of the post-World War I mandates which have not yet gained their independence. It also supervises various colonies taken from Japan and Italy after World War II. The Trusteeship Council checks on the progress of these trust territories, publishes periodic reports on their administration, and makes recommendations for improvement.

The International Court of Justice is the principal judicial organ of the U.N. Like the earlier World Court, it decides disputes arising from treaties and other questions of international law. However, there are a few significant changes. The present World Court is closely linked to the U.N., and all members of that organization agree to accept the Court's jurisdiction. Moreover, the Security Council may compel nations to carry out the Court's decisions.

The Secretariat is the international civil service which serves all of the U.N.'s main organs. It takes care of their records and correspondence, makes preparations for con-



ferences, and assists them in other ways. The secretary-general, the head of the Secretariat, is much more influential than his counterpart in the old League. In addition to his regular duties, he may be asked by the various organs to perform special tasks in their behalf. He is also authorized to bring to the Security Council's attention any matter which, in his opinion, threatens international peace.

Significance of the U.N. The U.N., despite its many organs and activities, is far from being a world government. Like the League of Nations, it is a voluntary organization of sovereign nations. Its success therefore depends on the co-operation of its members, particularly the great powers. Nevertheless, the U.N. represents an important step forward in carrying out the principle of collective security. It is the most ambitious and universal international organization ever created. It strives not only to settle disputes among nations but also to remove the underlying causes of conflict. The existence of the U.N. is clear proof of mankind's deep-felt yearning for a lasting peace.

THE UNFINISHED PEACE SETTLEMENT

The New Russian Imperialism. Despite the wartime conferences and the creation of the U.N., the Big Three's plans for organizing a new peace failed. The main reason for this failure was the emergence of fundamental differences between the Western powers, notably the United States, and the Soviet Union. During the war and for several years after it, this country sought to follow a policy of co-operation with all of its former allies. After Japan's surrender, the United States hastily demobilized most of its armed

forces. It contributed generously to UNRRA, thereby aiding Russia, as well as other nations, to rebuild its war-shattered economy. It even offered to share its atomic energy secrets with foreign governments, provided that they agreed to effective international control.

Stalin, on the other hand, seized the opportunity to expand Communist influence by filling the "power vacuum" created by the defeat of Germany and Japan. The Russians kept millions of men under arms and maintained large garrisons in the liberated and occupied countries. They ordered wholesale looting of machinery and other valuable goods, especially in Germany and Manchuria. Arguing that they had to safeguard their country against future attack, they sought to establish permanent control over eastern and central Europe.

Events in Poland first made it evident that the Russians had little intention of abiding by their wartime agreements. After the Yalta Conference, a number of Polish leaders returned from London to join the new government. However, they were treated as virtual prisoners by the Communists. When elections were held, only a single list of candidates was permitted. Despite the protests of the Western powers, Poland became a Russian protectorate, or satellite. Similar developments also occurred in the other countries liberated by the Soviet armies. In Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Albania, the local Communists gained control—usually with the aid of Russian troops and secret police. Even democratic Czechoslovakia, which had regained its independence after the war, fell victim to a Communist coup, early in 1948.

Once securely in power, the satellite governments drove out Western observers and

imposed a rigid censorship. In effect, they placed their nations behind an "Iron Curtain" to cut off contacts with the outside world. They then proceeded to "communize" their countries along lines dictated by Moscow. The United States and Great Britain protested that these policies were violations of the wartime agreements, but their objections fell on deaf ears. It became obvious that Stalin had shifted from a policy of cooperation with the democratic powers to one of almost open hostility.

The Paris Peace Treaties. It was in this atmosphere of mounting ill-feeling that the Allies began the difficult task of drawing up the peace treaties for Italy and the smaller Axis nations—Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Finland. Bitter controversies arose when the foreign ministers of the great powers met to draft the preliminary agreements. After months of bickering, they succeeded in settling most of their differences. A general peace conference, representing all of the nations at war with the Axis, then met in Paris. But once again disputes between the Western powers and the Soviet Union prevented agreement. The foreign ministers had to meet once again to work out the final compromises. The peace treaties were finally signed in Paris by the five former enemy states early in 1947.

The treaty with Italy was the most important of the Paris peace agreements. That country was deprived of all its colonial possessions and had to cede several small border districts to France and Yugoslavia. The port city of Trieste, hotly disputed by both Italy and Yugoslavia, was established as a free territory under the U.N. (Later, an agreement was reached to divide Trieste between the two claimants.) Italy also agreed to pay \$360,000,000 reparations in goods over a period of years, with the bulk of the repara-

tions going to Yugoslavia, Greece, and Russia. Lastly, the Italian armed forces were limited and the frontier areas adjoining France and Yugoslavia were demilitarized.

The provisions of the peace treaties with Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Finland were similar to those of the Italian treaty. The armed forces of all four nations were restricted. They had to pay reparations, with Russia receiving the lion's share. They also had to cede various territories, again mainly to Russia.

The Deadlock over Germany. A complete deadlock developed over the peace settlement with Germany. Almost from the start, the Western and Russian commanders in that country were unable to agree on a unified policy. An international tribunal tried and punished the major Nazi war criminals. But dispute after dispute arose over the treatment of lesser Nazis, over reparations, and over the kind of government to be established. Each of the occupying powers then proceeded to govern its zone in its own way. But a Germany cut into four pieces could hardly exist. Industry was paralyzed, and millions were unemployed. The United States and Great Britain had to spend huge sums to keep the people in their zones from starving. Only the Communists, who hoped to gain many new converts, stood to profit from this unhappy state of affairs.

During 1946 and 1947, the foreign ministers of the great powers held three lengthy conferences to draft a peace treaty for Germany. However, they found it impossible to reach any agreement. In 1948, the Western powers finally decided to go ahead without the Soviet Union. They unified their three zones and authorized the inhabitants to set up a democratic government to deal with local problems. A few years later, after the outbreak of the Korean War (see pp. 660–

661), the Western powers granted the West German Federal Republic complete control over its affairs. They encouraged it to rearm and accepted it as an ally against Russia.

Meanwhile, the Russians were busy converting East Germany into a Communist satellite. They set up a Communist-dominated government, the "German Democratic Republic," and, in theory, granted it full sovereignty. A Soviet-controlled East German military force was created even earlier than the West German army. The establishment of two rival republics considerably complicated the German treaty question. When the great powers discussed it at later conferences, they found themselves further apart than ever. Germany's partition seemed likely to continue indefinitely.

The Peace Treaty with Japan. Japan, unlike Germany, was placed under the control of a single commander, General MacArthur. The American war hero immediately took steps to demilitarize and democratize the country. The Japanese armed forces were completely abolished. Hundreds of war criminals, including a number of generals and admirals, were tried and punished. Efforts were made to break up the great business concerns, which had long controlled Japan's economic life. A democratic constitution was adopted, and the Japanese allowed a considerable measure of self-government.

Nevertheless, the drafting of a peace treaty was delayed for years. This time, the United States and the Soviet Union could not even agree on the procedure to be followed. Finally, in 1951, the United States worked out a draft treaty. It submitted this to the other nations for suggestions and then called a peace conference at San Francisco. Despite strong Soviet opposition, the Japanese peace treaty was approved by almost all of the fifty-two nations present.

The San Francisco peace treaty restored Japan's independence on condition that it "refrain in its international relations from the threat or use of force." It also required Japan to renounce all claims to Korea, Manchuria, Formosa, and various other territories acquired by conquest. (See map, pp. 682-683.) Reparations were to be fixed by separate negotiations between Japan and the nations it had attacked. On the same day, Japan also signed a defense pact with the United States. This country was given the right to maintain bases and troops in Japan to protect it from foreign and internal threats. Several years later, Russia restored diplomatic relations with Japan and signed a separate peace treaty.

A Strange Peace. In all, more than a half-dozen years passed before the peace settlement after World War II finally began to take shape. It was, in several respects, a strange peace. The victors had found it far more difficult than usual to settle the treaty terms for the defeated nations. In the case of Germany and Japan, there was no agreement at all between the Western powers and Russia. Moreover, many of the treaties which had been agreed upon by the wartime allies were soon being openly violated. The Soviet Union encouraged its former foes—Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, and East Germany—to build up their armies and to ignore the human rights and fundamental freedoms which had been guaranteed to their peoples. The Western democracies, in turn, enlisted the support of Italy, West Germany, and Japan. This "diplomatic revolution," like the difficulties in negotiating the peace treaties, was a shocking indication of the fast-widening breach between the Soviet Union and the Western powers. Their growing hostility cast a deep shadow of gloom over the future.



71 / Lesson Review

Checking the facts

1. Explain: General Assembly; Security Council; great-power veto; Economic and Social Council; specialized agencies; Trusteeship Council; International Court of Justice (World Court); satellite nations; "Iron Curtain"; Paris Peace Treaties; Treaty of San Francisco.
2. Identify: Truman; Attlee.
3. Explain the significance of each of the following: the Atlantic Charter; the Yalta agreements; the Potsdam Pact.
4. Name the major organs of the United Nations and describe the functions of each. In what respects does the U.N. represent an advance over the League of Nations?
5. Why did sharp disagreements arise between the Soviet Union and the Western powers after World War II?
6. What were the major provisions of the peace treaty with Italy? Of the treaties with the smaller former Axis nations?
7. Why were the great powers unable to agree on peace terms for Germany? What were the results of their disagreement?
8. How did the occupying authorities seek to demilitarize and democratize Japan? What were the main provisions of the San Francisco peace treaty?

Applying history

1. Compare the problems of the victors after World War II with those after World War I or the Napoleonic Wars. Why is it often said that making peace is more difficult than waging war?
2. Compare the Atlantic Charter with Wilson's Fourteen Points. Why were there so many resemblances? Why was neither program effectively carried out?
3. Explain why you approve or disapprove of the following features of the U.N.:
 - a. Limited General Assembly powers
 - b. Great-power veto in the Security Council
 - c. Far-reaching activities of the Economic and Social Council and the specialized agencies.
4. Discuss: The wartime alliance of the Big Three was a "marriage of convenience" which was bound to dissolve the moment the Axis threat was removed.
5. Discuss General MacArthur's statement, "You can't expect these people [the Japanese] to learn democracy on an empty stomach." Was his program for building economic prosperity and democracy in Japan a success? Prove your answer.
6. Compare the "diplomatic revolution" after World War II with similar cases we have studied.

History and geography

1. Locate the different Allied occupation zones in post-World War II Germany (map, p. 647). Locate the former German territories now controlled by Poland.
2. What special provision was made for control of Berlin? Why were Western Allied occupation forces in the German capital vulnerable to Soviet pressure (map, p. 647)?

Special activities

1. Draw a pair of cartoons or posters to contrast the relationship among the Big Three during World War II and afterward.
2. Describe a trip to U.N. headquarters in New York City, or interview someone who has been there. Discuss the ways in which the U.N. buildings and their decorations reflect the spirit of the new international organization.
3. Keep a scrapbook on the U.N., arranged to show the work of its various organs. Report to the class on its important recent activities.
4. Consult your school or community library for material dealing with the trials of the major Nazi war criminals at Nuremberg. Present a brief report to the class and discuss the arguments for and against such trials.

72 / THE CONFLICT BETWEEN EAST AND WEST



THE COLD WAR IN EUROPE

The rulers in the Kremlin have often boasted that their goal is world communism—that is, the extension of their political and economic system to all other nations. World War II enabled them to make rapid progress toward this goal. The Soviet Union swallowed up numerous neighboring territories. It installed satellite governments in a half-dozen eastern European nations. Moscow-trained agents led a civil war in Greece. In France and Italy, the Communist parties were so strong that their leaders spoke openly of the day when they would seize power. The Communists also made important gains in a number of Asian and African countries. It seemed to the frightened democracies that the rapidly rising Red tide might soon engulf the world. (See map, pp. 662–663.)

The United States, as the strongest of the democracies, played the major role in the struggle to check or contain communism. Convinced that co-operation with the Soviet Union had become impossible, it rebuilt its military strength and created a global system of defensive alliances. Tension between the two powers and their allies rose rapidly. Crisis after crisis occurred, each raising the threat of a third world conflict. This bitter contest between East and West, waged by every method short of all-out war, has been called the “Cold War.”

The Truman Doctrine. America’s policy of containment, designed to stop the spread of communism, was launched as a result of events in the eastern Mediterranean. In Greece, Communist-led guerrillas had started a revolt against the royalist government at the close of World War II. They received considerable aid from the neighboring Communist satellites—Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Albania. Great Britain, which had long been an ally of Greece, supported the Athens government’s efforts to suppress the rebellion. The civil war lasted for years and resulted in terrible suffering for the Greek people. The U.N. Security Council tried to restore peace but its efforts were blocked by Soviet Russia’s use of the veto power (see p. 649).

Meantime, Greece’s neighbor, Turkey, was also in danger. The Soviet government repeatedly demanded that Turkey grant it control of the Straits connecting the Mediterranean and Black seas. As a threat, it ended the nonaggression pact between the two countries. The Turks rejected the Soviet demands. But, fearing attack, they kept their forces on a war footing. The Turks were able to bear the heavy expense only because they received considerable financial aid from Great Britain.

Matters came to a head early in 1947. The British government informed the United States that it could no longer afford to help Turkey and would soon have to withdraw its troops from Greece. President Truman promptly decided to come to the rescue of the two small countries. "It must be the

policy of the United States," he announced, "to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities, or by outside pressure." This statement, known as the Truman Doctrine, was an open declaration of America's intention to fight the spread of communism.

The airlift won for the Allies the gratitude of the people of West Berlin and the admiration of the free world. Right, milk for the children of the blockaded city is loaded aboard an American plane. Below, West Berliners, standing amid rubble from wartime bombings of their city, watch an American cargo plane pass overhead. This time the plane was a symbol of assistance, not destruction.



Congress, acting on the President's recommendation, quickly voted large sums for aid to the threatened nations. American military and civilian advisers saw to it that the aid was put to effective use. The Greek government gradually succeeded in suppressing the rebellion and in restoring normal conditions. The Soviet government relaxed its pressure on Turkey. These developments represented important victories for America's new containment policy.

The European Recovery Program (Marshall Plan). The United States also felt growing concern over bad economic conditions in Europe. Many people blamed the postwar difficulties, such as inflation and low living standards, on the capitalist system and were attracted by the promises of communism. In June, 1947, the American secretary of state, General George C. Marshall, offered a vast new program of economic aid for Europe. The only condition he made was that the European countries join together to help in their own recovery.

Sixteen nations, most of them located in western Europe, met to take advantage of the American offer. The Russians, on the other hand, denounced the Marshall Plan and warned that neither the Soviet Union nor the satellites would co-operate. They also created a new international organization, the Communist Information Bureau or Cominform, to combat the "imperialism of the United States." At its direction, the Communists launched a wave of strikes, sabotage, and riots throughout western Europe.

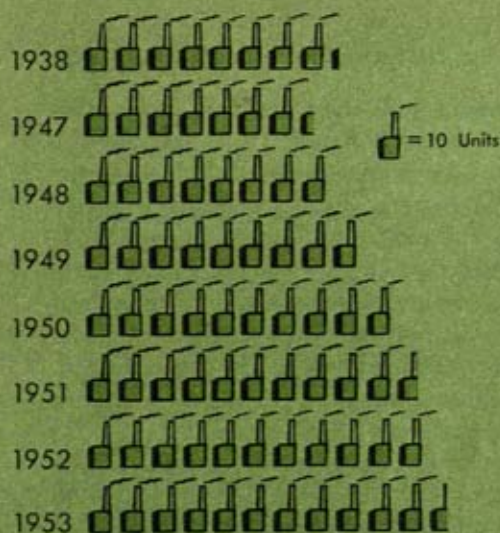
The Communists, despite all of their efforts, did not succeed in wrecking the European Recovery Program. During the next four years, from 1948 to 1952, the United States sent the nations of western Europe approximately \$12,000,000,000 worth of supplies, including food, raw materials, farm

equipment, and industrial machinery. This huge amount of American aid gave the Europeans the lift they needed. Industrial production rose rapidly, to well above prewar levels. Inflation was checked, foreign trade increased, and living standards rose. As economic conditions improved, the Communist parties in western Europe began to lose members and influence. The weakening of the Communists was especially important in France and Italy.

The Berlin Blockade. To promote the recovery of Europe, it was also important to find a solution for Germany's problems. In 1948, the United States, Great Britain, and France proceeded, despite very sharp Soviet protests, to unify their three occupation zones (p. 652). Stalin struck back at the Western powers where they were weakest, in Berlin. The German capital, located deep in the Russian occupation zone (map, p. 647), had been divided into four sectors by the Potsdam Conference. Without warning, the Soviet military authorities began to stop all trains, trucks, and barges bringing in supplies to the Western sectors. It appeared that the democracies would have to withdraw from West Berlin or condemn its 2,500,000 inhabitants to starvation.

The Western allies found an unexpected solution to their problem. Quickly gathering a large fleet of cargo planes, they began to supply the city by air. Thousands of tons of food and fuel were brought in daily. The Soviet commander, protesting that the Westerners had no right to fly over the Russian occupation zone, ordered fighter planes to "hold maneuvers" there. However, the Western powers refused to back down before the Soviet threats. The air lift continued for more than a year, until the Russians agreed to call off the blockade.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The ever growing danger of war led the



EUROPE'S RECOVERY
UNDER THE MARSHALL PLAN

United States to rebuild its armed forces and to seek allies against Russia. In 1949, it joined with a number of other Western nations on both sides of the Atlantic to organize a powerful defensive alliance, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The original members of NATO were the United States, Canada, Great Britain, France, Italy, and seven smaller nations of western Europe. Later, NATO was extended to the eastern Mediterranean by the inclusion of Greece and Turkey.

The members of NATO agreed that an armed attack against one would be regarded as an attack against all. They pledged themselves to take prompt action against an aggressor. To co-ordinate their defenses, they held regular meetings and established a unified military command. The United States kept troops in Europe and spent large sums to equip its allies with modern arms. As NATO's strength grew, the danger of Soviet attack on the West decreased.

There was still one serious weakness in the Western defense system. West Germany,

potentially the strongest country in western Europe, remained disarmed. However, when the United States proposed to remilitarize the Germans, France raised loud protests. It took several years to work out a compromise agreement. This allowed the Germans to rearm but required that their military units be part of a projected West European Army. The West German Federal Republic became the fifteenth member of NATO in 1954. Germany's admission to NATO completed the Western wall of alliances to contain communism in Europe (map, pp. 662-663).

THE COLD WAR IN ASIA

Unrest in Asia. The Communist strategy proved far more successful in Asia than in Europe. World War II had left the Asian peoples poorer than ever. It had weakened the Western imperialist powers and intensified the spirit of Asian nationalism (see pp. 568-572). The Soviet Union took advantage of this situation. It sent in agents to fan the flames of revolt. The Communists, who were able to obtain arms and expert military advice from Russia, often rose to high posts in the nationalist movements. They also won wide support by promising the people land and other radical reforms. By cleverly exploiting the mass misery and unrest in Asia, communism made great gains there even after its spread was halted in Europe.

The Communist Conquest of China. The greatest Communist triumph occurred in populous China. Soon after the Japanese surrender, the old hostility between the Nationalists and Communists (see pp. 608-609) flared forth in a new civil war. The Soviet Union assisted the Chinese Communists. It gave them arms and enabled them to establish a strong base in Manchuria. The United States, after trying

vainly to arrange a peaceful settlement, threw its support behind the Nationalists.

The fighting in China raged for more than four years, from 1945 to 1949. The turning point came when the Communists won a decisive victory in Manchuria. They wiped out a large Nationalist army and captured depots full of American munitions. As the Reds advanced rapidly southward, one Nationalist army after another went over to their side. Chiang Kai-shek was forced to withdraw with the remainder of his forces to the island of Formosa (Taiwan), off the southern coast of China. The Communist leader, Mao Tse-tung, became head of the new Chinese People's Republic.

China, with its huge population and rich mineral resources, proved an extremely valuable addition to the Communist cause. Mao Tse-tung soon concluded a military and economic alliance with the Soviet Union. In exchange for exports of food and raw materials, he obtained from Russia military equipment, machinery, and technical advisers. The Chinese Communists rapidly modernized their army, which was estimated to be one of the largest in the world. In imitation of the U.S.S.R., they also sought to transform China into an advanced industrialized country.

The Revolt in Indo-China. The Communists won another victory in the rich French colony of Indo-China. During the Japanese occupation, a Communist leader had secretly formed a strong nationalist movement in the state of Viet Nam, which constituted approximately one-half of the entire colony. After Japan's surrender, he proclaimed Viet Nam's independence. The French promptly sent large forces into Indo-China and sought to restore their control. The Communist-led nationalists withdrew into the jungle and resorted to guerrilla warfare. The "Dirty War," as the French called it, dragged on for almost ten years.

Finally, in 1954, the rebels were able, thanks to large-scale military assistance from Communist China, to win a decisive victory. The French then agreed to grant Indo-China its independence. The former colony was divided into four separate countries (map, pp. 682-683). North Viet Nam came under Communist control. South Viet Nam set up a democratic government, strengthened by large amounts of economic and military aid from the United States. The other two countries, Laos and Cambodia, sought to maintain a neutral position in the Cold War. Laos, in particular, found this difficult. In 1959, the Laotian government charged that well-armed Communist bands from North Viet Nam were invading the country. It appealed to the Western powers and the U.N. for help.

The Point Four Program. In 1948, the same year that Stalin launched his offensive against the Marshall Plan in Europe, Communist-led revolts also broke out in southern and eastern Asia—in India, Burma, Malaya, the East Indies, and the Philippine Islands. Although all of these revolts were eventually crushed, the Communists for a time won considerable popular support. One important reason was that they promised to improve the condition of the poverty-stricken peoples of these countries.

President Truman soon announced a plan to deal with Asia's problems. In his second-term inaugural address, in January, 1949, he called for "a bold new program . . . making the benefits of scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of under-developed areas." Since this proposal was the fourth point in the President's speech, it became known as the Point Four Program.

Under the Point Four Program, the United States sent engineers, farm experts, medical men, educators, and other advisers

to Asia. It also built important public works and supplied food to famine-stricken areas. The United States was soon joined by a United Nations agency in this work of technical assistance. With help from both the United States and the U.N., a number of Asian nations initiated projects to strengthen their economies and raise living standards.

The Korean War. Before the Point Four Program could really get under way, the United States found itself confronted by a new emergency. The mountainous peninsula of Korea had been liberated from Japanese rule by both American and Russian troops at the end of World War II. The thirty-eighth parallel was set as the dividing-line between the occupation zones of the two powers. Their troops were supposed to withdraw as soon as they disarmed the Japanese and established a stable government. However, the Soviet Union used the opportunity to set up a Communist regime in North Korea. In South Korea, on the other hand, a democratic government was established in 1948 under U.N. supervision. A few months later, the Soviet Union and the United States both withdrew their occupation forces.

Border clashes soon broke out between the troops of the two rival Korean governments. A full-scale war began in 1950, when the North Koreans sent a powerful force across the thirty-eighth parallel. Equipped with Soviet tanks, artillery, and automatic weapons, they easily routed the lightly armed Republic of Korea army. As they advanced swiftly southward, it seemed that all of Korea would soon fall to the Communists.

The United States immediately brought the North Korean aggression before the Security Council. At that time, the Russians were boycotting the U.N. as a protest against its refusal to seat Communist China. Since the Soviet delegate was not present to cast his veto, the Security Council was able to

take action. It called on all U.N. members to help the Republic of Korea repel the invaders and restore peace. American troops were rushed in from nearby Japan. Together with the South Koreans, they managed to slow down the Red advance. Reinforcements soon came pouring in from the United States and from more than a dozen other U.N. members.

Within a short time, the U.N. armies went over to the offensive. They inflicted a crushing defeat on the North Korean invaders, crossed the thirty-eighth parallel, and advanced rapidly northward. As they approached the Manchurian frontier, Communist China entered the war. Several hundred thousand Chinese "volunteer troops" poured across the Yalu River and severely defeated the U.N. forces. With the aid of new reinforcements, the U.N. armies finally succeeded in checking the Red advance and renewed their offensive. But this time they advanced very slowly and at heavy cost. By the time they again crossed the thirty-eighth parallel, both sides were ready to discuss an armistice.

The truce talks dragged on for fully two years, 1951–1953. The main disagreement arose over the repatriation of prisoners of war. A surprisingly large number of North Korean and Chinese soldiers—about 50,000 in all—were unwilling to return to their homelands. The Reds finally agreed that all prisoners refusing repatriation should be turned over to a commission of neutral nations. With this difficult problem out of the way, both sides found it possible to reach agreement on the armistice terms.

Aftermath of the Korean War. The Korean War had several important effects. The Republic of Korea was saved from Communist aggression. Despite heavy losses, its forces emerged from the war better prepared to withstand any future attack. Reconstruc-



A series of "little wars" has marred the peace after World War II. American troops march through a village in sub-zero weather in Korea (above). French troops attack the elusive enemy in the tropical swamps of Indo-China (right).



tion of the badly battered country proceeded quickly, thanks to large-scale aid from the United States.

The United States now decided to construct a security system in the Far East similar to NATO in Europe. It signed a series of mutual defense pacts with the Republic of Korea, Japan, and Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist government on Formosa. Then in 1954, after the French defeat in Indo-China, it organized the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO). Eight nations—the United States, Great Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, and Thailand—pledged themselves to help one another in case of a Communist attack. With the creation of SEATO, the American wall of alliances to protect eastern Asia and the Pacific was completed.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE COLD WAR

The Soviet "New Look." After the death of Premier Stalin early in 1953 (see p. 673), the Cold War entered a new phase. Stalin's successors made important changes in their former chief's policies. They preached the idea that "peaceful coexistence" between the Communist and capitalist nations was possible. The Iron Curtain was lifted to permit foreign travelers in the Soviet Union, and numerous Soviet missions were sent to visit other lands. Unlike Stalin, the new leaders themselves made visits to a number of foreign countries. This changed Soviet foreign policy, which outwardly seemed more friendly to the West, became known as the "New Look."

RIVAL BLOCS IN THE COLD WAR



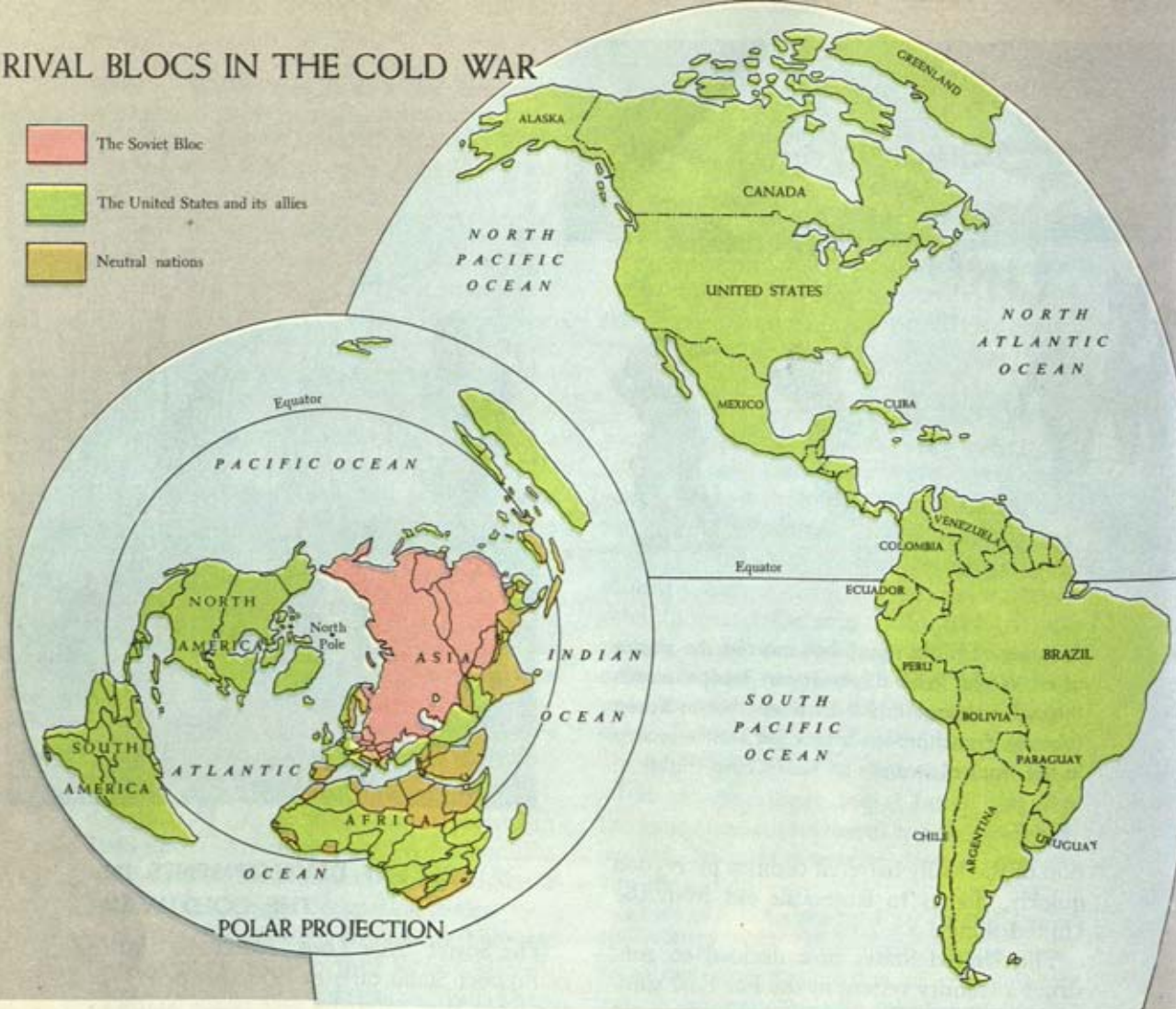
The Soviet Bloc



The United States and its allies



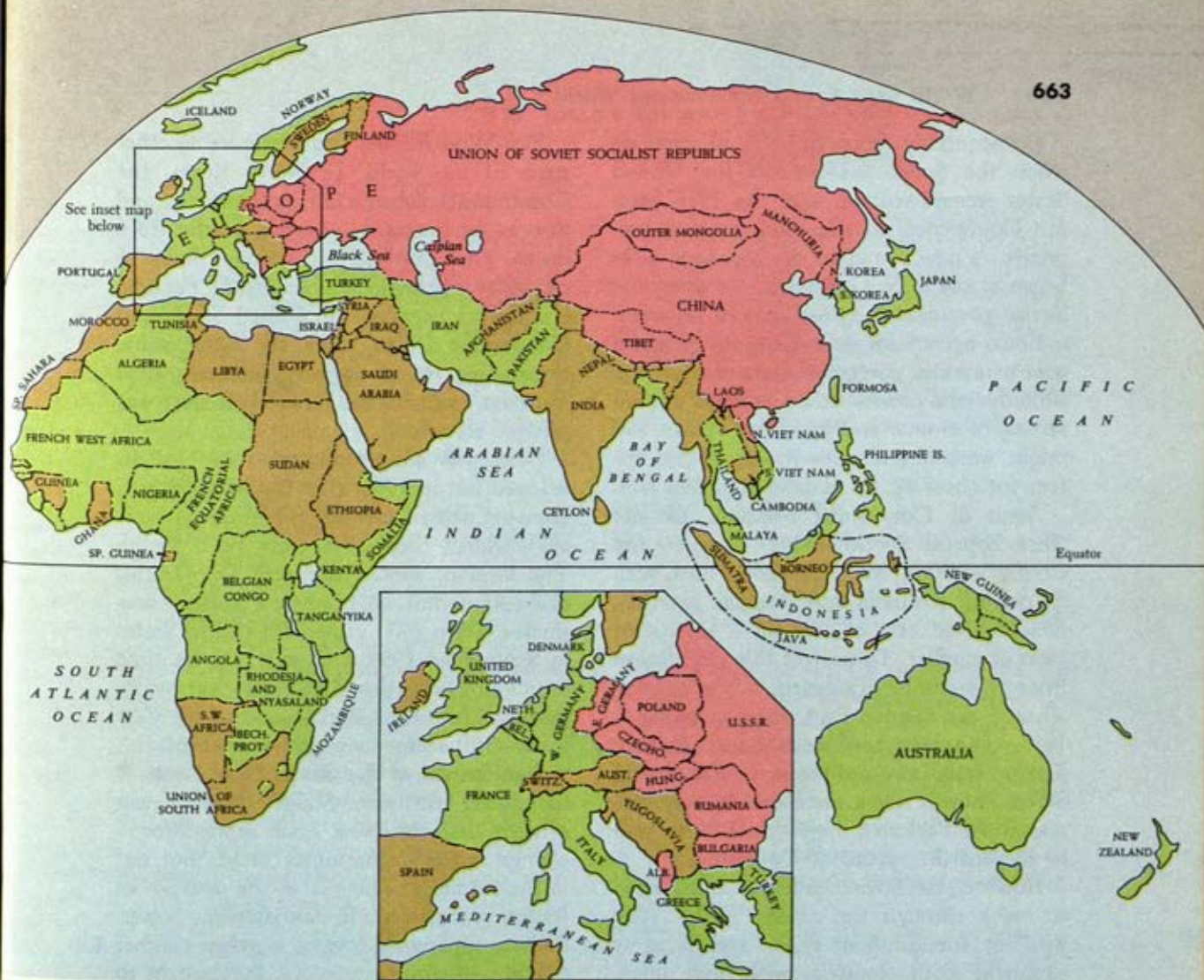
Neutral nations



Many observers believed that this new attitude was responsible for the Communists' willingness to end the war in Korea and to accept the partition of Indo-China. Moreover, the Soviet government suddenly agreed to a peace treaty with Austria, which had been divided into four occupation zones since the end of World War II. Growing optimism led to the calling of a "Summit Conference" at Geneva in 1955. Here the American President and the British and French premiers met with the Soviet leaders

to discuss the major issues dividing East and West. Although no important agreements were reached, it was believed for a time that the discussions had eased tensions and reduced the likelihood of war.

Progress at the U.N. The New Look was also reflected in discussions at the U.N. Soon after the end of World War II, the Security Council had launched a series of meetings to bring about disarmament, especially of atomic weapons. The United States had promptly submitted a far-reaching plan for



the international control and development of atomic energy for both peaceful and military purposes. Although the United States at the time was the only nation with A-bombs, it agreed to destroy them once international control became effective. The American proposal won wide support, but it was vetoed by the Soviet Union. The Russians objected to international control, proposing instead that the nations sign a treaty agreeing to outlaw atomic weapons immediately. The result was a deadlock.

A new arms race now began. Within the next few years, the United States, the Soviet Union, and Great Britain developed many types of A-bombs and an even more destructive new weapon, the hydrogen bomb or H-bomb. They also built guided missiles capable of exploding atomic and hydrogen bombs on targets hundreds or even thousands of miles away. With such deadly weapons, another war was likely to prove suicidal for both sides, and might possibly destroy all of mankind.

Consequently there was general rejoicing when the Soviet Union and the United States seemed willing, after the 1955 Summit Conference, to alter their original proposals. A new round of disarmament talks began at the U.N. Optimism rose when the Soviet government agreed to join an international agency for developing the peaceful uses of atomic energy. It seemed also possible that the powers would agree to stop all testing of atomic and hydrogen bombs and might work out a mutually acceptable system for checking on violations of this ban.

Areas of Continuing Friction. Despite these hopeful developments, however, the Cold War continued. The Middle East, with its rich oil resources and strategic location, now became one of the most important areas of conflict. To protect this vital region from Communist aggression, a new defense alliance, the Bagdad Pact, was concluded in 1955. The members were Great Britain, Turkey, Iraq, Iran, and Pakistan. The United States, though not a member, strongly supported the Pact as a major block in its wall to prevent the spread of Communism.

However, the Soviet leaders soon managed to break through the allied "wall." They won the friendship of Egypt and Syria by supplying both countries with large quantities of modern arms. With Soviet support, the Egyptian dictator, Gamal Abdel Nasser (see p. 684), then launched a powerful campaign of Pan-Arab nationalism. In 1958, revolts broke out against the pro-Western governments of Lebanon, Jordan, and Iraq. For the moment, the governments of Lebanon and Jordan were saved by the dispatch of American and British troops. However, a new anti-Western government succeeded in taking power in Iraq. The Communist alliance with Arab nationalism weakened the Bagdad Pact and threatened to embroil the entire Middle East in conflict.

East-West friction also continued in other parts of the world. In North Korea, the Communists constructed new airfields and flew in jet planes in violation of the truce terms. They displayed no genuine desire to negotiate a permanent peace treaty. Periodic crises arose between the United States and Communist China when the latter made threatening moves against Nationalist-held Formosa, which the United States was pledged to defend.

Even more dangerous was a crisis that developed late in 1958, after the Moscow government demanded that the Western powers withdraw their forces from West Berlin. The tension, which continued for months, eased somewhat when Soviet Premier Khrushchev (see p. 673) visited the United States in September, 1959, and withdrew his time limit. However, the East-West controversy over the future of Berlin—and of all Germany—still seemed no nearer solution.

Significance of the Soviet New Look. A half-dozen years after Stalin's death, it was evident that the New Look represented a change in the Communists' tactics but not in their strategy. The goal of the new Soviet leaders was still world communism. Nevertheless, apparently fearing a major conflict fought with atomic weapons, they sought to avoid open war with the West. They spoke confidently of engaging in peaceful economic rivalry with the United States and of winning the friendship of other nations through generous offers of trade and aid. At the same time, they continued to probe for weak spots in the Western defenses and to push the policy of internal revolutions which had already won them such important victories in China, Indo-China, and the Middle East. Only time would tell whether the free world would be as successful in meeting this new Communist menace as it had been in dealing with Stalin's cruder, more forceful challenge.



Checking the facts

1. Explain: Cold War; Truman Doctrine; containment policy; European Recovery Program (Marshall Plan); Berlin Blockade; North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO); Point Four Program; Korean War; Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO); Soviet "New Look"; peaceful coexistence; hydrogen bomb (H-bomb); Summit Conference (1955); Bagdad Pact; Pan-Arab nationalism.
2. Identify: Mao Tse-tung; Nasser.
3. What were the reasons for the outbreak of the Cold War?
4. Explain how each of these American policies helped check the spread of communism in Europe: aid to Greece and Turkey; the European Recovery Program; the Berlin air lift; the formation of NATO.
5. Why were the Communists more successful in Asia than in Europe?
6. How did the Communists gain control of China? northern Indo-China?
7. How did the United States try to check the spread of communism in Asia?
8. What were the causes of the Korean War? Why did the war end in a stalemate? How did the United States seek to construct a new security system in the Far East?
9. In what ways did the new Soviet leaders modify Stalin's most aggressive policies? Why did tension between the Soviet Union and the United States continue to exist?

Applying history

1. Discuss: The Cold War is a conflict between two opposing ways of life. Have tensions between the rival blocs been decreasing recently? Prove your answer.
2. Compare the Truman Doctrine with the Monroe Doctrine (pp. 520-521). Is the United States justified in considering the spread of communism anywhere in the world a threat to its safety? Explain.

3. Why has the United States spent many billions of dollars to promote the economic recovery and development of other nations? Has this policy been successful? Should we launch a large-scale "Marshall Plan for Asia"? Justify your answers.
4. Why was the Korean War called an "international police action"? How did it strengthen the principle of collective security?

History and geography

1. Locate (map, pp. 662-663): Greece; Turkey; West Germany; Manchuria; Formosa; North Viet Nam; South Viet Nam; Laos; Cambodia; North Korea; South Korea; Pakistan; Iraq; Iran.
2. Using both the map of the world and the inset map (p. 662), list and locate the major countries allied with the United States in the Cold War. List and locate the countries which were members of the Soviet Bloc. What important countries have sought to maintain a policy of neutrality?
3. On the inset polar-projection map (p. 662), trace the westernmost limits of Communist power in Europe.
4. Explain, from this same map, the strategic significance of the North Pole and Arctic region in the Cold War.

Special activities

1. On a large map of the world, use numbered pins or other markers to indicate the present areas of tension in the Cold War. Discuss briefly the problems of each of the areas where the markers are located.
2. After consulting books and magazines in your library, write a brief account of the formation of NATO and of the functions it now performs.
3. On your class bulletin board, post newspaper items and pictures relating to current international developments.



Domestic developments in the Western democracies and the Communist nations offered a sharp contrast during the postwar period. Both groups of countries faced similar problems but handled them in very different ways. The Western governments experimented with a variety of methods. For example, some dropped their wartime economic controls and restored free enterprise as quickly as possible. Others adopted socialistic measures, such as government ownership of basic industries. Nevertheless, all of the major Western nations had certain factors in common. As democracies, they respected the rights of their citizens, consulted their wishes, and sought to meet their needs.

The Soviet Union and its satellites, on the other hand, all followed rigidly uniform policies. A handful of Communist leaders controlled the government, the economic system, and virtually all social activities. Disregarding their people's well-being, they concentrated on the expansion of their military and industrial strength. Their aim was to catch up to, and eventually to surpass, the West. By the late 1950's the Communists had made considerable progress toward this goal.

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE WEST

Economic and Social Developments in the United States. The leading Western power, the United States, suffered little physical damage in World War II. Nevertheless,

it faced the difficult problem of changing over from a wartime to a peaceful economy. The American people, ignoring this problem, demanded a rapid return to normal conditions. President Truman responded by ending the rationing of consumer goods and by lifting most other government controls on business. A great boom followed. People rushed to buy homes, automobiles, and other items which had been scarce during the war. Production, employment, and living standards all soared to new heights. Despite rising prices and a wave of strikes for higher wages, the United States entered a period of unparalleled prosperity.

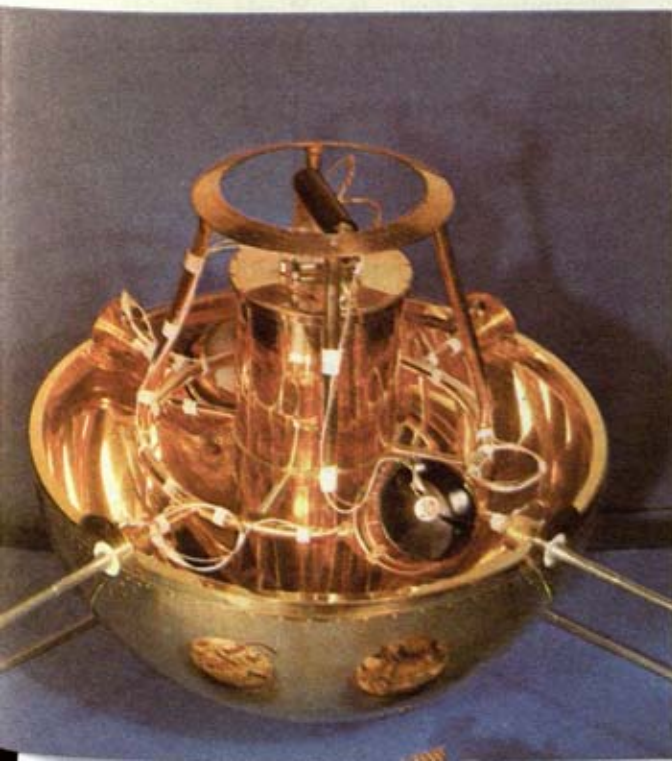
Several other important developments took place within the United States during the postwar period. Congress enacted a generous program of government assistance to war veterans. Minimum wages were raised and social security benefits were liberalized. There was also a strong movement to guarantee equal opportunities to minority groups. Various states passed fair employment acts, which forbade employers to discriminate in hiring workers on account of their race, color, or religion. In 1954, the United States Supreme Court ruled that it was unconstitutional to segregate Negroes from whites in public schools and other places. This decision provoked great controversy in this country, especially in the South.

The most striking feature of American foreign policy in the postwar period was the triumph of internationalism. Both Demo-

crats and Republicans welcomed the creation of the U.N. and favored economic aid to the war-ravaged nations. After the outbreak of the Cold War, this country assumed the role of leader of the free world. Its numerous anti-Communist alliances, and particularly its intervention in the Korean War, showed that traditional isolationism was virtually dead.

Though the two major political parties were basically in agreement on international affairs, they engaged in many disputes over domestic policies. The Republicans ended twenty years of Democratic rule when General Eisenhower was elected President in 1952. The new President sought to reduce government interference with business and lifted the economic controls imposed during

This generation has witnessed man's first steps in the conquest of outer space. Even more challenging, however, are the many problems which face him on earth.



the Korean War. Government spending was cut and taxes were reduced. Strong measures were taken to weed out government employees suspected of disloyalty.

President Eisenhower's second term witnessed a brief but sharp recession, increased government spending and budget deficits, and a revival of Democratic strength in the country. Another important development was the admission into the Union of two new states, Alaska and Hawaii.

Reconstruction and Recovery in Great Britain. Few countries faced a darker prospect at the end of World War II than did Great Britain. Almost one-fourth of its entire wealth had been destroyed. Once the world's greatest lending nation, it was now deeply in debt to other countries. Many prewar markets had been lost and its export industries were handicapped by worn-out machinery. A number of valuable colonies, including India, were on the verge of rebellion.

The work of reconstruction and recovery was begun by the new Labor Government, which took office toward the close of World War II (see p. 646). Prime Minister Attlee called on the British people to continue their wartime sacrifices. High taxes, strict rationing, and rigid government controls on business were retained. Labor unions agreed to postpone demands for higher wages and to co-operate with management in increasing production. With American aid, new factories were built and older ones modernized. Gradually and painfully, the gap between exports and imports was narrowed.

Meanwhile, the Labor Government pushed through its program of democratic socialism. Many large industries, including coal, iron and steel, and transport, were nationalized. The existing social insurance system was greatly broadened. Particularly important was the National Health Insurance Act of 1948, which made free medical, surgi-

cal, and dental care available to every Briton. The price of basic foods was kept down and many low-rent housing projects were built. The Labor program gave the workers a more equal share of the nation's income. However, members of the rich and middle classes complained about the high taxes needed to support it. There was also grumbling about government controls and inefficient administration of the nationalized industries.

The Conservatives sought to deal with these complaints when they regained control of the government after the general election of 1951. They retained socialized medicine and many of the other Labor reforms but "denationalized" the steel and trucking industries by selling them back to private owners. They also gradually reduced taxes, lifted restrictions on business, and ended rationing.

The Laborites and the Conservatives pursued similar foreign policies. They co-operated closely with the United States in the Cold War. They also agreed on the need to grant the colonies' demands for self-rule. Burma, Jordan, and Palestine were granted independence soon after World War II. India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Malaya, and Ghana (the Gold Coast) became self-governing members of the Commonwealth of Nations. Steps were taken to extend dominion status to other colonies in Africa and the West Indies (map, pp. 682-683).

However, the British government met with difficulties in dealing with the strategic island of Cyprus, in the eastern Mediterranean. Approximately four-fifths of the island's population were of Greek descent, the rest mainly of Turkish origin. In 1955, the Greek Cypriotes rebelled to end British rule and bring about union with Greece. Fighting also broke out between the Greek and Turkish Cypriotes. The trouble on Cyprus embittered relations among Greece, Turkey, and Great Britain. The conflict also

weakened NATO, to which all three nations belonged. In 1959, after lengthy negotiations, the British were finally able to arrange a compromise settlement. Cyprus received self-government following pledges by the island's Greek leaders that they would respect the rights of the Turkish minority and would abandon the idea of uniting with Greece.

Continued Weakness of France. France, like Great Britain, suffered greatly in World War II. It also had to deal with rising nationalism in its colonial empire. But, unlike its neighbor across the Channel, it was handicapped by a weak and unstable government. The constitution of the Fourth Republic, adopted in 1946, in most respects resembled that of the Third Republic (see pp. 428–429). Moreover, the first election under the new constitution showed that the French voters were almost as badly divided as before the war. The Communists, with more than one-fourth of the seats in the new National Assembly, emerged as France's strongest party. The rightist groups gained approximately one-sixth of the seats. Between the extremists were three sizable moderate parties—the Popular Republicans, the Radicals, and the Socialists. These three parties formed a majority coalition and generally controlled the government for the next decade. Since they disagreed on many issues, however, cabinet crises occurred frequently.

From the outset, the Fourth Republic was confronted with serious economic problems. The national debt had been swollen by the costs of the war, the German occupation, and reconstruction. The early postwar cabinets, under Socialist influence, added to this burden by nationalizing several important industries and expanding the social insurance system. However, every attempt to raise the necessary taxes met with strong resistance. Although French industry became very prosperous as a result of the Marshall Plan, the

national treasury fell ever more deeply into debt. The franc dwindled to a fraction of its prewar value. The workers, who suffered from the soaring cost of living, showed discontent by staging frequent strikes. Many also protested by voting for the Communists.

France met with great difficulty in dealing with its colonies. As we have seen, Indo-China was lost after almost ten years of costly warfare. Meanwhile, nationalist revolts broke out in North Africa. After considerable bloodshed, France had to grant independence to Tunisia and Morocco. In Algeria, efforts to restore order failed even though almost the entire French army was sent there. The continual colonial wars imposed a heavy burden on France's weak finances and endangered its world position.

The troubles of the Fourth Republic came to a head in the summer of 1958. A group of military leaders in Algeria, strongly supported by rightists in France itself, refused to obey the weak government. They demanded that General Charles de Gaulle (see p. 632) be given control. The National Assembly, faced with the threat of civil war, yielded. It granted General de Gaulle emergency powers for a six-month period.

The wartime hero immediately set to work to deal with France's many problems. By raising taxes and devaluing the franc, he greatly improved the country's financial position. He drafted a new constitution, which provided for a very powerful executive, and won its approval by an overwhelming majority of the voters. In December, de Gaulle was elected President of the new Fifth Republic. Meanwhile, the French leader sought to eliminate nationalist discontent in the colonies by transforming the French Empire into a voluntary community of free peoples. He also initiated negotiations with the Algerian nationalists in an attempt to end the bloody revolt in that region.

THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA

ALASKA
Nome, Barrow, Fairbanks, Anchorage

CANADA
Yukon Terr., Northwest Territory, British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario, Quebec, Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia
Yellowknife, Churchill, Winnipeg, Edmonton, Calgary, Vancouver, Seattle, Portland, Boise, Reno, San Francisco, Los Angeles, San Diego, Phoenix, Albuquerque, Dallas, Houston, New Orleans, Miami, Havana, San Juan, Puerto Rico

UNITED STATES
WASH., OREG., IDAHO, MONT., WYO., NEBR., IOWA, WIS., MICH., IND., PA., N.Y., MASS., N.H., V.T., N.J., DEL., N.C., S.C., GA., FLA., TEXAS, ARIZ., NEV., CALIF., ARK., MISS., ALA., TENN., KY., OHIO, MO., IL., IN., W.V., VA., N.C., S.C., GA., FLA.

Surrounding Regions: Siberia (U.S.S.R.), Greenland, Iceland, Mexico, Cuba, Puerto Rico, San Juan

Bodies of Water: Arctic Ocean, Baffin Bay, Hudson Bay, Pacific Ocean, Atlantic Ocean, Gulf of Mexico

Scale of Miles: 0, 500, 1000

THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA

Geographical Features:

- Oceans:** ARCTIC OCEAN, PACIFIC OCEAN, ATLANTIC OCEAN, GULF OF MEXICO.
- Seas:** BERING STRAIT, HUDSON BAY, BAFFIN BAY.
- Islands:** ICELAND, GREENLAND, NEWFOUNDLAND, PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND, MANITOWAN ISLAND, HAWAII (Kauai, Oahu, Molokai, Lanai, Maui, Hawaii), CUBA, PUERTO RICO, San Juan.
- Neighboring Countries:** MEXICO, SIBERIA (U.S.S.R.).

United States States and Territories:

- ALASKA (Fairbanks, Anchorage)
- BRITISH COLUMBIA
- WASH. (Seattle)
- OREG. (Portland)
- IDaho (Boise)
- NEV. (Reno)
- CALIF. (San Francisco, Los Angeles, San Diego)
- UTAH (Salt Lake City)
- COLO. (Denver)
- ARIZ. (Phoenix)
- N. MEX. (Albuquerque)
- TEXAS (Dallas, Houston)
- WYOM. (Cheyenne)
- WIS. (Milwaukee)
- ILL. (Chicago)
- IND. (Indianapolis)
- OHIO (Cleveland)
- PA. (Philadelphia)
- DE. (Dover)
- N.Y. (New York)
- CONN. (Hartford)
- MASS. (Boston)
- VERM. (Montpelier)
- N.H. (Manchester)
- ME. (Portland)
- N.J. (Trenton)
- MD. (Annapolis)
- VA. (Richmond)
- N.C. (Raleigh)
- S.C. (Columbia)
- GA. (Atlanta)
- FLA. (Miami)

Canada Provinces and Territories:

- ALBERTA (Edmonton)
- SASKATCHEWAN (Regina)
- MANITOBA (Winnipeg)
- ONTARIO (Toronto)
- QUEBEC (Quebec City)
- NEWFOUNDLAND (St. John's)
- PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND (Charlottetown)
- MANITOWAN ISLAND (Winnipeg)
- BRITISH COLUMBIA (Vancouver)
- ALASKA (Fairbanks)
- YUKON TERR. (Whitehorse)
- NORTHWEST TERRITORY (Yellowknife)

Scale:

- Scale of Miles: 0, 500, 1000.
- Scale of Miles (Hawaii): 0, 100.

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West Germany's Revival. Germany suffered even more damage than Great Britain or France in World War II. Many of its cities lay in ruins. Food and fuel were scarce and industry was at a virtual standstill. Millions of refugees, pouring in from eastern Europe, aggravated the housing shortage and unemployment problem. Conditions remained bad until the democratic powers unified the three Western zones in 1948. In 1952, they permitted the West Germans to set up their own government, with its capital at Bonn (map, p. 674).

The constitution of the West German Federal Republic resembled in many respects the democratic constitution adopted after World War I (see pp. 597-598). However, the new Bonn Government proved more stable. Although numerous political groups emerged in the first election, the conservative Christian Democrats gained almost a majority of the seats in the parliament. Their able leader, Konrad Adenauer, formed a coalition with several smaller conservative parties and became chancellor. The Social Democrats, with nearly as many seats as the Christian Democrats, became the leading opposition party. The extreme nationalists, who sought to revive Nazism, polled only a small vote. Weakest of all was the Communist party, whose leaders were generally regarded as puppets of the U.S.S.R.

The Adenauer Government adopted policies favorable to private enterprise. The budget was balanced. Taxes were kept low and few controls were imposed on business. Strikes were discouraged and labor co-operated with management in rebuilding the shattered economy. West Germany made an amazing comeback, soon becoming one of the most prosperous countries in Europe.

Chancellor Adenauer's pro-Western foreign policy also proved extremely fruitful. The democratic powers, particularly the U.S.,

helped restore the German economy. They also encouraged it to build an army and accepted it in NATO. In return, the Bonn Government permitted them to maintain military bases on its territory.

Progress in Italy. Postwar Italy, like Germany, suffered the humiliations of defeat and foreign military occupation. The country was badly damaged by years of fighting and was unable to pay for essential imports of food and raw materials. Its early postwar governments were weak and unstable. A bitter dispute arose over the king, who was blamed for his support of Fascism. After a plebiscite in 1946, the monarchy was overthrown and Italy became a republic.

The constitution of the new Italian Republic provided for a parliamentary regime similar to that of France. The first election under this constitution was a particularly crucial one. The Italian Communist party, which claimed the largest membership outside of the Iron Curtain, launched a vigorous campaign to gain control of the government. However, the Christian Democrats and the other moderate parties rallied to the defense of democracy. With the strong support of the Catholic Church and the United States, they gained a decisive victory. Christian Democrats alone won more than half the seats in the Chamber of Deputies. Their leader, Alcide de Gasperi, became premier and remained at the helm for years.

Thanks to a stable government and the European Recovery Program, Italy made rapid progress during the next decade. Geologists discovered deposits of natural gas and petroleum. Many new power plants were built. The textile mills and other major industries were modernized. Malaria was brought under control and waste areas were reclaimed for agriculture. Laws were passed to divide the large estates, especially in southern Italy, among the peasants. Though un-

employment was slow to disappear, the Italian people generally soon enjoyed a much higher standard of living under democracy than under Fascism.

Conditions in the Smaller Democracies. The smaller Western democracies—notably Canada, Ireland, Belgium, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and the Scandinavian countries—also made progress during the postwar period. Those which had suffered war damage were able, with American aid, to repair it quickly. All soon regained their prosperity. Their inhabitants continued to enjoy high living standards. They benefited from advanced social legislation and other measures designed to protect their welfare. Almost all of the smaller democracies participated in the European Recovery Program and became members of NATO.

Steps Toward Western European Unity. Among the most significant developments of the post-World War II period were the efforts of the western European nations to draw closer together. Shaken by two disastrous wars in a single generation, they formed a number of organizations to insure future political and military co-operation. However, the most important steps toward the federation of western Europe were economic in nature.

In 1948, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxemburg formed a customs union called Benelux. The three small nations permitted goods to pass freely from one to another. A second important step forward was taken in 1952, when West Germany and Italy joined with France and the Benelux countries to form the European Coal and Steel Community. The major purpose of the new body was to create a single market within which free competition in these basic products could exist. In 1957, a similar organization was established for the production and distribution of atomic power. At the same time,

the six nations of western Europe also drafted plans for a European Economic Community, a customs union similar to Benelux. These projects won the warm approval of the United States. A more unified and prosperous western Europe might be expected to manage without aid from this country and would form a stronger barrier against the spread of communism.

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE IRON CURTAIN COUNTRIES

Stalin's Postwar Policies. The Soviet Union suffered the greatest damage of any nation in World War II. Millions of fighting-men sacrificed their lives for their homeland. Vast regions were laid waste and large numbers of civilians died of hunger, cold, and disease. Despite generous aid from UNRRA (see p. 647), food had to be rationed and manufactured goods remained scarce for several years after the war.

Stalin used his country's heavy war losses to justify his aggressive foreign policy. Insisting that the Soviet Union must be safeguarded against similar attacks in the future, he annexed a broad belt of territory along the western frontier and imposed Communist governments on most of the neighboring nations. He also stripped other peoples of their wealth in order to speed Russia's economic recovery. The defeated Axis Powers were compelled to pay reparations. Soviet troops looted large quantities of machinery and other goods in the countries they occupied.

Despite the long years of strain and suffering, Stalin refused to relax the pressure at home. The war was hardly over when he announced a series of new Five-Year Plans. Soviet citizens, while still busy repairing the war damage, were called on to make spectacular increases in every field of production.

As usual, the emphasis was placed on the expansion of heavy industry, rather than on consumer goods. To meet its ambitious goals, the government lengthened the hours of labor and raised the quota of production demanded from the workers.

The aging Soviet dictator also intensified his use of terror. Immediately after the war, entire nationalities were shipped off to Siberia on charges of having collaborated with the Germans. Many of the inhabitants of the newly acquired border regions were also deported, and Russians were settled on their lands. Moreover, Stalin revived the old czarist policy of anti-Semitism. On one pretext or another, thousands of Jews were arrested and sent to prison camps.

Changes Under Stalin's Successors. Following Stalin's death in 1953, there was a long struggle for power among his lieutenants. The secretary of the Communist party, Nikita Khrushchev, gradually emerged as the strongest figure in the Soviet government and in 1958 he became premier. However, he was still compelled to share power with other Soviet leaders.

In an effort to win popular support, Khrushchev and his colleagues made a number of changes in Stalin's harsh policies. Outwardly, at least, they were more conciliatory in their relations with foreign nations (see pp. 661-662). They also sought to improve conditions within the country. Food, clothing, and other consumers' goods were made available at lower prices. Working hours were shortened. Large numbers of prisoners were pardoned or had their sentences reduced. Promises were made that the secret police would respect the legal rights of Soviet citizens in the future.

Khrushchev was particularly anxious to increase the nation's food supply, which had failed to keep pace with population growth. The peasants were therefore encouraged to

raise more livestock and poultry. To increase efficiency, the government turned over its tractors and other agricultural machinery to the collective farms. Another important experiment was the establishment of vast new collective farms on the semiarid steppes of Central Asia, in regions formerly considered unsuited for cultivation.

The most surprising development of all was the new Soviet leader's denunciation of Stalin. Soon after the dictator's death, unfavorable comments about his policies began to appear in the Soviet press. The criticisms reached their climax in a long speech which Khrushchev made to a Communist party congress in 1956. Among other things, he charged that Stalin had made costly blunders during the war, that he had become insanely suspicious in his later years, and that he had murdered many thousands of innocent people. Despite his own fast-growing power, Khrushchev assured his audience that such a personal dictatorship would never again be permitted.

"Communization" of the Satellite Nations. Conditions in the satellite nations—Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, and for a time Yugoslavia—resembled those in the Soviet Union. Although these nations differed among themselves in many respects, the course of events in each followed an almost identical pattern. Within a few short years, they were all converted into "people's democracies," modeled closely on the Soviet Union.

The transformation was generally brought about in three stages. At first, Stalin proceeded cautiously. In accordance with the Yalta agreements (see pp. 645-646), a coalition or "National Front" government was established in each of these nations. The Communists were content with only a few cabinet posts. However, they insisted that



one of their leaders be placed in charge of the interior ministry. This position enabled them to gain control of the police and other security forces of the country.

After a few years, the Communists secured a dominant position and felt free to seize power openly. With the support of the Red Army and the secret police, they launched a reign of terror. Rival political leaders were given the choice of working with the Communists or being dealt with as traitors. Soviet-type elections were held, in which the voters were asked to approve a single list of candidates. The Communists then took over the premiership and most of the cabinet posts.

The final stage saw the extension of Communist control over the economic and social system. Five-Year Plans for rapid economic development were launched. All industries were taken over by the government and farms were collectivized. Members of the upper classes and the more prosperous peasants were sent to labor camps. Factory workers were placed under strict discipline. The schools, newspapers, and radio were used to spread Communist ideas. Attacks on religious leaders and religious organizations began.

The Communist leaders also bound their nations very closely to the Soviet Union. They signed military, economic, and cultural agreements with that country. Their Five-Year Plans were designed to meet Soviet needs. Important industries were placed under the control of a joint board of directors, half of whom were Russians. The satellite armies had Soviet advisers, wore Soviet-style uniforms, and carried Soviet weapons. Russian was taught as the second language in the schools. Russian literature, art, music, and sports were popularized.

Large numbers of people in the satellite countries found these conditions intolerable.

Imbued with the spirit of nationalism, they resented foreign domination. Moreover, they were angered by the attacks on the Catholic Church and by the steady decline of their living standards. Opposition was particularly strong among the peasants. They resisted collectivization so fiercely that the satellite governments were forced to proceed more slowly and cautiously. Despite formidable barriers along the frontiers, an unending stream of refugees sought to escape to the West.

"National Communism" in Yugoslavia. The first satellite nation to break free from Russian domination was Yugoslavia. The dictator of that nation, Marshal Tito, was a Moscow-trained Communist. However, unlike the other satellite leaders, he had won power largely by his own efforts and refused to be a mere Soviet puppet. Tito's independent policies led to an open clash with Stalin. As a result, Yugoslavia in 1948 was expelled from the Cominform for the "sin of nationalism."

Stalin now determined to make an example of Tito. The Cominform ordered its members to impose an economic boycott on Yugoslavia. The neighboring satellites launched hundreds of small attacks along its lengthy frontiers. In desperation, Tito appealed to the West for help. The United States, after some hesitation, sent economic aid and military supplies to Yugoslavia. Tito now felt strong enough to defy the Cominform. He accused that body of being the tool of Soviet imperialism and called on Communists everywhere to throw off the Russian yoke. His appeals proved effective. The idea of "Titoism" or "national communism"—that is, communism independent of Russian control—began to take hold in the other satellite nations.

Revolts in Other Satellites. The first popular rebellion against communism occurred

in East Germany a few months after Stalin's death. In East Berlin, angry mobs attacked Communist party headquarters and the Communist security police. The news spread rapidly throughout East Germany and the other satellites. Rioting then broke out in many other places. These unorganized revolts were quickly put down by Soviet troops and tanks, and thousands of people were executed or sent to prison camps. However, to allay popular discontent, the satellite governments removed some of the most unpopular officials and made some improvements in economic conditions.

In the summer of 1955, strikes and riots broke out in the Polish city of Poznań. Although these were soon crushed, unrest in Poland continued to increase. Wladislaw Gomułka, a Polish Communist who had been imprisoned for Titoism, now came to power. Openly defying Khrushchev, Gomułka announced that Poland was going to follow a policy of national communism.

Encouraged by Poland's success, the Hungarian people rose in revolt against both their own hated Communist regime and the Russian occupation forces. Fighting with incredible courage, the Hungarians won some surprising successes at the outset. But then Khrushchev sent in a powerful Russian army, led by hundreds of heavy tanks. The Russians crushed the Hungarian Revolution without mercy. They set up a new Hungarian government, which launched a reign of terror throughout the country. The Russians and their Hungarian puppets rejected several attempts by the U.N. to intervene, on the ground that the revolt was an internal affair. The cruel treatment of the Hungarians undoubtedly struck fear into the inhabitants of the other satellite nations. But it also helped people the world over to see the harsh realities behind the glowing promises of communism.



Checking the facts

1. Explain: British National Health Insurance Act; France's Fourth and Fifth Republics; Bonn Government; Christian Democratic party; Benelux; European Coal and Steel Community; European Economic Community; "communization"; national communism (Titoism).
2. Identify: General de Gaulle; Adenauer; Khrushchev; Marshal Tito.
3. How did the Western democracies' approach to postwar problems differ basically from that of the Communist nations?
4. Describe briefly postwar problems and policies in each of the following countries: the United States; Great Britain; France; West Germany; Italy.
5. Describe the major steps taken since World War II to bring about closer economic relations among the nations of western Europe.
6. How did Stalin seek to strengthen the Soviet Union after World War II? What important changes in his policies were made by his successors?
7. Describe the steps by which the nations of eastern Europe were transformed into Communist satellites. Why did widespread discontent develop against Communist rule in these countries?

Applying history

1. Why did a majority of the British vote against Winston Churchill and the Conservative party at the end of World War II? What important reforms were introduced by the new Labor government?
2. Compare the problems of France's Fourth Republic with those of the Third Republic. Why was it said that France suffered from "government by evasion"? Has the Fifth Republic proved more successful than its predecessors in dealing with the nation's problems? Prove your answer.
3. Compare the post-World War II Bonn Government with the democratic German government established after World War I.

Is democracy now functioning more effectively in Germany than previously? Justify your answer.

4. The new Italian Republic spent considerably more money on education and on internal improvements in the first few years of its existence than Mussolini did during his entire rule. Why was it able to do so? How did the Italian people benefit?
5. What advantages would the nations of western Europe gain if they formed a federation? Should the United States support such a movement? Explain.
6. Why have the Communist countries of Europe been called "Iron Curtain" countries? Why has it been impossible for the Communist rulers to prevent large numbers of their subjects from escaping to the West?
7. What were the causes of Tito's break with Stalin? Why did "Titoism" represent a great danger for the rulers in the Kremlin?

History and geography

1. What two new states were admitted into the American union in 1959 (map, p. 670)? Which has the larger territory?
2. List and locate the major provinces of Canada (map, p. 670).
3. List and locate the Benelux countries (map, p. 674).
4. List and locate the six nations of western Europe which organized the European Economic Community (map, p. 674).

Special activities

1. Imagine that you are a delegate to a convention drafting a constitution for a "United States of Western Europe." Make specific proposals, based on our own country's experience with a federal system of government.
2. After consulting books and magazines in your library, write a brief biography, for presentation to the class, of Konrad Adenauer, Charles de Gaulle, Nikita Khrushchev, or Marshal Tito.

74 / THE NEW ASIA AND AFRICA



More than 600,000,000 people, approximately one-fourth of the world's total population, gained their independence in the first decade after World War II. This triumphant upsurge of colonial nationalism was largely a result of the war. The Japanese broadcast the idea of "Asia for the Asians," set up puppet governments in the former European colonies, and turned over large quantities of arms to them before Japan's surrender. In Asia, and in Africa too, the Allies themselves contributed to the growth of nationalism by promises of local self-government after the defeat of the Axis. Economic problems resulting from the war, such as inflated prices and food shortages, added greatly to popular unrest. When revolts broke out, the war-weakened Western colonial powers generally had little choice but to surrender control. Western imperialism, which had reached its height in the early twentieth century, now came to a virtual end.

The new nations which emerged after the war were soon plunged into a sea of difficulties. Most of them had little or no experience in self-government. The masses of the people were generally ignorant, illiterate, and impoverished. Population continued to increase at an explosive rate. This troubled situation offered a favorable opportunity to the small local Communist parties. They sought to win popular support by sponsoring radical reforms and schemes for rapid economic expansion. Their appeal was greatly

strengthened by Russian propaganda and by Russian offers of economic and technical assistance. Many of the newly liberated peoples of Asia and Africa soon seemed in danger of falling victim to the new Communist imperialism.

NATIONALIST TRIUMPHS IN EASTERN ASIA

The British Withdrawal from India, 1947. A goodly number of these problems were apparent in India, the largest and most important of the new nations. In the vast Indian subcontinent, long a center of nationalist agitation (see pp. 514-515), there were widespread riots and other disturbances after World War II. The British government responded by offering the nationalists full dominion status. However, the Indian leaders were unable to agree among themselves. The Moslem League demanded that the five northern provinces, in which the Moslems were a majority, should be made into a separate country. The Congress party insisted that India remain united. However, after India was swept by bloody Moslem-Hindu clashes, the Congress leaders reluctantly agreed to a division of the country. Two new dominions, India and Pakistan, were created. (See map, pp. 682-683.)

The transition from colonial rule to self-government was by no means a peaceful one. There were new waves of religious outbreaks

in both dominions, and millions of people were forced to flee their homes. Sharp disagreements also arose between India and Pakistan over boundaries, water rights, government property, and other matters which had formerly been controlled by the British. Actual fighting broke out over possession of the large northern state of Kashmir, inhabited by both Moslems and Hindus. Although the U.N. succeeded in arranging a cease-fire, it was unable to work out a permanent settlement. The Kashmir dispute long continued to poison relations between the two sister dominions.

Progress and Problems in the New Dominion of India. Despite these difficulties, India embarked on an ambitious program of political, economic, and social reform. It proclaimed itself a federal republic and adopted a democratic constitution with an advanced bill of rights. Equal treatment was pledged to all religious minorities, women, and the Untouchables.

The Congress party leader, Jawaharlal Nehru, became the first prime minister of the new dominion. The Nehru Government favored a moderate socialistic program. It imposed heavy inheritance taxes on the rich and encouraged land reform. It also launched several Five-Year Plans. These were, however, much less radical than those of the Communist countries. The primary emphasis was placed on raising the people's living standards. Private enterprise was permitted and foreign businessmen were invited to establish factories in India. The government restricted its activities mainly to building very large projects, such as dams for irrigation and hydroelectric power. India's First Five-Year Plan, 1951-1956, met with considerable success. Industrial production increased and there were several record harvests. Statistics also showed a rise in literacy, living standards, and life expectancy.

Nevertheless, the program of the Nehru Government met with growing criticism. The most dangerous opposition came from the Communists, who carried on an extensive campaign to win the support of the poverty-stricken masses. Another important opposition party also soon emerged. A number of Congress party members, considering Nehru's program too cautious, broke away and formed the Socialist party. In the elections of 1952 and 1957, the leftist parties showed considerable strength. However, Nehru's Congress party continued in control of the government.

India's foreign policy was based on the desire to maintain strict neutrality in the Cold War. Nevertheless, to many Westerners Nehru seemed unduly favorable toward the Communist countries and overly critical of the West. He was particularly disturbed by the American alliance with India's rival, Pakistan (see p. 661). Since the Indian Prime Minister enjoyed great prestige throughout Asia, his neutralist attitude influenced the policy of other countries on that continent. Nevertheless, signs of a possible change in Nehru's attitude became apparent in 1959, after Chinese Communist troops harshly suppressed a revolt in Tibet and repeatedly violated India's northern frontiers.

Developments in Pakistan, Ceylon, and Burma. Pakistan, the second of the new dominions carved from British India, also faced very difficult problems. The new nation consisted of two separate blocks of territory almost one thousand miles apart. The inhabitants also differed in race, language, and traditions. Since Islam was the great unifying force, it was made the official religion and the basis for Pakistan's legal system. Nevertheless, dissension soon developed and the government found it necessary to crush a separatist movement in East Pakistan. The

country was also handicapped by its almost complete dependence on agriculture. Its prosperity rested on the price of hemp and the other crops it exported. However, as an ally of the West, it received substantial American economic and military aid.

The island of Ceylon, off the southern tip of India, was granted dominion status about the same time as India and Pakistan. The first Ceylonese cabinet co-operated closely with Great Britain in foreign affairs and other matters. But a more extreme nationalist party won control of the government in 1956. The new prime minister forced the British to withdraw from their military bases in Ceylon and ended all other British rights in the country.

Burma, unlike the other former British colonies, rejected membership in the Commonwealth of Nations. From the outset, the new republic had to overcome many difficulties. There were numerous revolts by Communists, warlike border tribes, and other hostile groups. The constant disorders left the nation in desperate financial straits. The Burmese were fortunate in having able leadership, however. The government eventually succeeded in restoring order and in improving economic conditions. Burma, like India, sought to follow a policy of neutrality in the Cold War.

Strife-Torn Indonesia. In the Netherlands East Indies, the nationalists revolted against Dutch rule soon after World War II. The U.N. intervened and finally succeeded in bringing about a settlement. In 1949, the islands were granted independence, on condition that they co-operate in foreign and military matters with the Netherlands. Later they broke all ties with the Dutch government, dismissed their Dutch advisers, and seized the holdings of Dutch businessmen.

The new Republic of Indonesia (map, pp. 682-683) was a large and populous nation, potentially one of the richest countries in the world, but its progress was hindered by serious political and economic difficulties. There was a large number of political parties and the government was run by coalitions, which generally proved unstable. Since the administration was controlled from Java, the inhabitants of the other islands frequently rose in revolt. The chronic disorder complicated the country's economic problems. Population increased rapidly but production of food and other commodities failed to keep pace. These disturbed conditions enabled the Indonesian Communists to become one of the largest parties in the country. Despite Indonesia's official policy of neutralism, the government showed greater friendship for the Soviet Union and Communist China than for the Western democracies.

The Philippines—"Showcase of Democracy." Events followed a very different course in the Philippine Islands. The United States granted the Filipinos full independence immediately after the war and helped them rebuild the devastated areas. Nevertheless, the new nation ran into serious difficulties for a time. The government was inefficient, troubled by inflation, and slow to introduce land reform. A strong radical movement soon arose. It sought to take over the large landholdings and divide them among the poor peasants. The Communists gained control of this movement and launched an open rebellion against the government.

Efforts at suppression met with little success until an able young defense minister, Ramón Magsaysay, took over the campaign. Magsaysay won the support of the villagers by his honest concern with their problems. Their help enabled him to crush the rebellion. In 1953, he was elected president of the

Philippine Republic by an overwhelming vote.

With American aid, President Magsaysay made needed financial reforms and reclaimed large areas of wasteland for agriculture. He also sought to help the common people by discharging dishonest officials, reducing land rents, and providing loans at low interest rates. Magsaysay was a staunch friend of the United States. He often declared that American policy toward the Philippines was the best proof that the United States entertained no imperialist ambitions. Thanks in large part to his efforts, the Philippine Republic became a "showcase of democracy" and a center of pro-American influence in Asia. Magsaysay's death in an airplane accident in 1957 represented a loss not only to his own people but to the entire free world.

TURMOIL IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND AFRICA

Nationalism in the Arab World. From the shores of the Atlantic Ocean in Morocco to Iran and the Persian Gulf is a distance of some four thousand miles. This vast area, though inhabited by other peoples besides the Arabs, is often referred to as the Arab World. It consists for the most part of desert and its population is relatively small. Nevertheless, it has become a focal point of world interest because of its strategic location and rich oil deposits.

Nationalism took deep root in the Arab World after World War I (see pp. 568-571). Arabia, Egypt, and a few other countries won recognition of their independence. After World War II, nationalism spread rapidly to the remaining Arab countries and to neighboring Moslem areas still under foreign control. The result was a new series of bloody revolts and wars, which further

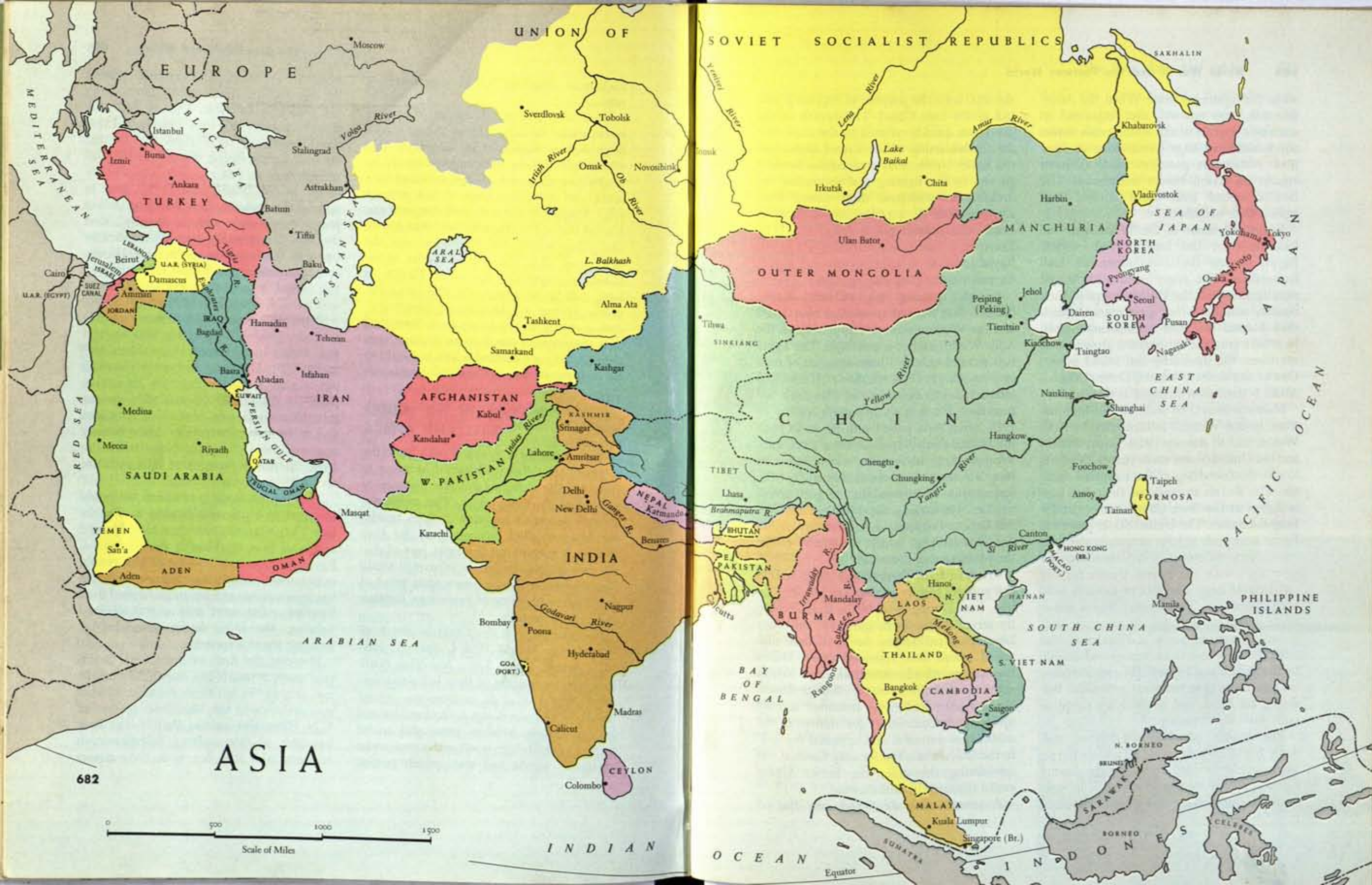
weakened Western influence and opened the way for Communist penetration.

Conflict in Palestine. One of the worst trouble spots was the little country of Palestine. There Arab nationalism was directed not only against British imperialism but also against Zionism (see pp. 569-570). Shortly before World War II, the British tried to appease the Arabs by virtually barring further Jewish immigration into the country. After the war, however, the Jews determined to bring in the homeless survivors of Hitler's concentration camps. British efforts to stop this illegal immigration led to numerous violent clashes and acts of terrorism.

The British government, after trying vainly to find a solution satisfactory to both Jews and Arabs, finally turned the problem over to the U.N. The General Assembly worked out a plan to divide Palestine into three parts—an Arab state, a Jewish state, and an internationalized area containing Jerusalem and other holy places. The Arabs bitterly opposed the U.N. plan. Nevertheless, in 1948, the British surrendered their mandate and withdrew from Palestine.

The Jews promptly proclaimed the establishment of a new independent nation, Israel. They were immediately attacked by the armies of four neighboring Arab nations—Egypt, Jordan, Iraq, and Syria. The greatly outnumbered Israelis succeeded in repelling the enemy forces and advanced beyond their frontiers. After more than a year of hard fighting, the U.N. finally succeeded in bringing about a cease-fire.

However, the Arab nations refused to discuss peace terms. They demanded that Israel give up the territories it had conquered and withdraw to the boundaries set by the U.N. They also insisted that it take back hundreds of thousands of Palestine Arab refugees, who had fled from their homes



when the fighting started. When the Arabs' demands were rejected, they organized an economic boycott of the small Jewish nation and maintained large forces along its frontiers. Nationalist guerrillas made frequent attacks on Israeli border settlements. The Israelis replied with sharp reprisal raids against their neighbors.

Egypt's Defiance of the West. After the Palestine war, the leading Arab nation, Egypt, became the storm center of Arab nationalism. The angry nationalists staged riots against both the British troops in their country and their own government, which they blamed for their humiliating defeat. In 1952, a group of nationalistic army officers overthrew the monarchy and seized power. One of the military leaders, Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser, soon emerged as dictator.

Nasser promised to unite all the Arab nations, to end Western influence in the Arab World, and to destroy Israel. Great Britain and the United States made strenuous efforts to win the friendship of the Egyptian dictator. The British surrendered their last base in Egypt at the Suez Canal, and withdrew from the Sudan. The United States promised Egypt large-scale aid for economic development. Nevertheless, in 1956 Nasser made an agreement with the Soviet Union for the purchase of large amounts of modern military equipment. The United States thereupon withdrew its offer of economic aid. Nasser struck back by nationalizing the Suez Canal, whose stock was owned mainly by the British and French. He also increased his armed forces in the Sinai peninsula, bordering on Israel, and stepped up Egyptian raids into that country.

The Israelis, pleading self-defense, suddenly launched a full-scale attack on Egypt. They quickly routed the Egyptian border forces and took over most of the Sinai peninsula. Great Britain and France joined in

the war, with the purpose of regaining control of the Suez Canal. This breach of the peace was quickly referred to the U.N. Under the leadership of the United States and the Soviet Union, that organization brought an end to the fighting and compelled the invaders to withdraw their troops from Egyptian soil. As a concession to Israel, a small international police force, the U.N. Emergency Force, was stationed along the Egyptian-Israeli frontier to prevent future Egyptian raids. (See map, p. 686.)

Nasser, ignoring his military defeat, boasted that he had triumphed over Israel and the Western powers. His prestige in the Arab World reached a new high. The Egyptian dictator obtained large amounts of military equipment from the Soviet Union and intensified his campaign of Pan-Arab nationalism. He won an important victory in 1958, when Syria joined with Egypt to form the United Arab Republic. Soon after, anti-Western Arab nationalists seized power in Iraq. To many observers, it seemed that the combination of nationalism and great-power rivalries was making the Middle East—like the Balkan Peninsula a half-century earlier—a “powder keg” which threatened to destroy the peace of the world.

Crises in Iran. Turmoil also characterized the postwar history of another Moslem nation, Iran. During World War II, that country served as the main route for American Lend-Lease aid to the Soviet Union, and Allied troops were stationed there. When the war ended, the Americans and British withdrew their forces as they had promised. However, the Red Army remained and set up a puppet Communist government in the north. Iran protested and appealed for help to the U.N. While the Security Council was considering the case, the Soviet Union ended the crisis by withdrawing.

A second crisis developed over the oil

problem. Years earlier, Iran had granted a British company the right to develop the country's rich oil fields. In 1951, a dispute broke out over the division of the profits. Although the oil company then offered the Iranian government a much larger share, the Iranian nationalists were still dissatisfied. They assassinated the pro-Western premier, took power, and nationalized the oil company's properties. However, the new Iranian government was unable to market the oil abroad. Thousands of people were thrown out of work and the nation faced bankruptcy. To suppress growing discontent, the nationalists adopted extreme measures. In 1953, they formed an alliance with the Iranian Communists and terrorized the parliament into granting them dictatorial powers. But when they attempted to depose the popular young king, they were overthrown by a mass uprising.

Iran now appealed to the United States for help. The American government promptly granted it large loans and sent in groups of technical advisers. It also helped negotiate a compromise agreement acceptable to both the Iranian government and the original owners of the oil properties. As full production was resumed, economic conditions improved considerably. Iran became a member of the Bagdad Pact and firmly allied itself with the West.

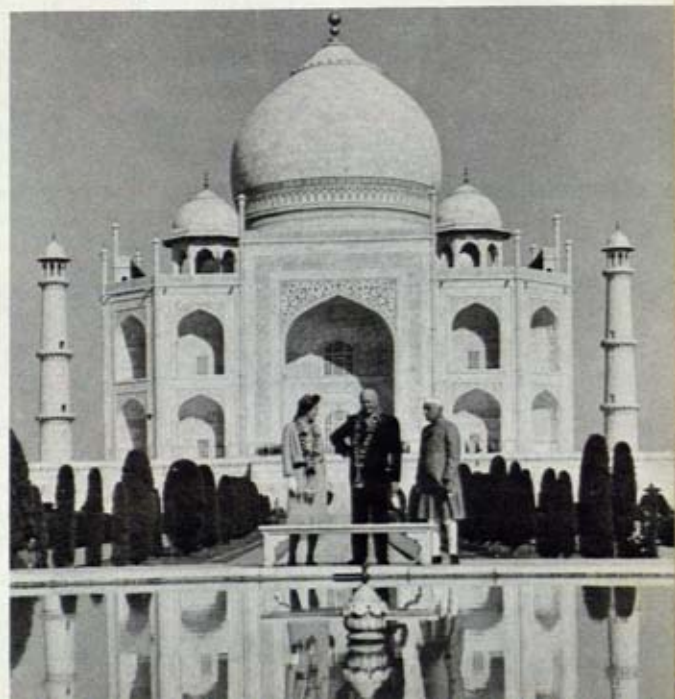
Nationalist Revolts in French North Africa. Still another scene of nationalist disturbances was French North Africa. After World War II, revolts broke out against French rule in Tunisia, Morocco, and Algeria. The French gave way first in Tunisia. They granted that country complete control of its affairs in 1955. Meanwhile, in Morocco, the sultan himself openly supported the nationalists. The French retaliated by deposing him and installing a puppet sultan. This high-handed action only served to in-

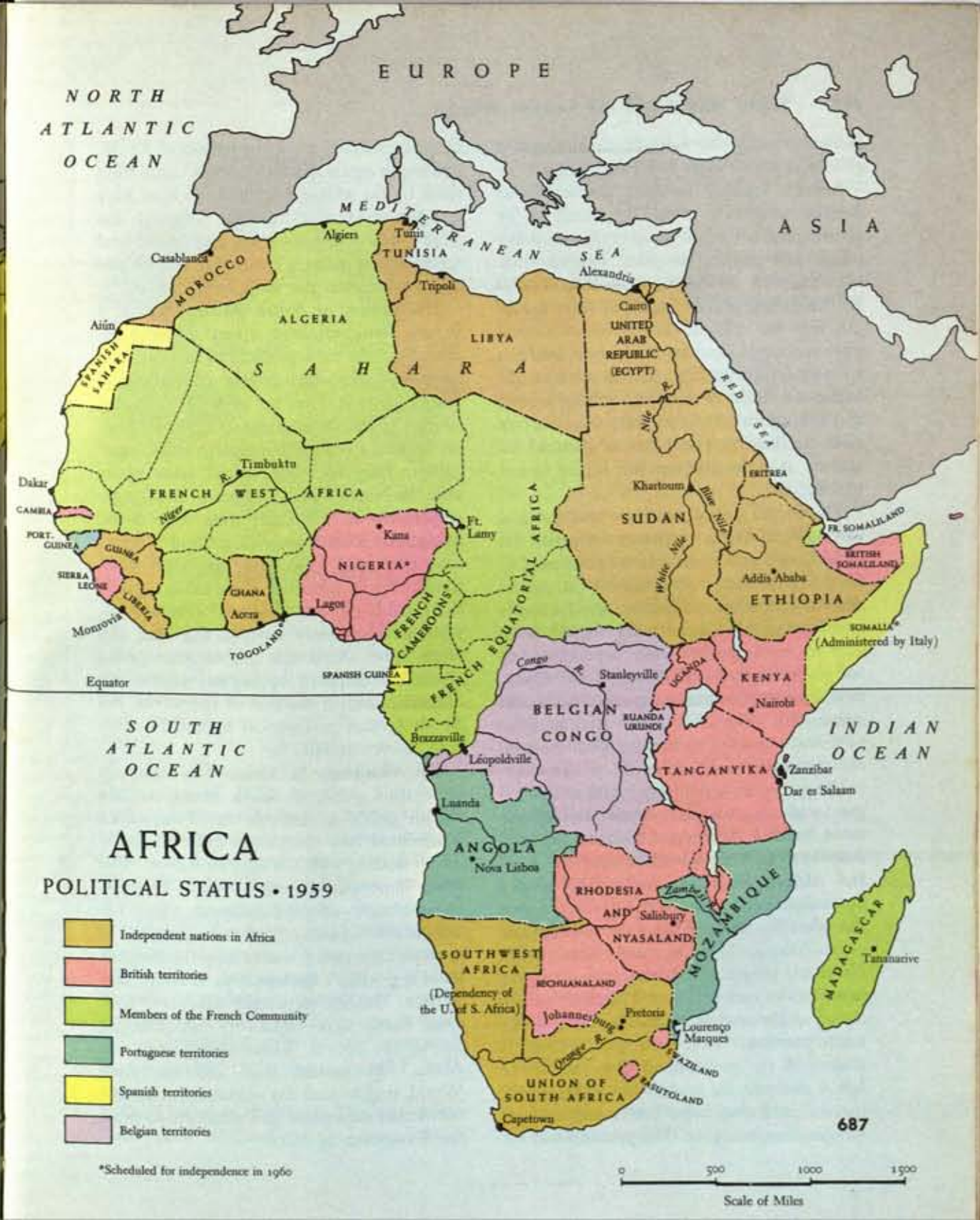
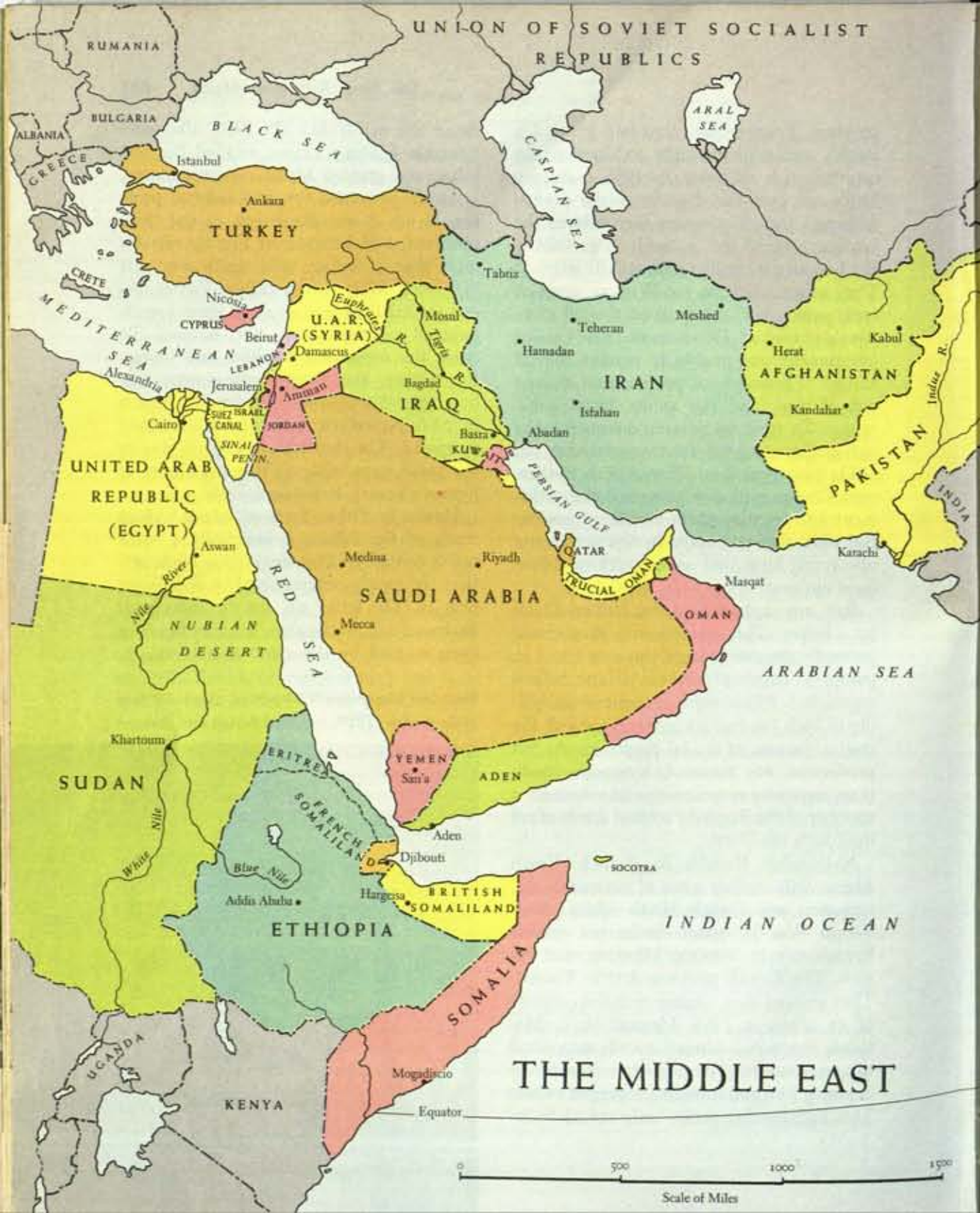
flame the nationalists. In 1956, after considerable fighting, France recalled the first sultan and granted Morocco independence.

Algeria presented the most difficult problem of all. It was the largest of the three countries, had been under French rule for more than a century, and legally was part of France. More than a million Frenchmen had settled there and most of them fiercely opposed concessions to the natives. To crush the nationalist rebellion and protect the settlers, the French government sent hundreds of thousands of troops to Algeria in 1956. Nevertheless, the revolt continued to spread. The deadlock in Algeria was in the main responsible for the overthrow of France's Fourth Republic in 1958.

Unrest in Other Parts of Africa. Africa south of the Sahara is essentially a black man's continent. The few million white settlers are greatly outnumbered by the Negro peoples. The latter are, for the most part, backward and uneducated. Yet they too have been aroused by the spirit of nationalism.

President Eisenhower's 11-nation good-will tour in December, 1959, included Africa and Asia.





In recent years, they have begun to demand greater rights or even full independence.

Africa's leading colonial power, Great Britain, sought to meet this problem by assisting the natives to make rapid economic, social, and political progress. Despite their own financial difficulties after World War II, the British greatly increased their appropriations for colonial development. Education, sanitation, and transportation facilities were all improved. The natives were taught better methods of farming, cattle raising, and fishing. Private companies were encouraged to develop the colonies' natural resources as a foundation for future industrialization.

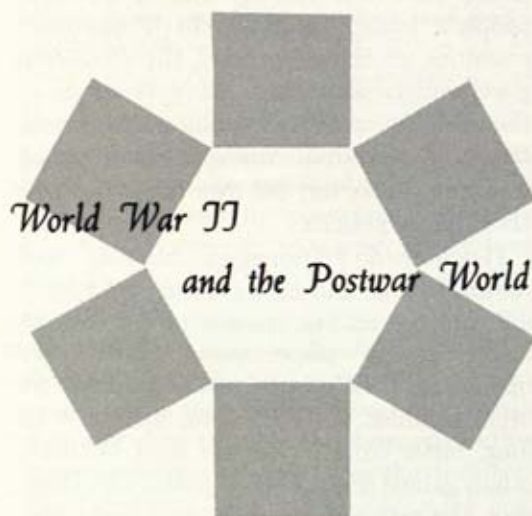
The British policy was most successful in three West African colonies—Nigeria, the Gold Coast, and Sierra Leone. (See map, p. 687.) Here there were almost no white settlers, and other conditions were favorable to progress. As a result, the natives were able to move quickly from dependency to self-government. In 1957, the Gold Coast, now renamed Ghana, was granted dominion status. The other two West African colonies were expected to become dominions in the near future.

Other British colonies in Africa also began to advance toward complete self-government. In 1951, Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland formed the Central African Federation as a step toward dominion status. The British favored a similar plan for their three East African colonies—Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika. However, progress in both regions was delayed by the race problem. The small minority of white settlers, who enjoyed a dominant position, wished to gain complete control of the government. But the British felt it necessary to protect the rights of the natives until they were better prepared for independent existence. The problem was fur-

ther complicated when the natives of Kenya, seeking to regain the fertile lands taken from them by the whites, launched the Mau Mau terrorist movement in 1952. Although the Mau Mau were suppressed and some land reforms were made, a heritage of hatred and distrust between the races remained.

The Union of South Africa, though a British dominion, took a very different approach to the race problem. The Nationalist party, composed largely of settlers of Dutch descent (see pp. 498–501), gained control of the government in 1948. Its leaders favored a policy of complete racial segregation. They set aside special areas where only the Negroes were allowed to live. Negro settlements in the cities were torn down. Missionary schools were closed and Negroes were permitted to do only unskilled work. Similar harsh measures were taken against the Hindus and the “coloreds” (mulattoes), who had previously enjoyed the vote and other rights. Although this extreme policy aroused widespread opposition within the dominion and in the rest of the world, the South African government refused to abandon or even modify it.

The Challenge in Africa. The complete segregation policy in South Africa and the British policy of self-rule in West Africa represented two completely different methods of dealing with the African natives. The other imperialist powers—France, Belgium, and Portugal—adopted measures which fell somewhere between these two extremes. In general, their policy was to help the Negroes make a gradual adjustment to Western civilization. Despite important advances, however, there were signs of dissatisfaction among the natives. These raised fears that Africa, like eastern Asia and the Arab World, might some day be the site of violent nationalist explosions and attempts to expel the Europeans by force.



Our Present-Day World

The Outbreak of World War II. The decade which followed the 1919 Paris Peace Conference was a period of considerable optimism. It was the heyday of democracy, the League of Nations, naval disarmament, and idealistic peace pacts. In general, nationalism retreated before the growing forces of internationalism. Following the Great Depression of 1929, however, the forces working for peace suffered a tragic setback. Nationalism revived and became stronger than ever. Three great totalitarian dictatorships—Germany, Italy, and Japan—engaged in flagrant acts of aggression. They were encouraged by the appeasement policy of the Western democracies. When the latter finally realized that appeasement had failed, they sought to form a “peace-front” against the Axis. But Soviet Russia, whose co-operation was essential, chose to cast its lot with Nazi Germany. Hitler then invaded Poland, thereby beginning World War II.

The Course of Hostilities. During the first three years of conflict, the Axis Powers

clearly held the upper hand. The Nazis won a series of smashing victories in Poland, Scandinavia, the Low Countries, France, and the Balkans. They also launched powerful offensives against Great Britain and Russia, which brought both countries to the verge of disaster. Japan, by launching a surprise attack on Pearl Harbor, inflicted a stunning defeat on the United States.

The strategic situation changed following the organization of a mighty anti-Axis coalition. The United States, Great Britain, Russia, and numerous smaller nations co-operated closely during the war and eventually succeeded in crushing their enemies. On the eve of the Allies’ invasion of Italy, Mussolini was deposed from office. The new Italian government quickly agreed to surrender. When the Allies hammered at the gates of Berlin, Hitler committed suicide and Nazi resistance collapsed. The Japanese war lords surrendered when their homeland was threatened with annihilation.

Conflict Between East and West. What were the results of so much agonizing bloodshed and financial sacrifice? For a brief moment, the Allied victory gave promise of a better future for mankind. It appeared that the Allies might profit from the lessons of World War I and co-operate in organizing a lasting peace. However, the wartime unity of the Western powers and the Soviet Union evaporated quickly.

Stalin and his lieutenants took advantage of the chaotic conditions after the war to extend communism to large parts of Europe and Asia. The United States, on the other hand, remained true to its democratic tradition. Instead of seeking to increase its power or territory, it gave generous assistance to the war-ravaged nations. Later, when the Soviet menace became clear, it led the free world in resisting Communist expansion.

The bitter hostility which developed be-

tween the democratic West and the Communist East led to bloody, though limited, conflict in Korea. It also brought the world on a number of other occasions to the brink of all-out war. However, after Stalin's death, the new Soviet leaders adopted somewhat less aggressive policies which offered hope for a more peaceful future.

Two Contrasting Ways of Life. A sharp contrast also existed in the way the democratic and Communist nations sought to deal with their domestic problems. The United States changed over quickly from a wartime to a peace economy. It entered on a period of unprecedented prosperity, and American living standards rose higher than ever before in history. With American help, the democratic nations of western Europe also made considerable progress. They re-

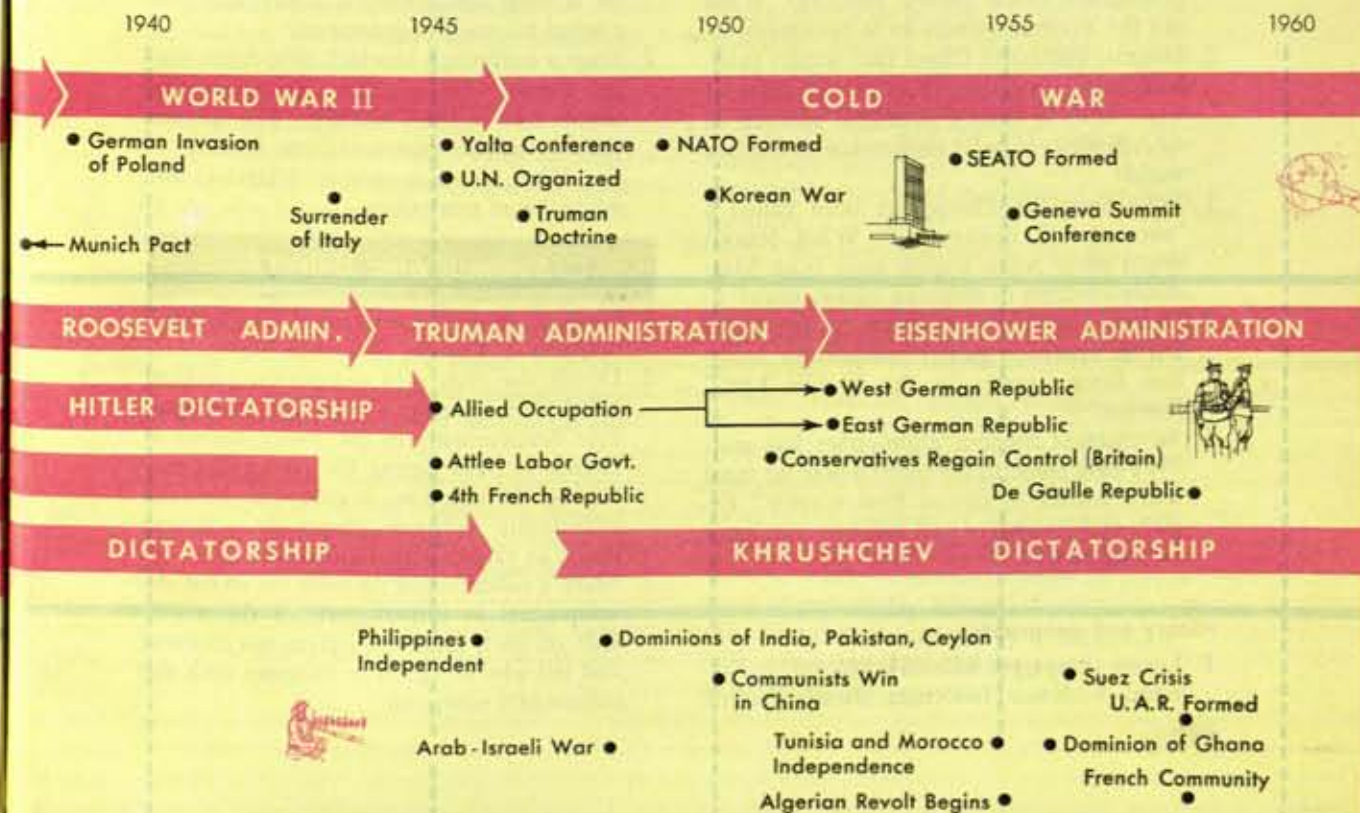
paired their war damage and raised their people's living standards. In Communist countries, on the other hand, the dictatorial governments demanded heavy sacrifices of their subjects in order to build up their military and industrial strength. Only when rebellions broke out did they begin to revise their harsh policies.

Heightened Nationalism in Asia and Africa. In Asia and Africa, events followed a different course. The colonial peoples rose in revolt against imperialism, which they blamed for their poverty, backwardness, and other troubles. Some of them had to wage long, bitter struggles to win their freedom; others gained it quickly and peacefully. However, the new nations discovered that independence could not in itself provide people with more food or a better way of life. Their

inexperienced governments soon found themselves confronted with an overwhelming array of political, economic, and social problems.

The Future of Mankind. As the world enters the second half of the twentieth century, it is difficult to foresee what the future holds in store for mankind. Our study of history can help by providing us with a broad perspective. It took man a very long time to progress beyond savagery and barbarism. Yet, in a few thousand years, he created many great civilizations. These flourished for a time, then stagnated or disappeared when they failed to deal successfully with war, class conflict, moral decay, or other basic challenges. However, in the course of their existence each made important contributions to the advancement of mankind.

Our own Western civilization is the heir of all earlier civilizations and is the most advanced of all. Our achievements have been especially outstanding in the fields of science and technology, which have given us far greater control over the forces of nature than man ever before possessed. This has meant, on the one hand, the appearance of A-bombs, H-bombs, and other terrible weapons of mass destruction. On the other hand, we now have the means of eliminating ignorance, poverty, famine, disease, and other age-old problems. If we are granted the wisdom to make proper use of our new knowledge, our civilization may flourish for many centuries to come. We may solve the basic problems challenging our society and create a far better world than was given us by our ancestors.





74 / Lesson Review

Checking the facts

1. Explain: "Asia for the Asians"; Kashmir dispute; neutralism; U.N. Emergency Force; Mau Mau rebellion.
2. Identify: Nehru; Magsaysay.
3. Why did Western imperialism decline rapidly after World War II? What serious problems confronted the new nations of Asia and Africa?
4. Describe briefly postwar developments in each of these countries: India; Pakistan; Indonesia; the Philippines; Israel; Egypt; Iran.
5. Compare the way the British, Belgian, and South African governments have dealt with the problem of African nationalism.

Applying history

1. The Communists' propaganda in Southeast Asia might be summarized by the slogan "Land, Rice, Independence." Why has such propaganda often proved effective? What can the Western powers do to counteract it?
2. Discuss: India and China face similar problems but are handling them in very different ways. Why is India's successful solution of its difficulties of basic importance to the free world?
3. Why have the Philippines been called a "showcase of democracy"? What lessons might other Asian leaders learn from Magsaysay's success in stopping communism?
4. "Israel is of vital importance to democracy but its existence greatly complicates American foreign policy in the Middle East." Discuss.
5. An eminent modern philosopher has said: "We have come to the point where we must find a science to save us from science." Explain this statement and tell why you agree or disagree with it.

History and geography

1. Locate (maps, pp. 682-683, 686, 687): Pakistan; Kashmir; Indonesia; Israel; Jordan;

- Iraq; Suez Canal; Sinai Peninsula; Sudan; United Arab Republic; Iran; Nigeria; Sierra Leone; Ghana; Kenya; Uganda; Tanganyika.
2. Trace the boundaries of China and of the Soviet Union in Asia (map, pp. 682-683). What geographic factors explain the great influence these powers exert on other countries of Asia? What geographic reasons made Mao Tse-tung's victory in China a tremendous victory for world communism?
3. Locate the two Middle Eastern countries which joined in 1958 to form the United Arab Republic (map, p. 686). What other Arab nations had frontiers bordering on Israel? Why is it likely that Israel will be compelled to become a maritime nation?

Special activities

1. Read to the class a description of conditions in one of the new nations of Asia or Africa. Discuss whether the people were ready for independence. Would they have been better off if they had remained under European control for another generation?
2. Stage a conference at which Afro-Asian leaders discuss the position their countries should take in the Cold War. The speakers should include representatives friendly to the West, pro-Communist delegates, and advocates of neutralism.

Summarizing Unit 15

1. Compile, in a class newspaper, recent developments in Europe, Asia, and Africa.
2. Divide the class into committees, each of which is to prepare a time line on important developments in one major nation of Europe or Asia during the past 150 years. Arrange the time lines in groups to show the relationship between events in different places at various important dates.
3. Make a collection of cartoons on recent developments in various parts of the world. Call on each pupil to explain one cartoon and tell why he agrees or disagrees with the cartoonist's viewpoint.

Books to Read

Specialized Accounts

- BERLINER, JOSEPH S. *Soviet Economic Aid*. Praeger, 1959. A scholarly work dealing with the recent Soviet policy of economic aid to underdeveloped countries.
- CARR, E. H. *The Twenty Years' Crisis*. Macmillan, 1946. A useful survey of diplomatic developments between the two world wars.
- COHEN, JEROME B. *Japan's Post-War Economy*. Indiana, 1958. An analysis of modern Japan's economic problems.
- EICHELBERGER, CLARK. *UN: The First Ten Years*. Harper, 1955. A brief description of the United Nations and of the important problems that have confronted it.
- FAIRBANK, JOHN K. *The United States and China*. Harvard, 1958. A scholarly survey of China's historical development and of America's relations with that country.
- FIFIELD, RUSSELL H. *The Diplomacy of Southeast Asia: 1945-1958*. Harper, 1958. A scholarly study of postwar developments in a very important region of the world.
- *GLUCKSTEIN, YGAEL. *Mao's China: Economic and Political Survey*. Beacon, 1958. A study of the effects of Communist rule in the world's most populous nation.
- *GRUBER, RUTH. *Israel Today: Land of Many Nations*. Hill, 1958. A simple, lively account of the new Jewish nation.
- *JACKSON, J. HAMPDEN. *The World in the Post-war Decade*. Houghton Mifflin, 1956. A useful handbook for post-World War II developments.
- *LEVINE, IRVING R. *Main Street, U.S.S.R.* Doubleday, 1959. A reporter answers questions Americans have asked him about the Soviet Union.
- MICHENER, JAMES. *The Bridge at Andau*. Random House, 1957. An American novelist interviews participants and eyewitnesses of the 1956 Hungarian revolt against Russian rule.
- PRATT, FLETCHER. *War for the World*. Yale, 1950. A brief, useful history of World War II.

- *SCHOENBRUN, DAVID. *As France Goes*. Harper, 1957. A thoughtful discussion of recent French history by an American foreign correspondent.
- *WOLFE, BERTRAM. *Khrushchev and Stalin's Ghost*. Praeger, 1956. A critical discussion of the policies of Stalin's successors.

Biographies and Historical Fiction

- *COWLES, VIRGINIA. *Winston Churchill: The Era and the Man*. Harper, 1953. An interesting biography of the British wartime prime minister.
- HACHIYA, MICHIIKO. *Hiroshima Diary*. North Carolina, 1955. An eyewitness account of the bombing of Hiroshima, related by a Japanese physician.
- HERSEY, JOHN. *A Bell for Adano*. Knopf, 1944.
- . *The Wall*. Knopf, 1950. Two novels, the first dealing with the problems of the American military occupation in Italy and the second with the Nazis' destruction of the Jewish ghetto in Warsaw.
- *NKRUMAH, KWAME. *Autobiography*. Nelson, 1957. The prime minister of the African dominion of Ghana tells his life story.
- ROMULO, C. P. and M. M. GREY. *The Magsaysay Story*. John Day, 1957. An interesting biography of the Filipino reformer-president.
- ST. JOHN, ROBERT. *Ben Gurion: The Biography of an Extraordinary Man*. Doubleday, 1959. The story of Israel's prime minister and his leadership of the country during its critical early years.
- TENNYSON, HALLAM. *India's Walking Saint: The Story of Vinoba Bhave*. Doubleday, 1955. The account of an extraordinary Indian religious teacher and reformer who followed in the footsteps of Mahatma Gandhi.
- VAN DER POST, LAURENS. *Flamingo Feather*. Morrow, 1955. A dramatic novel of native revolt in present-day Africa.
- WYNN, WILTER. *Nasser of Egypt*. Cambridge, 1959. An interesting brief biography, sympathetic to the Egyptian dictator.

INDEX

Guide to Pronunciation Symbols

The pronunciations in this index are drawn from the American College Dictionary, copyright 1947 through 1959 and used by permission of Random House. The following key identifies only the sounds of those pronunciation symbols that may create problems.

ā: *act*
 â: *able*
 â: *dare*
 ä: *art*
 ě: *ebb*
 ē: *equal*
 ĭ: *if*
 ĭ: *ice*
 ô: *hot*

ō: *over*
 ô: *order*
 oi: *oil*
 ōō: *book*
 ōō: *ooze*
 ou: *out*
 ū: *up*
 ū: *use*
 ū: *urge*

ə: appears only in unaccented syllables and indicates the sound of:
 a in *alone*
 e in *system*
 i in *easily*
 o in *gallop*
 u in *circus*

Foreign sounds: â: French *ami*; a sound midway between ā and ä.

kh: German *ach*; a blend of both sounds.

ɲ: French *bon*; a nasalized vowel, with the n silent.

œ: German *schön*; a blend of ô and ě, with lips rounded.

u: French *tu*, German *über*; a blend of ōō and ě, with lips rounded.

Two accent marks appear in the pronunciations. The ' indicates strong or primary stress. The ˘ indicates light or secondary stress.

- Aachen (ä'kən), Palace School at, 133
 Abd-el-Krim (äb'däl krēm'), 571
 Abelard (äb'ä lard'), Peter, 200-1
 Abolitionists, 438
 Abraham, 32, 40
 Absolutism, 276, 278-81, 285, 288-89, 300, 305, 316, 357, 465, 476-77
 See also Monarchy
 Abstractionists, 409
 Achaeans (ä kē'ənz), 70
 Adenauer (ä'dən ou ər), Konrad, 671
 Adrianople (ä'drī ə nō'pəl), Battle of, 121
 Aegean (ē jē'ən) civilization, 68-70
 Aeneid (ī nē'id), 107
 Aeschylus (ēs'kə lās), 81
 Aesop's (ēs'əps) fables, 82
 Afghanistan (äf gän'ə stän'), 516
 Agriculture. *See* Farming
 Airplanes, 379
 Akbar (äk'bār), 157
 Akkadians (ä kă'dī ənz), 35
 Alaska, 668
 Albania (äl bā'nī ə), 595, 613, 651, 655, 673
 Albigenses (äl'bä jēn'sēz), 197
 Alexander the Great, 44, 86-87, 88, 89
 Alexander I (of Russia), 351, 353, 356, 359, 360, 477
 Alexander II (of Russia), 477-79
 Alexander III (of Russia), 479
 Alexandria, 89, 498
 Alfonso (äl fön'sō) XIII (of Spain), 613
 Alfred the Great, 230
 Algeiras (äl'jə sīr'əs) Conference, 544
 Algeria, 426, 497, 571, 669, 685
 All-India Party Congress, 515
 All-Russian Congress of Soviets, 578, 579, 584
 Alphabet, 39, 44, 63, 71, 92
 Alsace-Lorraine (äl'sās lö rän'), 275, 428, 467, 541, 556, 623
 Alva, Duke of, 270
 America, French and British in, 304-6
 Revolutionary War in, 327-330, 433, 489, 528
 settlement and development of, 324-27
 See also United States
 Anabaptists, 247
 Angles and Saxons, 121, 130, 131, 230
 Anglican Church, 249-50, 272, 288, 291, 417
 Anne, Queen (of England), 293
 Anticlericalism, 403, 429, 430, 466
 Anti-Federalists, 436
 Anti-Semitism, 189, 430, 467, 612, 673
 Antony, Mark, 100, 107
 Ape-man, 4
 Apollodorus (ä pöl'ō dör'ūs), 82
 Appeasement, 624, 627-28
 Aquinas (ä kwi'nəs), Thomas, 201
 Arabia, 144, 167
 Arabic language, 147, 148
 Arabic numerals, 147
 Arabs, 140, 144, 146, 155-57, 239
 Christian, 569
 nationalism of, 569, 570, 571, 664
 in Palestine, 569, 570
 See also Moslems
 Aragon (är'ə gōn'), 239
 Arch, early use of, 32, 107-8
 Archeology, 29, 31, 38, 49, 56, 68
 Archimedes (är'kə mē'dēz), 89
 Architecture. *See* Art
 Argentina, 519
 Aristotle (är'ə stōt'al), 81, 87, 201, 220
 Arius; Arianism, 126, 131

Art and architecture, in age of
 Louis XIV, 282
 of ancient Egypt, 24, 27-29
 of ancient Greece, 78, 82
 Byzantine, 141
 Chinese, 58, 161
 Cretan, 69
 Hellenistic, 89
 of India, 49, 154, 156, 157
 Mayan and Aztec, 262
 medieval, 202-5
 Modern, 408-9
 Moslem, 148
 Persian, 44
 prehistoric, 6, 12
 Renaissance, 221-23, 225-26
 Roman, 107-8, 111
 Romantic, 405
 Sumerian, 32
 Arthur, King, 202
 Articles of Confederation, 433-34
 Aryans, 44, 49-50, 70, 600
 Asia Minor, 38-42, 69, 71, 87, 95, 140
 Asoka (a sō'ka), 53, 151
 Assembly of Notables, 334-35
 Assurbanipal (ās ar bān'ī pāl'), 42
 Assyrians, 29, 40, 42-43
 Astronomy, 43-44, 89, 147, 152, 201, 226, 261-62
 Aswan (ās wān') dam, 25
 Athens, 71, 73-74, 75, 77-80, 84-85
 Atlantic Charter, 645
 Atomic energy, 82, 378, 397, 399, 643
 Attica (āt'a ka), 84
 Attila (āt'a la), 121
 Attlee, Clement, 646, 668
 Augsburg, Peace of, 248
 Aurangzeb (ōr'ang zēb'), 157, 306
 Australia, 529-31, 534, 568
 Austria, 242, 280, 281, 340, 352, 357, 362, 363, 454, 455, 456, 461, 463, 469-71, 474, 559, 604, 611, 627, 662
 the Dual Monarchy; see Austria-Hungary
 Austria-Hungary, 470, 471, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 548, 549, 551, 552, 557
 Austrian Succession, 300
 War of the, 302-3, 307
 Austro-Prussian War, 463
 Avars (ä vārz'), 132
 Averroës (ä vēr'ō ēz'), 147
 Avicenna (āv'a sēn'a), 148
 Avignon (ä vē nyōn'), 237, 244
 Axis powers, 626, 628, 630-33, 636-43

Azores (a zōrz'), 258
 Aztecs, 262, 263
 Babel, Tower of, 35
 Baber (bā'bar), 157
 Babylon (bāb'a lōn), 43
 "Babylonian Captivity," 244
 Babylonian Empires, 35-36, 43-44, 63
 Bach (bākh), Johann Sebastian, 284
 Bacon, Francis, 226
 Bacon, Roger, 201
 Bagdad, 147, 210
 Bagdad Pact, 664, 685
 Bakewell, Robert, 392
 Balance of power, 280, 303, 309
 Balance of trade, 267
 Balkan countries, 471, 472, 544-45, 612, 632-33
 Balkan League, 545
 Balkan Wars, 474, 545
 Baltic nations, 557, 579, 580, 612, 630
 Balzac (bāl'zāk), Honoré de, 408
 Baptists, 250
 Baroque (bā rōk') art, 282
 "Barracks emperors," 117-18
 Barter, 11-12, 24, 187
 Bastille (bās tēl'), storming of the, 336
 Beccaria (bēk'ka rē'a), Cesare, 401
 Bechuanaland (bēch'ōō ā'nā-lānd'), 501
 Beethoven (bā'tō vōn), Ludwig van, 405
 Behring (bā'rīng), Emil von, 396
 Belgian Congo, 446, 496
 Belgium, 348, 357, 360-61, 445, 448, 493, 496, 546, 548, 568, 631, 639, 672, 688
 Bell, Alexander Graham, 379
 Benelux (bēn'ē lūks), 672
 Beneš (bēn'ēsh), Eduard, 611
 Berlin, 639, 646, 657, 676
 Conference of, 497
 Congress of, 473
 Berlin-to-Bagdad Railway, 517
 Berlin Decree of 1806, 352
 Bessemer (bēs'a mēr), Henry, 376
 Bible, 124-25, 245, 247, 250, 269
 Bill of Rights, American, 435
 English, 292-93, 421
 Russian, 586
 Biology, 82, 396-97
 Bismarck (biz'märk), Otto von, 462-64, 465, 466, 467, 542
 Black Death, 215
 Blue laws, 290, 291
 Blum (blōm), Léon, 566

Boccaccio (bō kā'chī ō'), 220-21
 Boer (bōr) War; Boers, 498, 501, 542
 Bohemia, 245, 274
 Bolivia, 519
 Bolsheviks (bōl'shā vīks), 552, 557, 579, 580
 Bonaparte. See Napoleon
 Boniface (bōn'fās') VIII, Pope, 236
 Bonn (bōn) Government, 671
 See also West German Federal Republic
 Bosnia (bōz'nīa), 473, 474, 544
 Boston Tea Party, 329
 Boulanger (bō lān zhē') movement, 429
 Bourbon (bōor'bān) Dynasty, 274-75, 302, 357
 Bourgeoisie (bōor'zhwā zē'), 191, 317, 334, 345
 Boxer Uprising, 510-11
 Boyars (bō yārz'), 297
 Boyle, Robert, 285
 Brahmanism, 51-53
 Brandenburg, 298, 299
 Brazil, 259, 264, 519, 520, 636
 Brest-Litovsk (brēs't li tōfsk'), Treaty of, 579
 Briand (brē ān'), 623
 Britain, Battle for, 632
 British East India Company, 307, 308, 514
 British Guiana (gē ān'a), 521
 Bronze, 15, 24, 31, 56, 58, 69, 71
 Buddha, Gautama (bōd'a, gō'ta-ma), 53, 60, 159
 Buddhism, 60, 153, 154, 155, 159
 Bulgaria, 473, 545, 549, 551, 552, 557, 559, 612, 632, 639, 651, 652, 653, 655, 673
 Bulge, Battle of the, 639
 Bundesrat (bōon'das rāt'), 464, 465
 Burial customs, 6, 12, 24, 27, 29
 Burma, 507, 516, 636, 640, 659, 668, 680
 Byron, Lord, 404-5
 Byzantine (biz'an tēn') Empire, 138-41, 167
 Byzantium (bī zān'shī am), 138
 See also Constantinople
 Cabinet system, 293, 416, 422-23, 529
 Cabot, John, 259
 Cabral (kā brāl'), 259, 264
 Caesar (sē'zār), Julius, 100, 107, 108, 120
 Calcutta, Black Hole of, 308
 Calendar, 16, 63, 145, 262, 263

- Caligula (kə lig'yə lə), 102
 Caliphs (kā'fifs), 146, 147
 Calvin; Calvinism, 248-49, 270, 274, 275, 288, 290
 Cambodia (kām bō'di ə), 659
 Cambridge University, 200
 Canada, 528-29, 534, 568, 672
 Canals, 374
 Canton (kān tōn'), 504, 505, 607
 Cape Colony, 495, 498, 501
 Capet (kā'pit), Hugh; Capetian (kā pē'shən) Dynasty, 135-36, 235, 236-37
 Capitalism, 266-67, 309, 386, 387, 388, 389, 492
 Caporetto (kāp'ə rē'tō), 552
 Carbonari (kā'r bō'nā'rē), 454
 Caroline Islands, 606
 Carolingians (kā'r ə lin'jī ənz), 131, 235
 Carthage, 40, 92-94
 Cartwright, Edmund, 372, 381
 "Cash and Carry," 634
 Caste system, 51-53
 Castile (kā's tēl'), 239
 Castlereagh (kā's əl rā), 356
 Cathedrals, 204-5
 Catherine of Aragon, 249
 Catherine the Great, 321, 477
 Catholic Center party (German), 466, 597
 Catholic Emancipation Act, 533
 Caucasians (kō kā'zhənz), 14, 49
 Cavaliers, 290, 291
 Cave paintings, 6
 Cave temples, 154
 Cavour (kā vōor'), 455, 456
 Central African Federation, 688
 Central America, 519
 Cervantes (sər vān'tēz), 224
 Ceylon (sī lōn'), 154, 532, 668, 680
 Cézanne (sī zān'), Paul, 409
 Chamber of Deputies, French, 428-29, 430, 566
 Italian, 590, 591
 Chamberlain (chām'bər līn), Neville, 627
 Chambord (shān bōr'), Count of, 428
 Chandragupta (chūn'drə gōōp'tə), 152
 Charlemagne (shār'lə mān'), 131-34, 167, 174, 228, 235
 Charles I (of England), 288-90
 Charles II (of England), 291
 Charles V (Holy Roman Emperor), 242, 247, 270, 274, 300
 Charles VI (Holy Roman Emperor), 300
 Charles X (of France), 360, 426
 Charles Martel, 131, 146
 Charles the Bold, 239
 Chartist movement, 418-19
 Chaucer (chō'sər), Geoffrey, 202
 Chemistry, 148, 285, 377, 393, 397
 Cheops (kē'ōps), Great Pyramid of, 24, 29
 Chiang Kai-shek (chyāng' kī'shēk'), 608, 609, 659
 Child labor, 382, 384, 385, 411
 Chile, 519
 Ch'in Dynasty, 60
 China, ancient, 55-63, 508
 Buddhism in, 53, 60, 155
 communism in, 608, 609, 658-59
 early invasions of, 114, 152, 159, 163-66
 imperialism in, 505, 509-11, 606
 industry in, 376
 inventions in, 147, 162, 220
 Japan and, 508, 509, 607, 608-9
 in the Korean War, 660
 as a republic, 511, 606-7, 659
 reunification of, 607-8
 second Golden Age in, 159-63, 167
 weakness of the Empire, 504-7
 Chinese-Japanese wars, 509, 609
 Chinese People's Republic, 659
 Chivalry, 180, 202
 Chou (jō) Dynasty, 58, 60
 Christian Democrats, 671
 Christian Scientists, 250
 Christian socialism, 404
 Christianity, 114
 in the Dark Age, 167
 in feudal times, 180
 holy wars of, 194, 197, 210-13, 236
 influence of, on trade, 187
 and Islam, 146, 148
 organization and expansion of, 126-28, 131, 230, 404, 491
 in the Roman Empire, 123-26
 two branches of, 140
 Chungking (chōng'king'), 609
 Churchill, Winston, 632, 645-46
 Cicero (sīs'ə rō'), 107
 Cities and towns, ancient Egyptian, 23
 Greek, 71
 Indian, 49, 50
 medieval, 187, 189-91, 205, 216-17, 229
 Mesopotamian, 31
 Roman, 108
 Citizenship, Greek, 71, 73, 80, 82, 84
 Roman, 96, 100, 108-9, 111
 City-states, Greek, 71-72, 74, 77, 82, 84-87, 88, 111
 Italian, 219, 221, 241
 Latin, 91, 92, 111
 Mayan, 262
 Sumerian, 32, 34
 Civil Constitution of the Clergy, 337, 339
 Civil service, in ancient China, 58, 160, 165
 reform of, 402
 Clans, 11, 59, 62
 Classicism, revival of, 282-84, 404
 Cleisthenes (klis'thə nēz'), 73
 Clemenceau (klēm'ən sō'), Georges, 556, 557
 Cleopatra, 100
 Clergy, 182, 193, 199, 245, 246, 316-17, 330, 337, 339
 Clermont, 374
 Clive, Robert, 307-9
 Cloth making, 11, 24, 32, 56, 62, 71, 371-72
 Clovis (klō'vīs), 131
 Coalition, 342, 348, 351-52, 353
 government by, 565, 566, 597, 669, 680
 Coinage, 39, 71, 187
 Colbert (kōl bē'r'), Jean Baptiste, 279
 Cold War, 655-64, 679
 Collective bargaining, 384, 388, 431
 Collective security, 620, 624
 Collectives, 582, 673, 676
 Colombia, 519, 522
 Colonies, Belgian, 446, 493, 496, 688
 British, 264, 304-6, 324-27, 357, 488, 492-93, 496, 497, 498-501, 505, 516, 685-88
 Chinese, 58
 Dutch, 445
 French, 260, 264, 274, 281, 304-9, 431, 493, 496, 497, 498, 569, 571, 685
 German, 493, 496, 544, 606
 Greek, 71
 Italian, 459, 474, 493, 497, 498, 535
 Japanese, 493
 in the New World, 259, 263-64, 274
 Phoenician, 93
 Portuguese, 258, 259, 263, 264, 489, 493, 495, 520, 688
 revived interest in, 489-93
 rivalry for, 267

- Roman, 96, 108, 117
 Russian, 493
 Spanish, 359, 489, 493, 520
See also Imperialism
 Columbus, Christopher, 217, 240, 258
 Combination Acts, 383, 384
 Commercial Revolution, 264-67, 311, 370, 371
 Commodus (kōm'ə dəs), 117-18
 Common law, 231
 Commonwealth, Puritan, 290-91
 Commonwealth of Nations, 528-32, 668
 "Communards," 428
 Commune, Paris, 336, 341
 Communication, changes in, 379
 Communism, 387, 388-89, 403, 564, 566, 568
 in China, 608, 609, 658-59
 in France, 669
 in Germany, 586, 598, 599, 600, 602, 671
 in India, 679
 in Indonesia and the Philippines, 680
 in Iran, 685
 in Italy, 591, 671
 in Russia, 552, 557, 559, 578-87, 615
 in the satellite countries, 615, 673-76
 spread of, 651, 653, 658-69, 660
 Communist Information Bureau, 657, 676
 Communist Manifesto, 387
 Compensation principle, 357
 Concert of Europe, 540, 545, 620
 Concessions, 492
 Concordat of 1801, 350, 430
 Confederacy, 426, 438
 Confederation of the Rhine, 352
 Confucius (kən fū'shəs); Confucianism, 58-60, 61, 63, 165
 Congo, 446, 496, 544
 Congregationalists, 250
 Congress, United States, 433-34, 435
 Congress of Berlin, 473
 Congress of Vienna, 356-59, 365
 Connecticut, Fundamental Orders of, 325
 Conservation, 440
 Conservative party, British, 418, 419, 564-65, 668
 Constable, John, 405
 Constance, council at, 244
 Constantine, 119, 125, 126, 138
 Constantinople, 119, 126, 130, 138, 139, 140, 141, 146, 213, 296, 517
 Constitutional Convention, American, 434-35
 Constitutional Democrats, Russia, 480
 Consulate, French, 348
 Consuls, Roman, 96, 100
 Continental Congresses, 329, 330
 Continental System, 352, 353, 354
 Cook, James, 531
 Co-operative movement, 387, 394, 426, 445, 446
 Copernicus (kō pūr'nə kəs), 226
 Copper, 15, 25, 31, 69, 519
 Coral Sea, 639
 Córdoba (kōr'də və), 147
 Corfu (kōr'fū), 595
 Corinth, 71, 84
 Corn Laws, 418
 Corneille (kōr nā'), Pierre, 282
 Corporate state, 594
 Cort, Henry, 373
 Cortés (kōr tēz'), Hernando, 263
 Counter Reformation, 264-73
 Crafts, Chinese, 56, 58, 161
 Cretan, 69
 Egyptian, 23, 29
 Greek, 71, 73, 82
 the guilds, 190-91
 Indian, 49, 154, 157
 medieval, 189
 Moslem, 147
 prehistoric, 11, 12
 Roman, 108
 Sumerian, 31-32
 Crécy (krēs't), Battle of, 233
 Crete (krēt), 68-69, 633
 Crime, criminals, 317-18, 401-2, 417, 458
 Crimean War, 472-73, 477
 Croesus (krēs'səs), 39
 Cro-Magnon (krō mäg'nōn) man, 6, 12
 Crompton, Samuel, 372
 Cromwell, Oliver, 290
 Crop rotation, 160, 392
 Crusades, 194, 197, 210-17, 236
 Cuba, 519, 522, 525
 Cultural aspects, Age of Transition, 251
 ancient East, 63, 154-55, 157, 161
 early modern Europe, 311
 medieval, 199-205, 217
 Moslem, 147-48
 recent times, 404-10
 Roman, 105-8, 110-11
 Cuneiform (kū nē'ə fōrm'), 32, 38, 44
 Curie (kyōōr'ē), Pierre and Marie, 398-99
 Cyprus (sī'prəs), 473, 668-69
 Cyrus (sī'rəs), 44
 Czechoslovakia (chēk'ə slō vā'-kīə), 245, 557, 604, 611, 627, 628, 673
 Dalton, John, 397
 D'Annunzio (dān nōōn'tsyō), 589
 Dante (dān'tē), 202, 228
 Danton (dān'tān), 341, 343
 Danzig (dān'sīg), 628
 Darius (dā rī'əs), 74
 Dark Age, 114, 166, 173, 174, 187, 189, 199, 205, 210, 229-30, 240
 Darwin, Charles, 396-97
 David, King, 40
 Dawes, Charles G., 561, 599
 Debussy (də bū'sī), Claude, 409
 Declaration of Independence, 329-30
 Declaration of the Rights of Man, 337
 Defoe, Daniel, 284
 De Gaulle (də gōl'), Charles, 632, 669
 Deists, 319
 Delacroix (də lā krwā'), Eugène, 405
 Delian (dē'lī ən) League, 84
 Democracy, 415
 advances of, 442-47, 563, 577, 610-11
 direct, 325, 442
 evaluation of, 447-49
 in France, 427-31, 447, 448
 in Great Britain, 416-23, 447, 448
 Greek and Roman, 72-74, 77-78, 80, 84, 111
 threat to, 564
 in the United States, 433-40, 447, 448
 and the workers, 385-86
 Democratic party, Germany, 597
 United States, 436, 439
 Democratic-Republicans, 436, 437
 Demosthenes (dī mōs'thā nēz'), 82
 Denmark; Danes, 134, 230, 240, 241, 446, 463, 568, 631
 Depression, 389, 411, 489
 of 1929, 561, 564, 565, 566, 567, 595, 599, 600, 608, 623
 Descartes (dē kār't), René, 285
 Dewey, George, 522
 Diaz (dē'ās), Porfirio, 525
 Dickens, Charles, 408
 Diderot (dēd rō'), Denis, 319-20

- Diocletian (di'ə klē'shən), 118-19
- Directory (France), 345, 348, 350, 365
- Disarmament attempts, 624-25, 663, 664
- Discovery and exploration, voyages of, 256-60
- Disraeli (diz rā'li), Benjamin, 419
- Dissenters, 288, 291, 417
- Divine right of kings, 278, 287, 288
- "Dollar diplomacy," 525
- Domestic system of production, 266
- Dominican Order, 197
- Dominican Republic, 525
- "Donation of Pepin," 131
- Dorians, 70
- Dostoevski (dōs'tə yēf'ski'), Feodor, 408
- Drake, Edwin L., 377
- Drama. *See* Literature
- Dravidians, 49
- Dreyfus (drä'fəs), Alfred, 430
- Dual Monarchy, Austria-Hungary, 470, 471, 542
- Dunkirk (dün'kürk), 631
- Dupleix (dy plēks'), 306-7, 308
- Duquesne (dū kăn'), Fort, 305
- Dürer (dy'rər), Albrecht, 226
- Durham, Earl of, 529
- Dutch Reformed Church, 259
- Earth structure, 2
- East Germany, 653, 673, 676
- East Indies. *See* Netherlands East Indies
- Eastern Roman Empire, 138-41, 167
- Economic factors, theories, and institutions, 62, 117, 160-61, 245, 251, 267, 310-11, 317, 320-21, 361, 383, 439, 457-58, 489-90, 563-64, 589, 593-94, 603-4
- Edessa (i dēs'ə), 212
- Edison, Thomas A., 378
- Education, agricultural, 394
in China, 161
and the Church, 426
higher, 61, 147, 160, 165, 350, 402
medieval, 133, 199-202, 205
public, 321, 327, 350, 403, 410, 420, 426, 433, 446, 465
in Russia, 298, 403, 585
for women, 402
- Edward I (of England), 231
- Edward III (of England), 233
- Edward VI (of England), 271
- Egypt, ancient, 22-29
Alexander's invasion of, 87, 89
allied to Rome, 95
overrun by Arabs, 146
the British and, 498, 571
nationalism in, 571
in World War II, 632
under Nasser, 664
- Einstein, Albert, 399
- Eisenhower, Dwight, 639, 667-68
- El Greco (el grā'kō), 226
- Elba, 354
- Electricity, 377-78, 379, 458
- Elizabeth I (of England), 272-73, 287
- Elizabeth II (of England), 421-22
- Elizabeth (of Russia), 303
- Elizabethan Age, 273
- Émigrés (ēm'ə grāz'), 343, 349
- Enclosure movement, 392
- Engels (ēng'əls), Friedrich, 387
- England, 121, 130, 131, 280, 281, 293
Agricultural Revolution in, 391-92
Church of. *See* Anglican Church
colonies of. *See* Colonies, British
as first modern nation, 229-33, 251
in the Hundred Years' War, 233, 237-39, 244
limited monarchy in, 287-93
religious changes in, 271-73, 288, 289, 291, 292, 417
Renaissance in, 224-25, 226
Roman colonies in, 108
and the Spanish Armada, 273
See also Great Britain
- Enlightened Despots, 321-22
- Enlightenment, 318-21, 337, 401, 404
- Entente Cordiale (ān tānt' kōr dyāl'), 543
- Erasmus (i rāz'məs), Desiderius, 224, 226, 245
- Eritrea (ēr'i trē'ə), 459, 497
- Estates-General, 229, 237, 239, 334-35
- Estonia (ēs tō'nī ə), 557, 612
- Ethiopia (ē'thī ō'pī ə), 459, 497, 632
- Ethiopian War, 595, 626
- Etruscans (i trūs'kanz), 91, 92
- Euripides (yōō rīp'ə dēz'), 81
- European Coal and Steel Community, 672
- European Economic Community, 672
- European Recovery Program, 657, 671, 672
- Evolution theory, 396-97
- Extraterritorial rights, 505, 508, 509, 514
- Eyck (ik), Jan and Hubert van, 225-26
- Factory laws, 384-85, 420
- Factory system, 373-74, 381-83
- Faraday, Michael, 377, 398
- Farming, in ancient world, 22, 23, 31, 50, 55, 56, 59, 62
by the Arabs, 148
beginning of, 10-11
capitalism in, 266
in China, 55, 56, 59, 160
on the manor, 183-84
revolution in, 391-95
- Fascism (fash'iz əm), 564, 566, 568, 587, 614-15
background of, 589-92
in Germany, 600-4, 615, 625-26
in Italy, 592-95, 614
in Japan, 606-10, 615
spread of, 610-14, 615
- Fashoda, 498
- Federal Reserve System, 440
- Federal system, 435, 448, 508, 529
- Federalists, 436
- Ferdinand I (Holy Roman Emperor), 300, 362
- Ferdinand V (of Spain), 239, 258, 270
- Ferdinand VII (of Spain), 359
- Fertile Crescent, 38-44
- Feudalism, 173, 174-80, 182-85, 205, 214-15, 228-29, 239, 241, 251, 309, 509, 513
- Fief (fēf), 175, 176, 177, 183
- Finland, 557, 630-31, 639, 652
- Finnish-Russian War, 631
- Fire, first use of, 5, 6
- Firearms, 229
- Fiume (fū'mē), 589, 591
- Five-Year Plans, 581-84, 673, 675, 679
- Florence, 217, 221-22, 241
- Foch (fōsh), Ferdinand, 552
- Formosa, 509, 659, 664
- Four-Power Treaty, 622
- Fourteen Points, 555, 568
- France, in age of Louis XIV, 278-85
Bank of, 349, 566
Bourbon, 274, 302, 357
civil wars in, 273-74
colonies of, 260, 264, 274, 281, 304-9, 431, 493, 496, 497, 498, 569, 571, 685
Directory, 345, 348, 350, 365

- early history of, 235-36
the First and Second Empires, 349, 363, 425-27
the First, Second, Third, and Fourth Republics, 341-44, 361, 363, 427-31, 448, 669
as the Frankish Empire, 131-36
in the Hundred Years' War, 233, 237-39, 244
and Indo-China, 507, 516, 659
limited monarchy in, 335-37, 339-41, 365
and Napoleon, 348-54, 365
as a nation, 235-39, 251
Renaissance in, 224
Revolution in, 332-37, 345, 417, 425
in the Thirty Years' War, 274-75
University of, 350
in World War I and after, 541, 542, 543, 544, 546, 548-50, 565-66
in World War II and after, 625, 631-32, 639, 669
Francis I (of France), 242, 274
Francis Ferdinand (of Austria), 545-46
Francis Joseph (of Austria), 462, 470
Franciscan Order, 197
Franco, Francisco, 613
Franco-Prussian War, 456, 463-64
Frankfort, Treaty of, 427
Frankfort Assembly, 362, 363, 462
Franks, 121, 130, 131, 146, 167, 235
Frederick I (of Prussia), 300
Frederick II (of Prussia), 302-3, 322, 403
Frederick Barbarossa, 212
Frederick of Hohenzollern (hō'-ən zōl'örn), 298
Frederick William (of Brandenburg), 299-300
Frederick William I (of Prussia), 300, 302
Frederick William III (of Prussia), 356
Frederick William IV (of Prussia), 362, 462
"Free French," 632
French Academy of Sciences, 284
French Congo, 496
French East India Company, 306
French and Indian War, 305-6, 327
Freud (froid), Sigmund, 402
Fulton, Robert, 374
Functionalism, 409
Galileo (gāl'ə lē'ō), 226
Gallipoli (gə lip'ə li) Campaign, 549
Gama (gām'ə), Vasco da, 258
Gandhi (gān'dē), Mohandas, 571-72
Garibaldi (gār'ə bōl'dī), 455-56
Gaul, 100, 121, 130, 235
Geneva, 248
Disarmament Conference at, 624
"Summit" Conference at, 662
Genoa (jēn'ə wə), 217, 267
Geographic factors, 14-15, 48-49, 55-56, 89, 148, 226, 229, 235, 295-96, 309, 495
Geography, study of, 89, 148, 226
George I (of England), 284, 293
George II (of England), 293
George III (of England), 329, 330
German Confederation, 357, 362, 461, 462, 463
Germany, 134, 241-42, 247-48, 428, 517
alliance of, with Russia, 604, 628
Allied occupation of, 646
barbarian invasions from, 119-21, 128, 130-31, 235
colonies of, 493, 496, 509, 544, 606
Communists in, 586, 598, 599, 600, 602, 671
divided, 309, 357
nationalism in, 461-67, 482, 600
Nazi regime in, 599-604, 615, 625-26
religious conflict in, 247-48
Renaissance in, 226
as a republic, 597-99
revolutions in, 362, 363-64, 597
and the Spanish Civil War, 627
and the Wars of Religion, 275, 276, 280
and World War I, 541, 542, 544, 546, 548-53, 556-57, 558, 560-61
in World War II and after, 626, 627-28, 630-39, 652-53, 669-71
Gestapo (gə stā'pō), 602
Ghana (gā'nə), 668, 688
Girondins (jə rōn'dinz), 342
Gizeh (gē'zə), 24
Gladstone, W. E., 419, 533
"Glorious Revolution," 292, 293, 319
Goethe (gō'e'tə), Johann Wolfgang von, 404
Golden Horde, 296
Gomulka (gō mōol'kə), Wladislaw, 676
Good Neighbor Policy, 525
Gothic style in art, 204
Government, in Age of Transition, 251
American, 325, 327, 329, 433-36, 447, 448
in the ancient world, 23, 32, 38, 42, 44, 63, 95-96, 98-99, 111, 116, 138-39, 160
beginning of, 12, 20
Belgian, 445
British, 290-91, 416-17, 421-23, 448, 564-65
of Canada, 529
coalition, 565, 566, 597, 669, 680
Dutch, 444
in France, 335-37, 339-45, 348, 349, 361, 363, 365, 425-31, 448, 565, 566
in Germany, 464-65, 598, 602-4
of Italy, 456-57
Machiavelli's theory of, 221
representative, 229, 237, 435
in Russia, 476-77, 584-85
Scandinavian, 446-47
self-, 44, 89, 483, 515, 668
Swiss, 442
three equal branches of, 320
See also Absolutism; Democracy; Fascism
Government of India Acts, 571, 572
Gracchus (grāk'əs), Tiberius and Gaius, 99
"Grand Alliance," 281
Great Britain, and American Revolution, 327-30
in China, 505, 507, 509, 510
colonial empire of, 304-6, 324-27, 357, 488, 492-93, 496, 497, 498-501, 505, 516, 685-88
and the Commonwealth of Nations, 528-32, 534
control of seas by, 304
co-operative movement in, 387
and Egypt, 498, 571
and India, 306-9, 513-15, 571-72, 678
and the Industrial Revolution, 370, 371-76
and Iraq, 569

- Great Britain (*Continued*)
 and Ireland, 532-33
 and Napoleon, 352-53
 and Palestine, 569-71
 and World War I, 543, 564-65
 and World War II, 631, 632, 636, 637, 639, 645, 668-69
See also England
- Great Charter of the British Empire, 529
- "Great Compromise," 435
- Great Schism, 244
- Great Wall of China, 60
- Greece, 66, 70-89, 107, 359-60, 472, 473, 545, 612, 632, 633, 655, 657
- Greek Orthodox Church, 126
- Gregory I, Pope, 128
- Gregory VII, Pope, 195-96
- Grey, Lord, 417
- Guadalcanal (gwä'däl kə näl'), 640
- Guam (gwäm), 522
- Guarantee, principle of, 357
- Guilds, 190-91, 266, 309, 317
- Guise (gēz), Duke of, 274
- Gunpowder Plot, 288
- Gupta (gōp'tä) Dynasty, 151-52
- Gustavus Adolphus (gūs tā'vəs ə döl'fəs) (of Sweden), 275
- Habsburgs, 241-42, 245, 270, 273-76, 280, 300, 302, 352, 442, 469, 471
- Hague Conferences, 541
- Haiti, 525
- Hamilton, Alexander, 436
- Hammurabi (hä'mōō rä'bī), Code of, 35-36, 63
- Han (hän) Dynasty, 60-61
- Handel (hän'däl), George Frederick, 284
- Hannibal, 93-94
- Hanseatic (hän'sī ä'tik) League, 217
- Hargreaves, James, 371, 381
- Harsha, 152
- Hastings, Battle of, 230
- Hawaii, 668
- Hebrews, 40-42
- Hegira (hī jī'rä), 145
- Heidelberg (hī'däl bürg'), 200
- Hellenistic world, 87-89, 94-95, 108
- Henry II (of England), 230, 236
- Henry IV (of France), 274, 278
- Henry IV (Holy Roman Emperor), 195-96
- Henry V (of England), 233
- Henry VII (of England), 233, 259
- Henry VIII (of England), 249, 287
- Henry "the Navigator" (of Portugal), 258
- Heresy, 126, 131, 197, 245, 246, 269
- Herodotus (hī rōd'ə təs), 82
- Hertz, Heinrich, 398
- Herzegovina (hēr'tsə gō vē'nə), 473, 474, 544
- Hieroglyphics, 26, 261
- Hindenburg, Paul von, 601-2
- Hindus; Hinduism, 49-53, 62, 153-54, 156, 513, 515, 678, 679, 688
- Hippocrates (hī pōk'rə tēz'), 82
- Hiroshima (hī'rə shē'mä), 643
- Hitler, Adolf, 599-604, 611, 612, 615, 625-26, 627-28, 631-32, 633, 635, 639, 689
- Hittites (hīt'its), 38-39
- Hohenzollerns (hō'ən zöl'ärnz), 298-300, 302
- Holbein (höl'bīn), Hans, 226
- Holland. *See* Netherlands
- Holy Land, 212-13
- Holy Roman Empire (Emperors), 135, 195, 228, 241, 242, 275, 309, 339, 352, 461
- Home rule, 532, 533
- Homer, 68, 107
- Homo sapiens (hō'mō sä'pī ēnz'), 6, 14
- Honduras (hōn döör'əs), 525
- Hong Kong, 505
- Horace, 107
- House of Burgesses, 325
- House of Commons, 233, 416, 420, 422, 423, 529
- House of Lords, 233, 416, 420, 422
- House of Representatives, 435
- Howard, John, 402
- Hudson, Henry, 260
- Hugo, Victor, 405
- Huguenots (hū'gə nōts'), 249, 274, 279, 285, 299
- Humanism, 219-26, 245
- Humanitarians, 384, 401, 491
- "Hundred Days," 354
- Hundred Years' War, 233, 237-39, 244
- Hungary, 135, 241, 242, 300, 362, 469, 470-71, 559, 586, 611, 639, 651, 652, 653, 673, 676
See also Austria-Hungary
- Huns, 121, 152, 159
- Huss, John, 245
- Hydroelectric power, 378, 444, 446
- Hydrogen bomb, 399, 663
- Hyksos (hīk'sōs), 26
- Iberian Peninsula, 239-40, 613-14
See also Portugal and Spain
- ibn-Saud (ib'ən sä'ōd'), 571
- Ibsen, Henrik, 408
- Ice Ages, 3, 10
- Ikhnoton (ik nā'tən), 27
- Iliad, 70
- Imperialism, 487-93, 495-501, 505-6, 509-11, 513-17, 522, 528-32, 651-52, 685-88
 results of, 534-35
 revolt against, 568-72, 690
 and the world wars, 542, 628
See also Colonies
- Impressionists, 409
- Incas, 262-63
- Index of Prohibited Books, 269
- India, 87, 114, 147, 151, 152, 258, 376, 532, 640, 659, 668
 as a dominion, 678-79
 Golden Age of, 151-55, 167
 Great Britain and France and, 306-9, 513-15, 571-72, 678
 Hindu civilization in, 48-53
 Mogul Empire in, 156-57
 Moslems in, 155-57
 nationalism in, 514-15, 571-72
- Indian Councils Act, 515
- Indians, American, 260-63, 324
 French and Indian War, 305-6, 327
- Indo-China, 163, 426, 507, 516, 635, 659, 669
- Indonesia, 680
- Indulgences, sale of, 246
- Industrial Revolution, 370-79, 381-89, 410-11, 462, 489
See also Manufacturing
- Inflation, 563, 589, 598-99
- Initiative, 443
- Innocent III, Pope, 197, 213-14
- Inquisition, 197, 223-24, 226, 239-40, 270, 359
- International Geophysical Year, 399
- Internationalism, 623-28, 667
- Inventions, in the age of Louis XIV, 284-85
 in the ancient world, 23, 29, 31-32, 34, 39, 89, 161-62, 167, 220
 in the Industrial Revolution, 370, 371-72, 373, 374-75, 376, 377, 379, 392
 in the Middle Ages, 229, 258
 primitive, 5, 10, 11, 15-16
- Investiture Conflict, 194, 195-97

- Iran, 685
Iraq, 31, 569, 664
Ireland, 128, 483, 532-33, 672
Iron, 15-16, 38, 372-73, 376
Irrigation, 22-23, 32, 35, 49
Isabella (of Spain), 239, 258
Islam (is'lām), 114, 144-48, 156, 211, 679
"Island-hopping," 640
Ismail (is'mā'el) "the Spend-thrift," 498
Isolationism, 560, 561, 633, 634, 667
Israel, Kingdom of, 42
Israelites, 40-42
Italy, 121, 130, 134, 140, 542, 544, 549, 552, 557, 559
city-states of, 219, 221, 241
colonies of, 459, 474, 493, 497, 498, 535
divided, 241, 309, 357
Fascism in, 589-95, 614
medieval, 216-17
nationalism in, 454-59, 482, 591, 594
Renaissance in, 220-24
as a republic, 671
revolutions in, 362, 363
and the Spanish Civil War, 627
unification of, 454-56
"Unredeemed," 458
and World War II, 595, 626, 631, 632, 636-37, 638-39, 652, 653, 671-72
Ivan the Great, 296
Ivan the Terrible, 297
Iwo Jima (ē'wə jē'mə), 640
Jackson, Andrew, 437-38
Jacobins (jāk'ə bīnz), 340, 341, 342, 344, 345, 348, 360, 365
James I (of England), 287-88
James II (of England), 292
Jamestown, 264
Japan, 163, 376, 507-9, 534, 568
colonies of, 493
dictatorship in, 606-10, 615
in Manchuria, 608-9, 624
and Russia, 481, 511
and World War I, 606-7, 608-9
and World War II, 609-10, 626, 628, 630, 635-36, 639-43, 646-47, 653
Java, 154, 680
Java man, 3-4, 5
Jefferson, Thomas, 329-30, 436, 437
Jenghis Khan (jēn'gīz kǎn'), 163-64, 296
Jenner, Edward, 395
Jerome, St., 269
Jerusalem, 210, 212
Jesuits, 269-70, 429
Jesus of Nazareth, 123, 125
Jews, ancient, 40-42, 123
in the Dark Age, 189
expelled from Spain, 239, 240
in Palestine, 569-71
persecution of, 146, 467, 600, 603
in Russia, 479, 673
Jimmo Tenu, 507
Joan of Arc, 233, 237
John of England, 197, 231, 236
Jordan, 570, 664, 668
Joseph II (of Austria), 322
Joyce, James, 409
Juárez (hwā'rēs), Benito, 426
Judah, Kingdom of, 42
Judaism, 42, 63
July Revolution, 360
Jury system, 77, 230, 231
Justinian (jūs'tīn'ī ən), 140
Juvenal (jōō'və nəl), 107
Kalidasa (kā'lī dā'sə), 152
Kashmir, 679
Kassites, 36
Kellogg, Frank B., 623
Kenya (kēn'yə), 688
Kerensky (kē'rēn'skī), Alexander, 578
Khrushchev (khrōōs chūv'), Ni-kita, 673
Kiev (kē'ēf), 296
King's Friends, 329
Knights, 176, 178-79, 180, 182, 199
of the Round Table, 202
Knossos (nōs'əs), 68, 70
Knox, John, 249
Koch (kōkən), Robert, 396
Koran (kō'rān'), 144, 145, 146, 148
Korea, 162-63, 509
Korean War, 660-61, 667
Kshatriyas (kshāt'rī yāz), 51
Kublai Khan (kōō'bli kǎn'), 164-65
Kulaks (kōō lāks'), 582
Kulturkampf (kōōl tōōr'kämpf'), 466
Kuomintang (kwō'mīn'tāng'), 607
Labor party, British, 388, 420, 564, 565, 668
Labor unions, 383-84, 388, 417, 420, 426, 458, 480, 565
Lafayette, Marquis de, 335, 341
La Fontaine (lā fōn tēn'), Jean de, 283
Laissez faire (lēs'ā fār'), 321, 383, 488
Lancaster, Duke of, 233
Land Purchase Acts, 533
Land reform, 395, 532-33, 679
Languages, Arabic, 147, 148
French, 321
Greek, 87, 108, 111
Latin, 108, 111, 201, 202
Romance, 111, 202
Sanskrit, 51, 152, 154
Semitic, 39
Laos (lā'ōs), 659
Lao-tse (lou'dzū'), 58, 60
La Rochefoucauld (lā rōsh fōō-kō'), Duc de, 283
Lateran Treaty of 1929, 592
Latin America, 519-25, 534, 636
Latin language, 108, 111, 201, 202
Latvia, 557, 612
Lavoisier (lā vwā zyē'), Antoine, 397
Law(s), against unions, 383-84
Byzantine, 141
Chinese, 165
Church, 194
Code of Hammurabi, 35-36, 63
common, 231
Corn, 418
English Bill of Rights, 292-93
factory, 420
feudal, 176-77
Greek, 73
Hittite, 38
in medieval England, 230-31
of Moses, 42
the Napoleonic Code, 350
to regulate industry, 384-85
Roman, 96, 109-10, 111
social insurance, 385-86, 389, 458, 465, 467, 668, 669
League of Armed Neutrality, 330
League of Nations, 559, 560, 587, 595, 599, 604, 620-26, 628, 631, 648-49, 651
Lebanon, 569, 664
Legends, 12, 26, 91
Legions, Roman, 95, 103
Legitimacy, 357
Legitimists, French, 428
Leipzig (lip'sīg), Battle of, 354
Lend-Lease aid, 634, 636
Lenin (lēn'in), Nikolai, 579, 580, 581, 584, 585, 587, 608
Leningrad, 633
Leo III, Emperor, 140
Leo XIII, Pope, 403

- Leonardo da Vinci (lē'ō nār'dō dā vēn'chē), 222, 225
- Leopold II (of Austria), 339
- Leopold II (of Belgium), 496
- Lepanto (lē pān'tō), Battle of, 270
- Lexington, Mass., 329
- Leyte (lē'tā) Gulf, Battle of, 640
- Liberal party, British, 418, 419, 420, 533, 564, 565
- Liberalism, 360, 462, 469
- Libya, 459, 474, 498, 542, 544, 571, 632, 636
- Liebig (lē'bīk), Justus von, 393
- Lincoln, Abraham, 438
- Literature, ancient Egyptian, Babylonian, Chinese, Greek, 26, 35, 58, 61, 81-82, 161 Arab, 148 Byzantine, 141 classic, revived interest in, 220 early Hindu, 51 Hellenistic, 89 Inca, 263 Indian, 152-53, 157 medieval, 202 Modernist, 409 Realist, 405-8 Renaissance, 220-21, 224-25 Roman, 105, 107, 111 Romantic, 404-5 17th and 18th century, 282-84 vernacular, 202
- Lithuania, 557, 612
- Living standard, 215, 389, 465, 489, 493
- Livingstone, David, 495-96
- Livy (līv'ī), 107
- Lloyd George, David, 420, 556, 563, 564, 565
- Locarno (lō kār'nō) Treaties, 623, 626
- Locke, John, 319, 328
- Lombard League, 217
- Lombards, 131, 132, 140
- Lombardy, 454, 455
- London naval conference, 624-25
- "Long Parliament," 289-90
- "Long Walls" of Athens, 78, 85
- Lords, medieval, 176, 177, 178-79, 180, 182, 183, 184, 185, 190, 205, 228-29, 230, 239, 266
- Lorraine. See Alsace-Lorraine
- Louis I ("the Pious"), 134
- Louis IX, 236
- Louis XI, 239, 274
- Louis XIII, 274
- Louis XIV, 264, 291, 293 age of, 278-85
- Louis XV, 281, 316, 332
- Louis XVI, 334-35, 336, 340, 341
- Louis XVIII, 357, 360
- Louis Napoleon Bonaparte (Napoleon III), 363, 425-27, 455, 456, 463, 516, 520
- Louis Philippe, 360, 361
- Louisiana, 264, 306, 437
- Loyalists, 330, 627
- Loyola, Ignatius, 269
- Lusitania, sinking of, 551
- Luther, Martin, 246-47
- Luxemburg, 672
- Lvov (lvōf), Prince, 578
- Lydians (līd'ī ənz), 39
- McAdam, John, 374
- MacArthur, Douglas, 639, 640, 653
- MacDonald, Ramsay, 565
- Macedonians, 86-87, 95
- Machiavelli (māk'ī ə vēl'ī), Niccolò, 221
- Madagascar (mād'ə gās'kər), 497
- Madre (mā dīr'ə) Islands, 258
- Magellan (mā jēl'ən), Ferdinand, 259
- Magna Carta, 231, 287, 421
- Magyars (māg'yärz), 134, 135, 176, 469, 470, 471
- Maine, U.S.S., 522
- Malaya (Mā lā'ə), 516, 636, 659, 668
- Malthus (māl'thəs), Thomas, 383
- Man, living things before, 2-3 prehistoric, 3-6, 10-17 races of, 14
- Manchu (mān chō') Dynasty, 165-66, 504-5, 511, 606
- Manchuria, 509, 608-9, 624, 659
- Mandates, 558-59, 569, 570, 622
- Manorial system, 183-85, 266, 309
- Manufacturing, in the ancient world, 39, 56, 71, 73, 92, 138, 160, 161 Inca, 263 medieval Italian, 217 modern European, 311, 465, 480 See also Industrial Revolution
- Mao Tse-tung (mou'dzü'dōōng'), 659
- Map making, 226
- Marathon, Battle of, 74
- Marconi, Guglielmo, 379
- Marcus Aurelius (ō rē'lī əs), 102, 107, 117
- Maria Theresa, 300, 302, 316
- Marianas (mā'rē ā'nās) Islands, 606, 640
- Marie Antoinette, 341
- Marius (mār'ī əs), 99-100
- Mame (mār'n), Battles of the, 548, 552
- "Marseillaise" (mār'sə lāz'), 341
- Marshall, George C., 657
- Marshall Islands, 606, 640
- Marshall Plan, 657, 669
- Marx, Karl, 387, 389, 430, 480, 585
- Marxian Socialism, 387
- Mary I (of England), 271-72
- Mary II (of England), 292
- Maryland, 327
- Masaryk (mā'sā rik), Thomas G., 611
- Mass production, 379
- Massachusetts, 327, 385
- Mau Mau (mou'mou), 688
- Maximilian (māk'sə mīl'yən) (of Mexico), 426
- Mayas (mā'yəz), 260-62
- Mayflower Compact, 325
- Mazarin (māz'ə rīn), 278, 284
- Mazzini (māt tsē'nē), 455
- Mathematics, 29, 34, 89, 147, 152, 201, 262, 285
- Mecca (mēk'ə), 144, 145
- Medes (mēdz), 44
- Medici (mēd'ə chī), 222
- Medicine, in the ancient world, 29, 82, 89 Indian, 152 Moslem, 148 progress in, 395-96, 489 socialized, 668
- Memphis, Egypt, 23
- Mendel, Gregor, 397
- Mendeleev (mēn'də lā'əf), Dmitri, 397
- Menes (mē'nēz), 23
- Mental illness, 402
- Mercantilism, 267, 279, 304, 317, 327, 488, 520
- Mesopotamia, 31-36, 38, 87, 147, 210
- Metalwork, 15-16, 58, 92, 263
- Methodists, 250
- Metric system, 343
- Metternich (mēt'ər nīk), 356, 357, 358-61, 362, 454, 461, 469-70, 477, 520, 540
- Mexican War, 438
- Mexico, 240, 426, 519, 520, 525
- Michelangelo (mī'kal ān'jə lō'), 222, 223
- Middle class, 23, 36, 73, 191, 251, 311, 360, 405, 480 See also Social classes
- Middle Kingdom of Egypt, 24-25
- Midway, Battle of, 639

- Milan, 217, 241
 Militarism, 542, 553, 608, 609, 628
 Milton, John, 283-84
 Mines Act, 384-85
 Ming Code, 165
 Ming Dynasty, 165, 504
 Minorities, treatment of, 467, 479
 See also Jews and Negroes
 Missionaries, 128, 256, 263, 296, 404, 491, 504, 505, 508, 510, 535
 "Model Parliament," 231-33
 Modernists, 408-10
 Mogul Empire, 156-57, 306, 513
 Mohammed, 144-46, 167
 Molière (mô lyër'), 282-83
 Monarchists, in France, 428, 429, 430
 Monarchy, absolute, 276, 278-81, 285, 316
 democracy under, 448
 and feudalism, 239
 limited, 287, 292-93, 311, 335-37, 339-41, 447
 present-day, 421-22
 strengthening of, 228-29
 Monasteries, 128, 153, 154, 199
 Monastic orders, 197
 Money, 34, 39, 62, 71, 439
 Mongolians, 14, 260
 Mongols, 121, 160, 163-65, 296, 504
 Monopolies, 439, 440
 Monotheism, 27, 42
 Monroe Doctrine, 520-21, 522-25
 Montenegro (môn'tə nē'grō), 472, 473, 545, 612
 Montesquieu (môn'tēs kū'), Charles de, 320, 337
 More, Sir Thomas, 224
 Mormons, 250
 Morocco (mə rōk'ō), 498, 544, 571, 669, 685
 Morse, Samuel, 379
 Moscow, 296-97, 353, 633
 Moses, 40, 42
 Moslem League, 515, 678
 Moslems, 131, 134, 144-48, 155-57, 163, 167, 176, 210-13, 239, 240, 471-74, 497, 513, 515, 678, 679
 See also Islam
 "Muckrakers," 439
 Mummies, 24, 29
 Munich (mū'nik) Pact, 627, 628
 Music, 223, 284, 405, 409
 Mussolini (mōō'sə lē'nī), Benito, 591-95, 611, 613, 625, 626, 627, 628, 631, 632, 638, 689
 Mustafa Kemal (mōō'sə tā fā kə-māl'), 568
 Mutiny Act, 293
 Mutsuhito (mōō'tsoō hē'tō), 508-9
 Nantes (nānts), Edict of, 274, 279
 Naples, 241
 Napoleon Bonaparte, 345, 347-54, 365, 437, 454, 461, 520
 Napoleon III (Louis Napoleon), 363, 425-27, 455, 456, 463, 516, 520
 Napoleonic Code, 350
 Napoleonic Wars, 351-54, 520
 Nasser (nā'sər), Gamal Abdel, 664
 National Assembly, France, 335-37, 339, 340, 345, 365, 428-29
 "National communism," 676
 National Convention, France, 341, 342-43, 345, 350, 365
 National Grange, 439
 National Guard, France, 336
 National Health Insurance Act, 668
 Nationalism, 228, 245-46, 345, 357, 359, 360, 453, 534, 541-42, 568-72, 623, 628, 669, 676, 678, 689, 690
 and absolutism, 479
 Arab, 569, 570, 571, 664
 in Austria, 469-71, 483
 in the Balkans, 472
 in China, 607, 609
 Egyptian, 571
 French, 426
 German, 461-67, 482, 600
 imperialism and, 490-91
 Indian, 514-15, 571-72
 in Indo-China, 659
 in Iran, 685
 Italian, 454-59, 482, 591, 594
 in North Africa, 571, 685
 and the Ottoman Empire, 471-74, 483
 in Palestine, 569-71
 results of, 482-83
 in Russia, 479-82
 in South Africa, 688
 in Syria and Iraq, 569
 Turkish, 473-74, 568
 Nationalists, Chinese, 608, 609, 658, 659
 Nationalization of industry, 388, 430, 566, 668, 669, 685
 Nations, rise of, 228-33, 251
 Naval Ratio Treaty, 622-23
 Nazi (nā'tsī) party (National Socialists), 599-604, 611, 615, 646, 671
 Neanderthal (nē ān'dər täl') man, 5-6
 Nebuchadnezzar (nēb'yōō kəd-nēz'ər), 43
 Necker, 334
 Negroes, 14
 in South Africa, 501, 688
 in United States, desegregation of, 666
 Nehru (nē'rōō), Jawaharlal, 679
 Nero, 102, 125
 Netherlands, 224, 260, 264, 270-71, 280, 281, 444-45, 448, 493, 495, 568, 631, 639, 672
 Netherlands East Indies, 517, 636, 659, 680
 Neutrality, 443, 445, 631, 633-35, 679, 680
 Neutrality Act, 633, 634
 Neutrality patrol system, 635
 New Deal, 567
 New Economic Policy, 580-81, 582
 New Freedom, 440
 New Guinea (gīn'ī), 639
 New Harmony, Ind., 387
 "New Model Army" of Cromwell, 290
 New Stone Age, 10-17, 56
 New Zealand, 531, 534, 568
 Newcomen, Thomas, 373
 Newton, Isaac, 285, 318
 Nicaea (nī sē'a), Council of, 126
 Nicaragua (nik'a rā'gwā), 525
 Nicholas I (of Russia), 360, 473, 477
 Nicholas II (of Russia), 480, 481
 Nigeria (nī jīr'ī ə), 496, 688
 Nile Valley, 22-29, 498
 Nine Gems, 152
 Nine-Power Treaty, 607, 622
 Ninety-five Theses, 246
 Nineveh (nīn'a vā), 42, 43
 Nobility, French, 316, 333
 Japanese, 508
 Russian, 477
 See also Lords, medieval
 Nomads, 14, 35, 40, 42, 44, 49, 121, 144
 "Nonjuring" clergy, 339
 Norman Conquest, 230
 Norsemen, 134-35, 176, 230, 296
 North America Act, 529
 North Atlantic Treaty Organization, 657-58, 669, 672
 North German Confederation, 463, 464
 Northwest Ordinance, 436-37

- Norway, Norwegians, 135, 240, 241, 357, 447, 483, 568, 631
- Novgorod (nôv'gôr), 296, 297
- Nubia, 24, 25
- Nuclear physics, 398-99
- Number systems, 147, 261, 263
- Nyasaland (nyä'sä länd'), 688
- Oceania, 517
- Octavian, 100, 101-3, 107, 108, 116, 117
- Odoacer (ô'dô ä'sär), 121
- Odyssey, 68, 70
- Okinawa (ô'kâ nâ'wä), 642
- Old Kingdom of Egypt, 23-24
- Old Regime, evils of, 316-18, 322, 336, 364, 365, 401
- Old Stone Age, 5-6, 17
- Olympic Games, Greek, 78
- Open Door Policy, 510, 607
- Open-hearth process, 376
- Opium War, 505
- Orange Free State, 498
- Oregon Territory, 438
- Orleanists, 428
- Ostracism, 78
- Ostrogoths, 121, 130, 140
- Otto the Great, 135
- Ottoman Turks, 141, 148, 214, 242, 309, 471-74
- Ovid (ôv'id), 107
- Owen, Robert, 386-87
- Oxford University, 200
- Pakistan (pä'kî stän'), 532, 668, 678-80
- Palatinate (pâ lät'ä nât'), 280-81
- Palestine, 38, 40, 123, 569-71, 668
- Palestina (päl'ä strê'nä), 223
- Pan American Union, 525
- Panama Canal, 522
- Pan-German League, 467
- Pan-Slavism (pän'släv'iz em), 473, 479, 542
- Papal States, 131, 241, 454
- Paris, as capital of France, 236, 336
- Commune of, 336, 341
- Count of, 428
- Pact of, 623
- peace conferences at, 473, 555-59, 570, 607
- peace treaties of, after World War II, 652
- Treaties of, 306, 330
- University of, 200
- Parliament, British, 229, 416, 423, 448
- "Long," 289
- "Model," 231-33
- "Reformed," 418
- struggle of kings and, 287-93
- Parliament Act of 1911, 420, 421
- Passive resistance, 571, 599
- Pasteur (päs tœr'), Louis, 396
- Paternalism, 465
- Patriarch of Constantinople, 126, 139
- Patrick, St., 128
- Paul I (of Russia), 348
- Paul of Tarsus, 124, 125
- Pax Romana, 108, 539
- Peace, following World War II, 648-53
- imperialism and, 493
- search for, 473, 555-59, 570, 607, 620-23, 652
- wartime planning for, 645-47
- Peace Pact of Paris, 623
- Pearl Harbor, 610, 635-36
- Peasants' Revolt of 1525, 247
- Pedro II (of Brazil), 520
- Peel, Sir Robert, 417
- Peloponnesian (pêl'ä pö nê'shän) League, 74, 84
- Peloponnesian War, 84-86
- Peninsular War, 353
- Penn, William, 327
- Pepin (pêp'in) the Short, 131
- Pericles (pêr'ä klêz'), 78, 85
- Perry, Matthew C., 508
- Persia(ns), 44, 87, 140, 146, 516, 543
- Persian Wars, 74-75
- Peru, 240, 519
- Peter the Great (of Russia), 297-98, 476, 477
- Peter III (of Russia), 303
- Peters, Karl, 496
- Petition of Right, 288
- Petrarch (pê'trärk), Francesco, 220
- Petroleum, 377, 517, 571, 685
- Pharaohs (fâr'ôz), 23, 24, 26, 27, 29
- Phidias (fid'i äs), 78
- Philip, Count of Valois, 233
- Philip II (of Spain), 270, 272, 273, 274
- Philip IV (of France), 236-37
- Philip Augustus (of France), 197, 212, 236
- Philip of Macedon, 86, 87
- Philippine Islands, 522, 636, 640, 659, 680-81
- Philosophers, French, 318-21, 401, 416
- Philosophy, in the ancient East, 58, 63
- of Descartes, 285
- Greek, 80-81
- Phoenicians (fi nish'änz), 39-40, 93
- Physics, 148, 397-99
- Physiocrats, 321
- Picasso, Pablo, 409
- Pilgrims, 288, 325
- Pilsudski (pil söot'ski), Józef, 612
- Pitt, William, 306, 329, 417
- Pizarro (pi zär'ô), Francisco, 263
- Plague, 117, 215
- Plassey (pläs'i), Battle of, 308
- Plato, 81
- Plebiscite, 349, 557
- Plymouth, Mass., 264, 325
- Poincaré (pwän kâ rē'), Raymond, 566
- Point Four Program, 659-60
- Poitiers (pwä tyē'), Battle of, 233
- Poland, 241, 477, 478, 557, 579, 580, 604, 646, 651, 673, 676
- democracy and dictatorship in, 611-12
- German conquest of, 628, 630
- partitions of, 309-10
- Polish Corridor, 556, 628
- Political parties, 291, 429, 435-36, 456
- Polo, Marco, 256, 504
- Polynesians, 517
- Poor Law, 418
- Pope, Alexander, 284
- Popes, 126, 193, 457
- in Avignon, 237, 244
- conflicts of kings and, 194-97, 236-37, 241, 244-45, 457
- height of power of, 196-97
- weakening of, 244-45, 250
- Popular Front, France, 566
- Population growth, 317, 391, 479-80, 673, 680
- Portugal, colonies of, 258, 259, 263, 264, 489, 493, 495, 520, 688
- and Napoleon, 353
- as a nation, 239-40, 251
- in the New World, 259, 263-64
- republic and dictatorship in, 613-14
- and Spain, 270
- voyages of discovery of, 258, 259
- Post-Impressionists, 409
- Potsdam Conference, 646-47
- Pottery, 11, 24, 32, 71, 92, 160
- Power, atomic, 378, 399
- hydroelectric, 444, 446
- new sources of, 23, 377-78, 399
- steam, 373, 374-75, 378, 397, 489
- Power(s), balance of, 280, 303, 309

- separation of, 320, 337, 435, 448
- Presbyterian Church, 249
- President, U.S., 435
- Prime minister, 293, 422, 423, 529
- Printing, 147, 162, 220
- Prison reform, 401-2
- "Progressive Era," 439-40
- Proportional representation, 444, 446, 598
- Protectorates, 492, 497, 498, 522, 544, 609, 628, 651
- Protestant Revolution, 226, 244-50, 251
- and the Counter Reformation, 264-73
- Protestantism, and Catholicism, 247-48, 249-50, 271-73, 274, 288, 291, 292, 417, 461, 532, 533
- and social reform, 404
- Prussia, 298-300, 302-4, 340, 351, 352, 357, 362, 403, 461, 462, 463
- Psychiatry, 402
- Public Safety, Committee of, 342, 343
- Puerto Rico (pwër'tə rē'kō), 522
- Punic (pū'nīk) Wars, 93-94
- Purges, Russian, 586
- Puritans, 249, 288, 289, 290-91, 325-27
- Pyramids, 24, 29
- Quadruple Alliance, 357, 358, 359, 520, 521, 540
- Quakers, 250
- Quebec, 306, 529
- Quebec Act, 528
- Rabelais (rāb'ə lā'), 224
- Race theories, Nazi, 600, 603
- Races of mankind, 14
- Racial problems in Africa, 501, 688
- Racine (rā sēn'), Jean, 282
- Radio, 379
- Railroads, 375, 378-79, 439, 489
- Ramses (rām'sēz) III, 29
- Raphael (rāf'ī əl), 222
- Realism, 405-8
- Reason, 200-1, 318-19, 405
- Red Cross, 541
- Reed, Walter, 396
- Referendum, 443
- Reform Acts, 417-18, 419, 421
- Reformation. See Protestant Revolution
- Reforms, social, 336, 384-86, 401-4, 408, 420, 426, 439-40, 458, 477-78, 481, 496, 531, 533, 568
- Reichstag (riks'täg'), 464, 598, 599, 601, 602
- Reincarnation, 51
- Religion, American Indian, 261, 262
- in the ancient world, 23, 24, 26-27, 32, 43, 44, 57, 58-60, 63, 72, 95
- Concordat of 1801, 350, 430
- disputes over, 247-48, 249-50, 271-73, 274, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 417, 461, 532, 533
- early ideas of, 12-14
- European, 18th century, 309
- and Fascism, 592-93
- in the arts, 202-5, 283, 284
- in Russia, 477
- separation of church and state, 403, 430, 457, 466, 585, 626
- tolerance in, 275, 293, 321, 322, 325-27, 416, 433
- wars of, 194-97, 210-17, 236, 269-76, 300
- Renaissance, 219-26, 251, 282
- Reparations, 560-61
- Representative government, 229, 237, 435
- Republicans, France, 428, 429
- United States, 436, 438
- Resistance, in France, 632
- passive, 571, 599
- Restoration England, 291
- Revolutions, American, 327-30, 433, 489, 528
- background of, 315-22
- in China, 511, 658-59
- French, 332-37, 345, 417, 425 of 1830, 360-61, 365, 417
- of 1848, 361-65, 419, 425, 462
- in Germany, 552, 597
- "Glorious," of 1688, 292, 293, 319
- in Indo-China, 659
- "July," 360
- in Latin America, 519-20, 521
- in North America, 669
- Protestant, 226, 244-50, 251
- Russian, 479-82, 552, 579-80
- in satellite nations, 676
- Rhineland occupation, 557, 626
- Rhode Island, 327
- Rhodes, Cecil, 500-1
- Rhodesia, 501, 688
- Ricardo, David, 383
- Richard the Lion-Hearted, 212, 231, 236
- Richelieu (rish'ə lō'), 274, 275, 278
- Robespierre (rōbz'pīr), Maximilien, 343, 345
- Rochdale (rōch'dāl') co-operative movement, 387
- Roentgen (rēnt'gən), 398
- Roman Catholic Church, 126-28, 131, 221, 288, 292, 426, 429
- and Bismarck, 466
- the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, 337, 339
- the Concordat of 1801, 350, 430
- criticism of, 224, 245-46
- and Hitler, 603
- in the Middle Ages, 193-97, 205
- and Mussolini, 592
- and the Protestant Revolution, 244-46, 250, 251
- reforms in, 269
- and social improvements, 199, 403, 426
- "Roman Question," 457
- Romance languages, 111, 202
- Romanesque style, 204
- Romanov Dynasty, 297, 302
- Romanticism, 404-5
- Rome, 91-96, 105-7, 223
- attempts to preserve, 130-34
- Christianity in, 123-26
- culture and contributions of, 105-11
- Eastern Roman Empire, 138-41
- Empire of, 98, 100-3, 116-21, 130
- Mussolini and, 591-92, 638
- Republic of, 95-96, 99-100
- Romulus and Remus, 91, 107
- Roosevelt, Franklin D., 525, 567, 633, 634, 635, 645-46
- Roosevelt, Theodore, 439-40, 511, 522, 525
- Roses, Wars of the, 233
- Rotten boroughs, 416-17, 418
- Roundheads, 290
- Rousseau (rōō sō'), Jean Jacques, 320, 340, 343, 404
- Rubens, Peter Paul, 226
- Rudolf (of Habsburg), 241
- Ruhr (rōor), occupation of, 561, 565, 599
- Rumania, 472, 473, 550, 557, 559, 612, 632, 639, 651, 652, 653, 673
- Russia, 241, 295-98, 357, 493
- and the Crimean War, 472-73, 477
- industrialization in, 376
- and Napoleon, 351, 353
- the Old Regime in, 476-79
- Revolution in, 479-82, 552, 579-80

- Russia (*Continued*)
 the Russo-Japanese War, 511, 542, 568
 the Turko-Russian War, 473
 and World War I, 543, 544, 546, 557, 579
See also Soviet Union
 Russian Orthodox Church, 477
- St. Helena, 354
 St. Peter's, Rome, 223
 St. Petersburg, 298
 St. Sophia, Church of, 141
 Saladin (sāl'ā dīn), 212
 Salamis (sāl'ā mīs), Battle of, 75
 Samnites, 91, 92
 San Stefano, peace treaty of, 473
 Sanskrit, 51, 152, 154
 Sappho (sā'fō), 82
 Sarajevo (sā'rā'yě vō), 545-46
 Saratoga, Battle of, 330
 Sardinia, 455
 Sargon of Akkad, 35
 Satellite nations, 615, 651, 653, 655, 666, 673-76
 Satellites, man-made, 399
 Saudi (sā'ūdī) Arabia, 571
 Saxons. *See* Angles and Saxons
 Scandinavia, 240-41, 446-47, 448, 672
 Schliemann (shlē'män), Heinrich, 68
 Schoolmen, 201
 Schuschnigg (shōō'shnīg), 611
 Science, in the ancient world, 29, 82, 89
 in farming, 391-92
 and imperialism, 489
 and the Industrial Revolution, 370
 in the Middle Ages, 201
 progress in, 395-99
 and the Renaissance, 226
 in 17th and 18th centuries, 284-85
 Scientific method, 285, 395, 399, 405
 Scientific Socialism, 388-89
 Scipio (sīp'i'ō'), 94
 Scotland, 249, 289, 293
 "Sea Beggars," 270
 Secret Treaty of Dover, 291
 Seljuk Turks, 148, 210, 212, 214
 Semitic peoples and language, 34-36, 39, 40, 42, 144
 Senate, Canadian, 529
 French, 429, 566
 Roman, 96, 99, 100, 101, 118
 United States, 435
 Separation of powers, 320, 337, 435, 448
- Sepoys (sē'poiz), 306, 307, 514
 Serbia, 471, 472, 473, 542, 544, 545, 546, 549, 557, 612
 Serfdom, 182-85, 189, 199, 214-15, 297, 393, 477, 478
 Settlement, Act of, 293
 Seven Years' War, 303-4, 305, 306, 308, 528
 Shakespeare, William, 225, 273
 Shang Dynasty, 56-57
 Shanghai (shāng'hi'), 609
 Shantung peninsula, 509, 606, 607
 "Shepherd Kings," 26
 Shinto, 507-8, 509
 Shoguns, 508
 Siam. *See* Thailand
 Sicily, 456
 Sierra Leone (sī ēr'ā lī ō'nī), 688
 Silesia (sī lē'shā), 302, 303, 304
 Singapore, 516, 636
 Slater, Samuel, 376
 Slavery, abolition of, 343, 401, 439
 in America, 325, 438
 in the ancient world, 23, 36, 72, 73, 74, 83, 98-99, 109, 111, 116
 in the Middle Ages, 182
 Slavs, 140, 296, 298, 469, 470
 Smeaton (smē'tan), James, 373
 Smelting, 15, 38, 62, 372
 Smith, Adam, 321, 383
 Social classes, in America, 325, 433
 in the ancient world, 23, 36, 58, 62, 73, 95-96, 99, 105, 106, 116, 117
 in the 18th century, 311
 in France, 281-82, 316-17, 333, 335
 in the Middle Ages, 182, 191, 251
 in Prussia, 403
 rise of, 20
 Swiss, 442
 Swedish, 446
 Social Contract (Rousseau), 320
 Social Democrats, British, 389
 German, 467, 597, 671
 Russian, 480
 Social insurance, 385-86, 389, 458, 465, 467, 668, 669
 Social reforms. *See* Reforms
 Socialism, 386-89, 420, 541, 586, 666
 Christian, 404
 in France, 430-31, 564, 566, 669
 in Germany, 467, 597, 598, 602
 in Great Britain, 564, 668
 in India, 679
 in Italy, 458, 590, 591
 in Russia, 578, 579
 in Sweden, 446
 Socialist Internationals, 388
 Society of Jesus, 269-70
 Socrates (sōk'rō tēz'), 80, 81
 Solomon, 40
 Solomon Islands, 640
 Solon (sō'lan), 73
 Somaliland (sō mā'li lānd'), 459, 497
 Somme (sôm) River offensive, 550
 Sophocles (sōf'ō klēz'), 81
 South Africa, 498-501
 Union of, 501, 531, 534, 688
 South Slavs, 469, 472, 542, 557, 612
 Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, 661
 Southern Rhodesia, 688
 South-west Africa, 496
 Soviet Union, 578-87, 615
 alliance of, with Germany, 604, 628
 education in, 403, 585
 Five-Year Plans in, 581-84, 673
 imperialism of, 505-6, 509, 516, 517
 the "New Look," 661-62, 664
 satellites of, 615, 651, 653, 655, 666, 673-76
 and the Spanish Civil War, 627
 in World War II and after, 615, 625, 630-31, 633, 636, 637, 639, 672-76
 See also Russia
 Spain, Arabs in, 146, 147
 colonies of, 359, 489, 493, 520
 decline of, 273, 280
 and Napoleon, 353
 as a nation, 239-40, 251
 in the New World, 258, 259, 263, 264
 Renaissance in, 224, 226
 republic and dictatorship in, 613
 wars of, with England and France, 273, 275
 Spanish-American War, 521-22
 Spanish Civil War, 595, 613, 626-27
 Sparta, 71, 74, 75, 84-85
 Specialization, 11, 23, 31, 108
 Spheres of influence, 492, 509
 "Square Deal," 439
 Stalin (stā'lin), Joseph, 581-84, 585, 586, 587, 627, 628, 633, 645, 646, 651, 652, 657, 659, 661, 672-73, 675, 689
 Stalingrad, 637
 Stamp Tax, 329

- Stanley, Henry M., 496
 "States' rights," 438
 Steam power, 373, 374-75, 378, 397, 489
 Steel, 376
 Stephenson, George, 375
 Stock companies, 267
 Stone Age, 5-6, 10-17, 56
 Storm Troopers, 600, 601
 Stresemann (shtrā'zə mən'), Gustav, 599
 Strikes, 384, 481, 501, 565
 Stuart Dynasty, 287-93
 Submarine warfare, 551, 552, 635, 637
 Sudan (sōo dān'), 498
 Sudetenland (sōo dā'tən lānd'), 627
 Suez Canal, 24, 571, 633
 Suffrage. *See* Voting
 Suleiman (sv'lā mən') the Magnificent, 472
 Sulla (sūl'a), 100
 Sullivan, Louis Henry, 409
 Sumerian (sōo mīr'i an) civilization, 31-34
 Sun Yat-sen (sōon'yāt'sen'), 606-7, 608
 Sung (sōong) Dynasty, 160
 Supreme Court, 435
 Suspects, Law of, 343
 Swedes; Sweden, 135, 240, 241, 275, 280, 298, 357, 387, 446, 568
 Swift, Jonathan, 284
 Switzerland, 248-49, 357, 442-44, 568, 672
 Syria(ns), 26, 38, 87, 569.
 Tacitus (tās'a tās), 107
 Tai Tsung (ti'tsoong'), 160
 Taiping (ti'pīng') Rebellion, 505
 Taiwan (ti'wān'), 659
 Taj Mahal (tāj'mā hāl'), 157
 Talleyrand (tāl'i rānd'), 356, 357
 Tamil (tām'al) Land, 48
 Tang (tāng) Dynasty, 160
 Tanganyika (tān'gən yē'ka), 688
 Tannenberg, Battle of, 549
 Taoism (dou'iz əm), 60
 Tarawa (tā rā'wā), 640
 Tariffs, 267, 437, 439, 489
 Tartars, 159, 160
 Taxation, Church, 193, 245, 246
 by common consent, 231
 Roman, 98
 unfair, 317, 327, 328, 329, 332-33, 458
 Teheran (tē'a rān') Conference, 645-46
 Telephone; television, 379
 Temperance movements, 402
 Temples, 27-29, 32, 72, 78, 154, 261, 262
 "Terrible June Days," 363
 Terror, Reign of, 342-43, 344, 365, 404, 580, 673, 675
 Tetzl, 246
 Teutons, 119
 Texas, 438
 Textile industry, 371-72
 Thailand (ti'land), 516, 636
 Thebes (thēbz), Egypt, 24, 27-29
 Greece, 71, 85
 Thermopylae (thər mōp'ə lē'), 75
 Third Coalition, War of the, 351-52
 Third Estate, 335
 Thirty Years' War, 274-75, 299
 "Thousand Red-Shirts," 456
 Three People's Principles, 608
 Thucydides (thōō sīd'ə dēz'), 82
 Thutmose (thūt'mōs) III, 26
 Tiberius, 102
 Tibet, 516
 Tithing, 193
 Titian (tish'an), 222-23
 Tito (tē'tō), Marshal, 676
 Togoland, 496
 Tojo, 635
 Toleration Act, 293
 Tools and weapons, 5, 6, 10, 15-16, 260, 489
 Tories, 291, 330, 417, 418, 528
 Totalitarianism, 577, 689
 results of, 614-15
 in Russia, 585
 spread of, 606, 610-14
 Tours (tōor), Battle of, 146
 Town meetings, 325
 Towns. *See* Cities and towns
 Townshend, Lord, 391
 Trade, in the ancient world, 23, 24, 31, 34, 35, 39, 40, 50, 56, 69, 71, 73, 92, 108
 with the Arabs, 147, 155, 161, 163
 beginning of, 11-12
 Chinese, 56, 160-61
 and the Commercial Revolution, 264-65
 in the Dark Age, 187
 East-West, 138, 210, 215-17
 medieval, 189, 205, 229
 modern European, 310-11
 rivalry for, 267
 Trades Union Congress, 388
 Trading companies, 267, 306, 307, 308, 496
 Trans-Jordan, 570
 Transportation, 374-75, 378-79, 392, 393-94
 Transvaal (trāns vāl'), 498
 Trench warfare, 549
 Trent, Council of, 269
 Trial, by combat and by ordeal, 176-77
 by jury, 231, 416
 Tribes, 11
 Tribunes, Roman, 96
 Trieste (trī'ēst') and Trent, 458, 652
 Triple Alliance, 459, 542, 543
 Triple Entente (ān tānt'), 543
 Troy, 69, 70
 Truman, Harry S., 646, 655-57, 659, 666
 Truman Doctrine, 655-58
 Trusteeship Council, 650
 Trusts, 439
 Tudor, Henry (Henry VII), 233
 Tudor Dynasty, 249, 287
 Tull, Jethro, 391
 Tunisia (tū nīsh'a), 459, 497, 571, 637, 669, 685
 Turgot (tvr gō'), 334
 Turkey, 459, 498, 517, 544, 549, 551, 552, 557, 558, 568, 655, 657
 Turko-Russian War, 473
 Turks, Greek independence from, 359-60
 Ottoman, 141, 148, 214, 242, 471-74
 raids and conquests of, 155-56
 Seljuk, 148, 210, 212, 214
 wars with, 270, 280, 298, 300, 473
 Turner, William, 405
 Tutankhamen (tōot'āngk ā'mīn), 29
 Twenty-one Demands, 607
 "Tyrants," 72, 73
 U-boats, 551, 635, 636
 Uganda, 688
 Unemployment, 317, 367, 381, 389
 Union, Act of, 293, 532
 Unitarians, 250
 United Nations, 647, 648-51, 662-64
 United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, 647
 United States, and China, 509-10
 colonies of, 493
 development of, 433, 436-40
 education in, 327, 403
 government in, 433-36, 447, 448
 industrialization of, 376, 378 and Japan, 508

- United States (*Continued*)
and Latin America, 520-25
in World War I and after, 551,
552, 555, 560, 561, 566-67
in World War II and after,
633-43, 666-68
See also America
United States Bank, 437-38
Untouchables, 52-53, 513
Ur (ùr), 32
Urban II, Pope, 196, 211
Uruguay (yoor'ə gwā'), 519
Utopian Socialists, 386-87
Utrecht (ū'trēkt), Treaty of, 281
- Valmy, Battle of, 341
Valois (vāl wā') Dynasty, 233,
237, 274
Vandals, 121, 130
Vassals, 175, 176
Vatican City, 592
Velázquez (vē lāth'kēth), 226
Venetia (və nē'shī ə), 454, 456
Venezuela (vēn'ə zwē'la), 519,
521
Venice, 213, 216-17, 222, 241,
267
Verdun (vār dūn'), 549-50
Versailles (vər sālz'), 279, 282,
336, 428
Treaty of, 556-57, 559, 560,
597, 598, 600, 604, 625, 626
Vespucci (vēs pōot'chē), Amerigo,
258
Vichy (vish'), 632
Victor Emmanuel II (of Italy),
456
Victor Emmanuel III (of Italy),
592
Victoria (of England), 491
Victorian era, 408
Vienna, 242, 280, 300, 362, 363
Congress of, 356-59, 365, 454
Viet Nam (vē ēt nām'), 659
Vikings. See Norsemen
Villages, Hindu, 50
medieval, 183-85
prehistoric, 11-12
Virgil (vūr'jil), 107
Visigoths, 121, 128, 130, 239
Voltaire (vōl tār'), 319, 321
Voting, in ancient Greece, 73
expansion of right of, 418, 419,
444, 445, 563, 586, 598
plural, 445
restrictions on, 325, 361, 416,
418, 419, 433, 444, 445, 458
by secret ballot, 325, 420, 531,
586
for women, 402, 420-21, 446,
447, 531, 563, 598
Vulgate version of the Bible, 269
- Wagner (vāg'nər), Richard, 405
Wallenstein (wōl'an stīn'), 275
War Between the States, 426,
438-39
War of 1812, 437
War of Liberation, 353-54
War of the Spanish Succession,
281
Warsaw, 352, 630
Wars of the Roses, 233
Washington, George, 329, 330,
434, 436
Washington Conference, 607,
622-23
Water power, 378, 458
Waterloo, Battle of, 354
Watt, James, 373
Weihaiwei (wā'hi'wā'), 509
Wellington, Duke of, 353, 354,
417
West German Federal Republic,
652, 653, 658, 669-71
Westminster, Statute of, 532
Westphalia, Peace of, 275
Whigs, 291, 417, 418
Whitney, Eli, 372
Willard, Emma, 402
William I (of Prussia), 462, 467
William II (of Germany), 467,
517, 543
William III (of England), 280,
292, 293
William the Conqueror, 230
William the Silent, 270
Williams, Roger, 327
Wilson, Woodrow, 440, 552, 555,
557, 559, 560, 563, 568,
577, 589, 620
Women, in the ancient world, 63,
73
in the 18th century, 417
in factories, 382
in feudal times, 179
in modern times, 411, 447, 568
in prehistoric times, 6, 11
rights of, in Code of Ham-
murabi, 36
struggle for rights of, 402-3,
447
suffrage for, 402, 420-21, 446,
447, 531, 563, 598
in World War I, 421
World Court, 622, 650
World War I, 421, 440, 471,
474, 515, 533, 620
Allied victory in, 551-53
background of, 541-46
costs of, 552-53
effects of, 614
peace settlement after, 555-61
significance of, 572-73
successes of Central Powers in,
548-50
World War II, 525, 595, 597,
603, 604, 609-610, 688-89
Allied triumph in, 636-43
American entry into, 633-36
Axis victories in, 630-33
background of, 623-28
cost of, 643
in the Pacific, 639-43
peace treaties after, 652-53
planning for peace after, 645-47
results of, 689
Wright brothers, 379
Writing, 16, 26, 32, 38, 39, 44,
56, 69, 261, 262
Wu Ti (wōo'tē'), 61
Württemberg (wūr'təm bûrg'),
463
Wycliffe (wīk'lif), John, 245
- Xerxes (zûrk'sēz), 74-75
X-ray, 398, 399
- Yalta (yāl'tā) Conference, 646,
675
York, Duke of, 233
Yorktown, 330
Young, Owen D., 561
"Young China," 511
"Young Italy," 455
"Young Turks," 473-74
Yüan Shih-kai (yü ān' shē'ki'),
607
Yucatán (ū ka tān'), 262
Yugoslavia (ū'gō slā'vī ə), 557,
612, 632-33, 651, 652, 655,
673, 676
Yugoslavs. See South Slavs
- Ziggurat (zīg'ōō rāt'), 32, 35
Zionism, 570
Zola, Emile, 430
Zollverein (tsōl'fēr īn'), 462
Zoroaster (zōr'ō ās'tar), 44
Zurich (zōor'ik), 248
Zwingli (tsvīng'lē), Ulrich, 248



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